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THE WORKS

OF

DANIEL DEFOE

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WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR &C

EDINBURGH

WILLIAM P. NIMMO.

THE WORKS

OF

DANIEL DEFOE

CAREFULLY SELECTED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

WITH

CHALMERS' LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

ANNOTATED.

EDITED BY JOHN S. KELTIE.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE,	v
NOTE ON THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED FACTS CONCERNING DEFOE,	vi
LIFE OF DEFOE,	1
ROBINSON CRUSOE,	31
THE LIFE OF COLONEL JACK,	209
MEMOIRS OF A CAVALIER,	303
THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF DUNCAN CAMPBELL,	386
JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE IN LONDON,	450
EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS IS NOBODY'S BUSINESS,	522
THE APPARITION OF MRS. VEAL,	529
THE SHORTEST WAY WITH DISSENTERS,	533
GIVING ALMS NO CHARITY,	539
THE COMPLETE ENGLISH TRADESMAN,	548
THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN,	591
A HYMN TO THE PILLORY,	604

PREFACE.

DEFOE was one of the most prolific authors in English literature, having written upwards of 250 separate works, besides contributing largely to some of the periodicals of his time. Most of these works consist of pamphlets on all subjects connected with religion, politics, and what is now known as social science. During the latter part of his life, however, he wrote a number of remarkable novels, or rather histories put in a fictive dress, almost any one of which would have sufficed to give him a permanent place in the literature of his country. *Robinson Crusoe* is known and read of all boys and men. The object of the present edition of Defoe's works is to present to the general public the cream of his fictions, and such a selection from his other writings as will enable most readers to form a notion of what manner of man he was. The great mass of Defoe's pamphlets would, of course, be totally devoid of interest at the present day, unless to him who is compelled to burrow among the *debris* of that age for history-writing purposes. The same may be said of Defoe's poetry; and therefore the editor has endeavoured to select from this class of his works such as are likely to be attractive to the great mass of readers, either on account of the permanent interest of their subject, the manner of treatment, or their connection with an important episode in the life of the author. With regard to his other and more important works, the aim has been to select such as best exhibit Defoe's genius, are likely to interest all readers, and required no emasculation to render them fit for perusal by all classes.

It has been thought unnecessary to occupy space in the way of annotation; such a service is uncalled for in the case of any of the works in this edition, and no doubt the reader will think the space better occupied by being appropriated to what came from Defoe's own pen. The editor has done his best to ensure accuracy by comparison, in nearly every case, with original editions; and all that it has been deemed needful to say in the way of information or elucidation will be found in the introductory remarks to each work. The Life prefixed to the works—that by George Chalmers, author of *Caledonia*—is still one of the best, though shortest, and was the fruit of much original research on the part of the author. Where necessary, it has been copiously annotated, and a note has been prefixed, embodying the lately discovered facts of Defoe's life (for which the editor is indebted to the recently published valuable life of Defoe, by Mr. W. Lee[1]), and for the purpose of defending his character against the attacks of some recent critics. This note, which should have been a postscript, has necessarily been *prefixed* to the biography, as the paging of this volume was arranged previous to the issue of Mr. Lee's book.

The publisher, satisfied with the reception accorded to the previous publications in this series, hopes that this effort to bring within the reach of a large mass of readers the choicest works of one of England's great classic authors, will meet with a like appreciation.

J. S. K.

EDINBURGH, *June* 1869.

[1] *Life and Newly Discovered Writings of Daniel Defoe.* By WILLIAM LEE. London: J. Camden Hotten. 3 Vols.

NOTE ON THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED FACTS CONCERNING DEFOE.

THIS year (1869) there has been published by Mr. J. Camden Hotten of London, a work in three volumes, entitled *Life and Newly Discovered Writings of Daniel Defoe*, by WILLIAM LEE. The first volume contains a newly written life by Mr. Lee, and the two other volumes are made up of what the editor considers authentic productions of Defoe's pen, consisting mainly of short essays, letters, leaders, paragraphs, items of news, &c., extracted from a number of journals, with which Mr. Lee has proved he was connected from 1716 to 1729. Mr. Lee has also the merit of having extended the already large catalogue of Defoe's more important works, by ascribing to him a number of pamphlets and stories, which have hitherto been either unknown or fatherless; at the same time, he has deleted from the lists already existing a number of productions which he considers as spurious, leaving, however, the catalogue larger than he found it. Among the new works fathered on Defoe by Mr. Lee, we need only mention *A History of the Wars of Charles XII., King of Sweden* (1715, pp. 400); *A View of the Scots Rebellion* (1715, pp. 40); *A Short Narrative of the Life and Death of Count Patkul, a Nobleman of Livonia* (1717, pp. 59); *Memoirs of Public Transactions in the Life and Ministry of His Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury* (1718, pp. 139); *The King of the Pirates, being an account of the famous enterprises of Captain Avery, the mock King of Madagascar* (1719, pp. 93); *An Impartial History of the Life and Actions of Peter Alexowitz, the present Czar of Muscovey* (1723, pp. 420); *The Highland Rogue; or, the Memorable Actions of the Celebrated Robert Macgregor, commonly called Rob Roy* (1723, pp. 63); in 1724, two booklets containing an account of the notorious Jack Sheppard; and, in 1725, a life of Jonathan Wild. Strangely, none of these are among the newly collected writings edited by Mr. Lee, which, as we have said, consist almost entirely of newspaper paragraphs, letters, essays after the manner of the *Spectator*, leaders on political and social topics, and many items similar to those which go to fill up the body of a newspaper at the present day. Many of these droppings from the pen of Defoe are interesting in themselves, and as enabling us to form some notion of the political and social history of the time, and all of them are of value on account of their author. No one could be more competent than Mr. Lee to recognise Defoe's hand in any production, as all who read his prefaces and biography must allow; and although we have only his conviction, founded mainly upon internal evidence, as to the authorship of these newly discovered writings, still, his intimate knowledge of Defoe's life, and his thorough acquaintance with everything that is said to have come from Defoe's pen, and with all the allusions to him and his writings in contemporary publications, entitle him to speak with authority, and to be heard with respect. Mr. Lee deserves the gratitude of all admirers of Defoe, and indeed of all 'true-born Englishmen,' for the years of toilful research it has cost him to produce these three volumes.

The most important point, however, discovered by Mr. Lee in connection with Defoe, is the manner in which he spent the last fifteen years of his life, from 1715 onwards. All the previous biographers of Defoe have stated their belief, that after the publication, in 1715, of his *Appeal to Justice and Honour*, he ceased entirely to take any part in the political and religious controversies of the day, devoting the remainder of his life to the production of

his inimitable novels and fictive histories, publishing only a few pamphlets on social topics. This mistaken notion has resulted from no want of research on the part of his two chief biographers, Chalmers and Wilson, but simply from the fact that when they wrote, they were not in possession of the clue discovered by Mr. Lee. Defoe's former biographers were right to a certain extent; for after 1715 he certainly did cease to take part in the controversies of the time, in the way he had done during most of his previous life. From about 1687 to 1715, Defoe was an unceasing pamphleteer, issuing during that time upwards of 150 pamphlets and short treatises on all the most important political, social, and religious questions that agitated the minds of the men of his time, and these written in such an independent, decided, and telling manner as to draw down on him the wrath and persecution of Whig and Tory, Churchman and Dissenter. On the other hand, from 1715 till his death, he did not issue above half a dozen pamphlets on controversial subjects. Mr. Lee, however, has discovered that during that time he did not, as has hitherto been supposed, devote himself entirely to the peaceful pursuit of composing immortal fictions, and laying young and old of all future generations under a deep debt of gratitude. The result of Mr. Lee's investigations we must state briefly.

From certain letters in Defoe's handwriting, discovered in 1864 in the State Paper Office, and addressed to Mr. De la Fay, the friend of Defoe, Mr. Lee inferred that the latter, during the last fifteen years of his life, must have been connected in various ways with certain newspapers, both of Whig and Tory principles. At the cost of much trouble and research, Mr. Lee followed out this clue, and found that Defoe must have had to do with at least seven periodical publications, the first of which was the *Mercurius Politicus: being monthly observations on the affairs of Great Britain; with a collection of the most material occurrences. By a Lover of Old England.* This was commenced in May 1716, and, Mr. Lee says, was 'Conservative in principle,' which we suppose means, not *Tory*, but conservative of the then existing constitution, which at that time meant *Whig*. Defoe continued this till September 1720, and, Mr. Lee thinks, probably much longer.

The next journal with which Defoe was connected, was *The Weekly Journal*, or *Saturday's Post*, commonly known then as *Mist's Journal*, from the name of its publisher, Nathaniel Mist. Defoe was also, for some time after June 1716, part proprietor and manager of a paper known as *Dormer's News Letter*. The curious nature of Defoe's connection with these two papers we shall allow him to tell in his own words, as these are found in one of the recently exhumed letters addressed to Mr. De la Fay, dated April 26, 1718, and printed in the introduction to Mr. Lee's biography:—

'It was in the Ministry of my Lord Townshend, when my Lord Chief Justice Parker, to whom I stand obliged for the Favour, was pleased so far to state my Case, that notwithstanding the Misrepresentations under which I had suffered, and notwithstanding some Mistakes which I was the first to acknowledge, I was so happy as to be believed in the Professions I made of a sincere Attachment to the Interest of the present Government, and, speaking with all possible Humility, I hope I have not dishonoured my Lord Parker's Recommendation.

'In considering, after this, which Way I might be rendered most useful to the Government, it was proposed by my Lord Townshend that I should still appear as if I were, as before, under the displeasure of the Government, and separated from the Whigs; and that I might be more serviceable in a kind of Disguise, than if I appeared openly; and upon this foot a weekly Paper, which I was at first directed to write, in opposition to a scandalous Paper called the *Shift Shifted*, was laid aside, and the first thing I engaged in, was a monthly Book called *Mercurius Politicus*, of which presently. In the interval of this, Dyer, the *News-Letter*-writer, having been dead, and Dormer, his successor, being unable by his Troubles to carry on that Work, I had an offer of a Share in the Property, as well as in the Management of that Work.

'I immediately acquainted my Lord Townshend of it, who, by Mr. Buckley, let me know it would be a very acceptable Piece of Service; for that *Letter* was really very prejudicial to the Public, and the most difficult to come at in a Judicial way in Case of Offence given. My Lord was pleased to add, by Mr. Buckley, that he would consider my Service in that Case, as he afterwards did.

'Upon this I engaged in it; and that so far, that though the Property was not wholly my own, yet the Conduct and Government of the Style and News was so entirely in me, that I ventured to assure his Lordship the Sting of that mischievous Paper should be entirely taken out, though it was granted that the Style should continue Tory, as it was, that the Party might be amused, and not set up another, which would have destroyed the Design. And this Part I therefore take entirely on myself still.

'This went on for a Year, before my Lord Townshend went out of the Office; and his Lordship, in consideration of this Service, made me the Appointment which Mr. Buckley knows of, with promise of a further Allowance as Service presented.

'My Lord Sunderland, to whose Goodness I had many Years ago been obliged, when I was in a secret Commission sent to Scotland, was pleased to approve and continue this Service, and the Appointment annexed; and, with his Lordship's Approbation, I introduced myself, in a Disguise of a Translator of the Foreign News, to be so far concerned in this weekly Paper of *Mist's*, as to be able to keep it within the Circle of a secret Management, also prevent the mischievous Part of it; and yet neither Mist, or any of those concerned with him, have the least Guess or Suspicion by whose Direction I do it.

'But here it becomes necessary to acquaint my Lord (as I hinted to you, Sir), that this Paper, called the *Journal*, is not in myself in Property, as the other, only in Management; with this express difference, that if anything happens to be put in without my Knowledge, which may give Offence, or if anything slips my Observation which may be ill taken, his Lordship shall be sure always to know whether he has a Servant to reprove, or a Stranger to correct.

'Upon the whole, however, this is the Consequence, that by this Management, the Weekly *Journal*, and *Dormer's Letter*, as also the *Mercurius Politicus*, which is in the same Nature of Management as the *Journal*, will be always kept (Mistakes excepted) to pass as Tory Papers, and yet be disabled and enervated, so as to do no Mischief, or give any Offence to the Government.

'I beg leave to observe, Sir, one Thing more to his Lordship in my own behalf, and without which, indeed, I may, one Time or other, run the Risk of fatal Misconstructions. I am, Sir, for this Service, posted among Papists, Jacobites, and enraged High Tories—a Generation who, I profess, my very Soul abhors; I am obliged to hear traitorous Expressions and outrageous Words against his Majesty's Person and Government, and his most faithful Servants, and smile at it all, as if I approved it; I am obliged to take all the scandalous and, indeed, villanous Papers that come, and keep them by me as if I would gather Materials from them to put them into the News; nay, I often venture to let Things pass which are a little Shocking, that I may not render myself suspected.

'Thus I bow in the House of *Rimmon*, and must humbly recommend myself to his Lordship's Protection, or I may be undone the sooner, by how much the more faithfully I execute the commands I am under.'

Mist's Journal was first started in December 1715; but Defoe apparently had no hand in it till the thirty-seventh number, published in August 1717. From this time he had the virtual management of the paper till November 1718, when, on Mist becoming refractory, Defoe gave it up, resuming, however, his connection in January 1719, and continuing to edit and contribute to it until July 1720. A second rupture then took place, when he finally ceased to have any responsible superintendence of the paper, although he occasionally contributed to it until the latter part of 1724. During his management of it, Defoe had difficult work to do in preventing the publication of treasonable and inflammatory articles; indeed, in spite of all his tact, such articles did sometimes find their way into the *Journal*, so that during Defoe's connection with it, Mist was once or twice fined and imprisoned. Mist appears in the end to have discovered his editor's connection with Government, and Mr. Lee infers, with considerable plausibility, from an article published by Defoe in *Applebee's Journal*, that Mist was so enraged as to attempt his assassination. Mr. Lee has also shown it to be highly probable that the distress which harassed Defoe during his last days was not the want of money, of which Mr. Lee thinks he must have had plenty, but the unceasing persecutions of Mist and the party to which he belonged. Altogether Mr. Lee has pretty clearly shown that although Defoe, about 1715, retired from the active and then somewhat dangerous strife of political and religious controversy, yet

during these latter years of his stormy life, he had by no means the peace and freedom from persecution and vituperation which his former biographers have imagined.

Other papers with which Defoe was connected were *The Whitehall Evening Post*, which he established in 1718 on what would now be called 'Liberal-Conservative' principles; it was continued for many years after Defoe ceased to contribute to it. *The Daily Post* was started by Defoe in October 1719, and was devoted entirely to literary and social topics, all party politics being excluded; he was connected with it probably until April 1725, although it existed and had a large circulation for years after his death. Defoe was connected with *The Original Weekly Journal—The Applebee's Journal* above-mentioned—from June 1720 until March 1726, contributing to it almost every week, during that time, articles on all sorts of subjects; it is from this journal that Mr. Lee has taken the largest portion of the matter contained in his two last volumes. The *Universal Spectator*, a weekly journal, in large quarto, was commenced in October 1728, by Defoe and his son-in-law Mr. Henry Baker; Defoe, however, writing only the first number, although Baker carried it on for many years.

For his somewhat anomalous connection with Mist's Jacobite journal, Defoe has been called some very hard names by one or two recent critics, who, in their virtuous wrath at this one doubtful episode of his life, are oblivious of all the great and varied services he rendered to his own and future generations. Is it fair to estimate a man's character from a single questionable piece of conduct, abstracted from a long life of almost ceaseless activity in the promotion of truth, justice, and liberty? Do we call the sun black because its light-shedding disc is dotted with one or two dark specks, visible only to the prying eye of a telescopic observer? Mr. Lee ardently idolizes his hero, and strenuously defends this single seeming deviation from the thorough independence and honesty which characterized all the rest of his life; and although not such a blind and intense worshipper of Defoe as his latest biographer, still we think it only just to characterize him from the general tenor of his life, and not from a solitary action that seems inconsistent with his conduct as a whole. Defoe was a man who, from his first appearance as a writer, devoted himself unflinchingly to the advocacy of what he thought 'truth and justice,' and to the upholding of the utmost civil and religious liberty consistent with the maintenance of the constitution. He was a century and a half ahead of his age, and in certain respects would, even at the present day, be looked upon with suspicion by the most advanced politicians, and most liberal Churchmen and Dissenters. Had he chosen to have acted with what many would consider a wise prudence, and used a little reticence, or devoted himself entirely to the advocacy of party measures, he might, at a very early stage of his career, have acquired honours and a fortune. As it was, his fearless fighting in behalf of what he deemed the truth, subjected him to the vituperation of his contemporary pamphleteers, and to the active persecution of all parties in Church and State. He was ignominiously pilloried, more than once fined and imprisoned, and indeed showed himself willing to suffer even death for conscience' sake. Even when in the employment of Government, he did not shrink from freely criticising any of its measures that were inconsistent with the lofty principles which ought to guide the counsels of the nation, as well as the conduct of private men. He did perhaps as much as any one man in any single generation ever did, to enlighten the minds of his fellow-men as to the true principles of civil and religious liberty, and to enforce upon them the practice of the loftiest social and personal morality. Of course he gained the reward usually bestowed by the world upon its best benefactors. Supposing that a man, who for thirty years had been subjected to such weary and ceaseless persecution, as was the case with Defoe, had, for the sake of peace and quietness in his old age, agreed to hold his tongue, and to promote the peace and liberty of his country in a way apparently not quite consistent with his previous principles, would any one, conscious of the weakness of human nature, severely blame him? If Defoe is blameworthy for this conduct, let him be castigated, but sadly, and with a gentle hand; in contemplating this little speck, that vision must be maliciously blind which is not struck with the broad disc of surrounding pure light. Is 'truculent hypocrite' an epithet that deserves to be thrown at him from the quill of an uncharitable and thoughtless critic? We leave all candid and tender-hearted readers to judge.

We beg of the reader only to remember the state of parties, and the circumstances of the country at the time Defoe took the management of *Mist's Journal.* The terms Whig and Tory had a very different significance then from what they have at the present day. In Defoe's time Whig meant an upholder of the king and constitution as it then existed, an advocate for the rights of the people and for constitutional liberty, and a friend of peace and progress. Tory meant radical, rebel, subverter of the constitution, restorer of tyrants, advocate of civil war, and enemy to all progress and liberty. Defoe was a 'true-born Englishman,' an ardent believer in the Revolution constitution, a lover of peace and progress, an advocate of civil and religious liberty, and a hater of tyrants; he sincerely believed that the restoration of the Stuarts, besides embroiling the country in civil war, would extinguish all liberty, restore persecution, and effectually put a stop to all true progress. Holding, as he did, strongly and sincerely such opinions, we believe he thought he was acting the part of a true patriot in getting himself made the *mentor* of *Mist's Journal*, and in thus being able to extract 'the sting of that mischievous paper,' nip treason in the bud, and prevent it from expanding into hateful, full-blown rebellion and civil war. The two great parties in the State at that time were something more than mere political rivals, they were virtually in the position of two hostile armies, each ready to take whatever advantage it could gain over its opponent; and Defoe, in rendering harmless what he thought the weapons of his own and his country's enemies, acted only on the universally recognised principle, that every stratagem is fair in war. We shall conclude this postscript by taking the liberty of quoting Mr. Lee's defence of the hero of his worship.

'Defoe had no share in the property of this paper, and had therefore no absolute power to reject improper communications; but he trusted to the moral influence he should be able to acquire and maintain over Mist, the proprietor, who had no suspicion that the Government was indirectly concerned in the matter. This journal was the organ of the Pretender's interest; and its correspondents and supporters were, he tells us, "Papists, Jacobites, and enraged High Tories, a generation who, I profess, my very soul abhors." In the performance of his duty he was compelled to hear traitorous expressions against his Majesty's person and government, and to take scandalous and villanous papers, and keep them by him, as if he would gather materials from them to put into the news, but really with a determination to suppress them. This was no system of espionage; here was no incitement to, or permission of treason, for the purpose of entangling the offenders, and bringing them within the grasp of the law. The rebellion was yet smouldering, though subdued; and the laws, liberties, and religion of the country were threatened. This weekly journal, inspired from the court of the Pretender, and supported by the money and intelligence of attainted nobles abroad, and their adherents at home, had laboured to keep alive the spirit of treason, until circumstances should be favourable for again spreading the flames of rebellion through the land. If therefore moral persuasion is more effectual than legal repression, and prevention better than cure, then no stigma, beyond that of concealment, attaches to the character of Defoe on account of his connection with *Mist's Journal.* Rather should we admire the intellectual power capable of holding in check, without extraneous influence known to Mist, such men as Ormond, Atterbury, Bolingbroke, Mar, Wharton, and their satellites, among the Jacobite and nonjuring writers. It required a large amount of patriotic courage to place himself as an impassable barrier between the invectives of such men and the reading public, and no less reservation and tact in exercising this influence in such a manner as to avoid suspicion.'

THE LIFE OF DEFOE,

BY

GEORGE CHALMERS.

It is lamented by those who labour the fields of British biography, that after being entangled in briars they are often rewarded with the scanty products of barrenness. The lives of literary men are generally passed in the obscurities of the closet, which conceal even from friendly inquiries the artifices of study, whereby each may have risen to eminence. And during the same moment that the diligent biographer sets out to ask for information with regard to the origin, the modes of life, or the various fortunes of writers who have amused or instructed their country, the housekeeper, the daughter, or grandchild, that knew connections and traditions, drop into the grave.

These reflections naturally arose from my inquiries about the life of the author of *The History of the Union of Great Britain*, and of *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. Whether he were born on the neighbouring continent or in this island, in London or in the country, was equally uncertain; and whether his name were Foe or Defoe, was somewhat doubtful. Like Swift, he had perhaps reasons for concealing what would have added little to his consequence. It is at length known, with sufficient certainty, that our author was the son of James Foe, of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, citizen and butcher. The concluding sentiment of the true-born Englishman, we now see, was then as natural as it will ever be just:—

> 'Then let us boast of ancestors no more,
> For fame of families is all a cheat;
> '*Tis personal virtue only makes us great.*'

If we may credit the *Gazette*, Daniel Foe,[1] or Defoe, as he is said by his enemies to have called himself, that he might not be thought an Englishman, was born in London in the year 1661. His family were probably Dissenters,[2] among whom he received no unlettered education; at least it is plain, from his various writings, that he was a zealous defender of their principles and a strenuous supporter of their politics, before the liberality of our rulers in Church and State had freed this conduct from danger. He merits the praise which is due to sincerity in manner of thinking and to uniformity in habits of acting, whatever obloquy may have been cast on his name, by attributing writings to him which, as they belonged to others, he was studious to disavow.

Our author was educated at a Dissenting academy, which was kept at Newington Green, by Charles Morton. He delights to praise that learned gentleman, whose instructive lessons

[1] What induced Daniel afterwards to prefix the aristocratic *De* to his name, cannot now be clearly ascertained. The conjecture of Mr. W. Lee, the author of the latest *Life of Defoe*, is the most probable that has yet been put forth, viz. that it arose either from accident or convenience. James Foe, the father, would be known among his acquaintances as Mr. Foe, and his son as Mr. D. Foe, which would probably, in course of time, come to be spelled as it was pronounced—Defoe. Daniel Defoe was not the man to be ashamed either of his name or his origin, and Mr. Lee has shown that he was in the habit of spelling it indifferently D. Foe and Defoe.

[2] Defoe was certainly a Dissenter, although it is inferred by Mr. Wilson, his biographer, that his grandfather, Daniel Foe of Elton, in Northamptonshire, was a Churchman, because, as we learn from his grandson, he kept a pack of hounds.

he probably enjoyed from 1675 to 1680, as a master who taught nothing either in politics or science which was dangerous to monarchical government, or which was improper for a diligent scholar to know. Being in 1705 accused by Tutchin of illiterature, Defoe archly acknowledged, 'I owe this justice to my ancient father, who is yet living, and in whose behalf I freely testify, that if I am a blockhead, it was nobody's fault but my own; he having spared nothing that might qualify me to match the accurate Dr. B—— or the learned Tutchin.'[1]

Defoe was born a writer, as other men are born generals and statesmen; and when he was not twenty-one, he published, in 1683, a pamphlet against a very prevailing sentiment in favour of the Turks, as opposed to the Austrians;[2] very justly thinking, as he avows in his riper age, that it was better the Popish house of Austria should ruin the Protestants in Hungary, than the infidel house of Ottoman should ruin both Protestants and Papists by overrunning Germany. Defoe was a man who would fight as well as write for his principles; and before he was five-and-twenty he appeared in arms for the Duke of Monmouth, in June 1685. Of this exploit he boasts in his latter years, when it was no longer dangerous to avow his participation in that imprudent enterprise, with greater men of similar principles.

Having escaped from the dangers of battle and from the fangs of Jeffries, Defoe found complete security in the more gainful pursuits of peace. Yet he was prompted by his zeal to mingle in the controversies of the reign of James II., whom he efficaciously opposed by warning the Dissenters of the secret danger of the insidious tolerance which was offered by the monarch's bigotry, or by the minister's artifice. When our author collected his writings, he did not think proper to republish either his tract against the Turks or his pamphlet against the king.

Defoe was admitted a liveryman of London on the 26th of January 1687-8; when, being allowed his freedom by birth, he was received a member of that eminent corporation. As he had endeavoured to promote the Revolution by his pen and his sword, he had the satisfaction of partaking, ere long, in the pleasures and advantages of that great event. During the hilarity of that moment, the Lord Mayor of London asked King William to partake of the city feast on the 29th of October 1689.[3] Every honour was paid the sovereign of the people's choice. A regiment of volunteers, composed of the chief citizens, and commanded by the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, attended the king and queen from Whitehall to the Mansion House. Among these troopers, gallantly mounted and richly accoutred, was Daniel Defoe, if we may believe Oldmixon.

While our author thus displayed his zeal and courted notice, he is said to have acted as a hosier in Freeman's Yard, Cornhill;[4] but the hosier and the poet are very irreconcilable characters. With the usual imprudence of superior genius, he was carried by his vivacity

[1] 'As to my little learning, and his great capacity, I freely challenge him to translate with me any Latin, French, and Italian author, and after that, to translate them crosswise, for £20 each book; and by this he shall have an opportunity to show the world how much De Foe, the hosier, is inferior in learning to Mr. Tutchin, the gentleman.'—*Review*, vol. ii. p. 149. Mr. Morton did what appears to have been rare in those days, viz. read all his prelections in English. 'And,' Defoe tells us, 'though the scholars from that place were not destitute in the languages, yet, it is observed of them, they were by this made masters of the English tongue, and more of them excelled in that particular than of any school at that time.' Whether it was owing to Mr. Morton's influence or not, certainly Daniel himself was one of the greatest masters of telling idiomatic English, either in his own or any other time. Defoe tells us in one of his *Reviews* that it was his 'disaster first to be set apart for, and then to be set apart from, the honour' of the sacred ministry. For the purpose of being educated for the Church, Defoe remained five years at Mr. Morton's seminary, and, according to his own account, his accomplishments must have been very extensive. In one of his *Reviews* he says that he was master of five languages, and had studied mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, geography, and history. Politics he knew as a science, was thoroughly acquainted with the principles and practice of the English constitution, underwent a complete course of theology, in which he afterwards showed himself to be thoroughly proficient, and was well read in ecclesiastical history. Defoe, however, did not see it to be his duty to carry out the wishes of his parents, and adopt the ministry as a profession. He sought and found a larger audience than a Dissenting congregation on whom to lavish the products of his well-cultured genius.—After leaving college, Defoe probably set himself to learn the business of a hosier.

[2] The only foundation for this statement is a passage which occurs in Defoe's *Appeal to Honour and Justice*, in which he says: 'The first time I had the misfortune to differ from my friends was about the year 1683, when the Turks were besieging Vienna, and the Whigs in England, generally speaking, were for the Turks taking it. . . . And though then but a young man, and a younger author, I opposed it and wrote against it, which was taken very unkindly indeed.' If Defoe wrote such a pamphlet, he did not republish it in his *Collected Works* (1703–5), and no biographer appears ever to have seen it.

[3] When the Revolution took place, and probably for some time after, Defoe resided at Tooting, in Surrey, where he formed the Dissenters of the neighbourhood into a regular congregation.

[4] Defoe afterwards, in one of his *Reviews*, denied that he ever was a hosier or an apprentice, but admits that he had been a trader. Oldmixon, who never speaks favourably of Defoe, allows that he had never been a merchant, otherwise than peddling a little to Portugal. But peddling to Portugal makes a trader. In connection with his Portuguese trade, Defoe appears to have visited, and stayed some time in, Spain and Portugal, learning the language. He probably also visited France, Germany, and other parts of the Continent.

into companies who were gratified by his wit. He spent those hours with a small society for the cultivation of polite learning which he ought to have employed in the calculations of the counting-house; and being obliged to abscond from his creditors in 1692,[1] he naturally attributed those misfortunes to the war, which were probably owing to his own misconduct. An angry creditor took out a commission of bankruptcy, which was soon superseded on the petition of those to whom he was most indebted, who accepted a composition on his single bond. This he punctually paid by the efforts of unwearied diligence. But some of those creditors who had been thus satisfied, falling afterwards into distress themselves, Defoe voluntarily paid them their whole claims, being then in rising circumstances from King William's favour. This is such an example of honesty as it would be unjust to Defoe and to the world to conceal. Being reproached in 1705 by Lord Haversham with mercenariness, our author feelingly mentions 'how, with a numerous family, and no helps but his own industry, he had forced his way with undiscouraged diligence through a sea of misfortunes, and reduced his debts, exclusive of composition, from seventeen thousand to less than five thousand pounds.'[2] He continued to carry on the pantile works near Tilbury Fort, though probably with no great success.[3] It was afterwards sarcastically said that he did not, like the Egyptians, require bricks without straw, but, like the Jews, required bricks without paying his labourers. He was born for other enterprises, which, if they did not gain him opulence, have conferred a renown that will descend the stream of time with the language wherein his works are written.

While he was yet under thirty, and had mortified no great man by his satire, or offended any party by his pamphlets, he had acquired friends by his powers of pleasing, who did not, with the usual instability of friendships, desert him amidst his distresses. They offered to settle him as a factor at Cadiz, where, as a trader, he had some previous correspondence. In this situation he might have procured business by his care, and accumulated wealth without a risk; but, as he assures us in his old age, *Providence, which had other work for him to do, placed a secret aversion in his mind to quitting England.* He had confidence enough in his own talents to think that on this field he could gather laurels, or at least gain a livelihood.

In a projecting age, as our author denominates King William's reign, he was himself a projector. While he was yet young, Defoe was prompted by a vigorous mind to think of many schemes, and to offer, what was most pleasing to the ruling powers, ways and means for carrying on the war. He wrote, as he says, many sheets about the coin; he proposed a register for seamen, long before the Act of Parliament was thought of; he projected county banks, and factories for goods; he mentioned a proposal for a commission of inquiries into bankrupts' estates; he contrived a pension office for the relief of the poor. At length, in January 1696-7, he published his *Essay upon Projects*,[4] which he dedicated to Dalby Thomas, not as a commissioner of glass duties, under whom he then served, or as a friend to whom he acknowledges obligations, but as to the most proper judge on the subject. It is

[1] It was probably at this time he resided at Bristol.

[2] In a printed pamphlet, entitled *A Dialogue between a Dissenter and the Observator*, published in 1702, there is a recorded testimony to his honesty by one who was not his friend. 'I must do one piece of justice to the man,' observes the writer, 'though I love him no better than you do: it is this, that meeting a gentleman in a coffee-house, when I and everybody else were railing at him, the gentleman took us up with this short speech. "Gentlemen," said he, "I know this Defoe as well as any of you, for I was one of his creditors, compounded with him, and discharged him fully. Several years afterwards he sent for me, and though he was clearly discharged, he paid me all the remainder of his debt voluntarily, and of his own accord; and he told me that, as far as God should enable him, he intended to do so with everybody. When he had done, he desired me to set my hand to a paper to acknowledge it, which I readily did, and found a great many names to the paper before me; and I think myself bound to own it, though I am no friend to the book he wrote no more than you."' The work here alluded to was his *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*.

[3] The following remarks on this speculation are from Mr. Wilson's *Life of Defoe*, vol. i. p. 228:—'The failure of this speculation seems to have been owing rather to the want of encouragement upon the part of the public, than to any imprudence in the projector. Pantiles had been hitherto a Dutch manufacture, and were brought in large quantities to England. To supersede the necessity of their importation, and to provide a new channel for the employment of labour, the works at Tilbury were laudably erected; and Defoe tells us that he employed a hundred poor labourers in the undertaking. The capital embarked in the concern must also have been considerable, for he informs us that his own loss by its failure was no less a sum than three thousand pounds. But, besides so serious a misfortune to himself, it was no less so to the public, not only by the failure of an ingenious manufacture, but for the sake of the numerous families supported by it, who were now turned adrift in the world, or thrown upon some other branch of trade. Defoe continued the pantile works, it is believed, until the year 1703, when he was prosecuted by the Government for a libel; and, being deprived of his liberty, the undertaking soon came to an end.' During this time Defoe resided at Tilbury, and was probably in comparatively affluent circumstances.

[4] Benjamin Franklin found a copy of this work in his father's library, and says that from it he probably received some impressions that influenced the principal events of his life.

always curious to trace a thought, in order to see where it first originated, or how it was afterwards expanded. Among other projects, which show a wide range of knowledge, he suggests to King William the imitation of Louis XIV., in the establishment of a society 'for encouraging polite learning, for refining the English language, and for preventing barbarisms of manners.' Prior offered in 1700 the same project to King William, in his *Carmen Seculare;* Swift mentioned in 1710 to Lord Oxford a proposal for improving the English tongue; and Tickell flatters himself in his *Prospect of Peace*, that 'our daring language shall sport no more in arbitrary sound.' However his projects were taken, certain it is, that when Defoe ceased to be a trader, he was, by the interposition of Dalby Thomas probably, appointed in 1695 accountant to the commissioners for managing the duties on glass; who, with our author, ceased to act on the 1st of August 1699, when the tax was suppressed by Act of Parliament.

From projects of ways and means, Defoe's ardour soon carried him into the thorny paths of satiric poetry; and his muse produced, in January 1700–1, *The True-born Englishman.*[1] Of the origin of this satire, which was the cause of much good fortune, but of some disasters, he gives himself the following account: 'During this time came out an abhorred pamphlet, in very ill verse, written by one Mr. Tutchin, and called *The Foreigners;* in which the author—who he was I then knew not—fell personally upon the king, then upon the Dutch nation, and, after having reproached his Majesty with crimes that his worst enemies could not think of without horror, he sums up all in the odious name of FOREIGNER. This filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to a trifle which I never could hope should have met with so general an acceptation.' The sale was prodigious, and probably unexampled, as Sacheverell's *Trial* had not then appeared. *The True-born Englishman* was answered, paragraph by paragraph, in February 1700–1, by a writer who brings haste to apologize for dulness. For this defence of King William and the Dutch, which was doubtless circulated by detraction and by power, Defoe was amply rewarded. 'How this poem was the occasion,' says he, 'of my being known to his Majesty, how I was afterwards received by him, how employed abroad, and how, above my capacity of deserving, rewarded, is no part of the present case.'[2] Of the particulars, which the author thus declined to tell, nothing can now be told. It is only certain that he was admitted to personal interviews with the king, who was no reader of poetry; and that for the royal favours Defoe was always grateful.

When the pen-and-ink war was raised against a standing army, subsequent to the peace of Ryswick, our author published *An Argument, showing that a Standing Army, with Consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a Free Government.*[3] 'Liberty and property,' says he, 'are the glorious attributes of the English nation; and the dearer they are to us, the less danger we are in of losing them; but I could never yet see it proved that the danger of losing them by a small army was such, as we should expose ourselves to all the world for it. It is not the King of England alone, but the sword of England in the hand of the king, that gives laws of peace and war now to Europe; and those who would thus wrest the sword out of his hand in time of peace, bid the fairest of all men in the world to renew the war.' He who is desirous of reading this treatise on an interesting topic, will meet with strength of argument, conveyed in elegant language.

When the nation flamed with faction, the grand jury of Kent presented to the Commons,

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[1] Previous to this, Defoe had published several other pamphlets on questions of the day, among which were, *The Two Great Questions Considered:* 1. *What the French King will do with respect to the Spanish Monarchy?* 2. *What Measures the English ought to take* (1700); and in the same year a satirical poem, entitled *The Pacificator*, in which he describes an imaginary war among all the eminent living authors, pitting 'The Men of Sense against the Men of Wit.' It is characterized by considerable vigour and point, some passages reminding us of Byron's *English Bards, etc.* Defoe wrote upwards of 250 distinct productions, and of course it cannot be expected that within the compass of a short biography like the present many of them will be noticed. We can notice only the most important, or those which are the production of the *littérateur* as distinguished from the pamphleteer and publician. We may mention here that in 1698 Defoe appeared as a reformer of the social vices and abuses of his time, which were many and glaring, in a pamphlet entitled *The Poor Man's Plea in relation to all the Proclamations, Acts of Parliament, etc., which have been or shall be made or published, for a Reformation of Manners, and suppressing Immorality in the Nation.*

[2] Defoe continues thus: 'And is only mentioned here, as I take all occasions to do, for expressing the honour I ever preserved for the immortal and glorious memory of that greatest and best of princes, and whom it was my honour and advantage to call master as well as sovereign, whose goodness to me I never forget, and whose memory I never patiently heard abused, and never can do so; and who, had he lived, would never have suffered me to be treated as I have been in this world.'—*Appeal to Honour and Justice.*

[3] This pamphlet was published in 1698.

on the 8th of May 1701, a petition, which desired them 'to mind the public business more, and their private heats less;' and which contained a sentiment, that there was a design, as Burnet tells, other counties and the city of London should equally adopt. Messrs. Culpeppers, Polhill, Hamilton, and Champneys, who avowed this intrepid paper, were committed to the Gatehouse, amid the applauses of their countrymen. It was on this occasion that Defoe's genius dictated a *Remonstrance*, which was signed Legion, and which has been recorded in history for its bold truths and seditious petulance. Defoe's zeal induced him to assume a woman's dress,[1] while he delivered this factious paper to Harley, the Speaker, as he entered the House of Commons. It was then also that our author, who was transported by an equal attachment to the country and the court, published *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England Examined and Asserted.* This timeful treatise he dedicated to King William, in a dignified strain of nervous eloquence. 'It is not the least of the extraordinaries of your Majesty's character,' says he, 'that, as you are king of your people, so you are the people's king; a title, which, as it is the most glorious, so it is the most indisputable.' To the Lords and Commons he addresses himself in a similar tone: 'The vindication of the original right of all men to the government of themselves,' he tells them, 'is so far from being a derogation from, that it is a confirmation of their legal authority.' Every lover of liberty must be pleased with the perusal of a treatise which vies with Mr. Locke's famous tract in powers of reasoning, and is superior to it in the graces of style.

At a time when 'union and charity, the one relating to our civil, and the other to our religious concerns, were strangers in the land,' Defoe published *The Freeholder's Plea against Stockjobbing Elections of Parliament Men.*[2] 'It is very rational to suppose,' says our author, 'that they who will buy will sell; or, what seems more rational, they who have bought must sell.' This is certainly a persuasive performance, though we may suppose that many voters were influenced then by arguments still more persuasive. And he concludes with a sentiment, which has not been too often repeated, that nothing can make us formidable to our neighbours, and maintain the reputation of our nation, but union among ourselves.

How much soever King William may have been pleased with *The True-born Englishman*, or with other services, he was little gratified probably by our author's *Reasons against a War with France* (1701). This argument, showing that the French king's owning the Prince of Wales as King of England is no sufficient ground of a war, is one of the finest, because it is one of the most useful, tracts in the English language. After remarking the universal cry of the people for war, our author declares he is not against war with France, provided it be on justifiable grounds; but he hopes England will never be so inconsiderable a nation as to make use of dishonest pretences to bring to pass any of her designs; and he wishes that he who desires we should end the war honourably, ought to desire also that we begin it fairly. 'But if we must have a war,' our author hoped 'it might be wholly on the defensive, in Flanders, in order to carry on hostilities in remote places, where the damage may be greater, by wounding the Spaniard in some weaker part; so as upon a peace he shall be glad to quit Flanders for an equivalent.' Who at present does not wish that Defoe's argument had been more studiously read, and more efficaciously admitted?

A scene of sorrow soon after opened, which probably embittered our author's future life. The death of King William (March 1702) deprived him of a protector, who, he says, trusted, esteemed, and much more valued him than he deserved; and who, as he flattered himself amidst his later distresses, would never have suffered him to be treated as he had been in the world. Of that monarch's memory, he says that he never patiently heard it abused, nor

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[1] Mr. Wilson thinks this unlikely, and quotes from *The History of the Kentish Petition*, the author of which thus writes: ''Twas said it was delivered the Speaker by a woman; but I have been informed since that it was a mistake, and 'twas delivered by the very person who wrote it, guarded by about sixteen gentlemen of quality, who, if any notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by force.'

[2] This pamphlet was published before the two last mentioned, and was preceded by one entitled *Six Distinguishing Characteristics of a Parliament Man*, which were—1. That he must be a partisan of the Revolution. 2. A religious man. 3. A man of general knowledge, and acquainted with the true interests of his country. 4. A man of years. 5. Of thorough honesty. 6. Of morals. The one last mentioned in the text was followed by one having the plain-speaking title of *The Villany of Stockbrokers Detected.* These were all published in 1701.

ever could do so; and in this gratitude to a royal benefactor there is surely much to praise, but nothing to blame.[1]

In the midst of that furious contest of party, civil and religious, which ensued on the accession of Queen Anne, our author was no unconcerned spectator. He reprinted his *Inquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters*, which had been published in 1697, with a dedication to Sir Humphrey Edwin, a Lord Mayor, who, having carried the regalia to a conventicle, gave rise to some wit in *The Tale of a Tub*, and occasioned some clauses in an Act of Parliament. Defoe now dedicated his *Inquiry* to John How, a Dissenting minister, of whom Anthony Wood speaks well. Mr. How did not much care, says Calamy, to enter upon an argument of that nature with one of so warm a temper as the author of that *Inquiry*, and contented himself with publishing some *Considerations on the Preface of an Inquiry concerning the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters*. Defoe's pertinacity soon produced a reply. He outlaughs and outtalks Mr. How, who had provoked his antagonist's wrath by personal sarcasms, and who now thought it hard that the old should be shoved off the stage by the young. Defoe reprobates, with the unforbearance of the times, 'this fast and loose game of religion;' for which he had never met with any considerable excuse but this, 'that this is no conformity in point of religion, but done as a civil action.' He soon after published another *Inquiry*, in order to show that the Dissenters are noways concerned in occasional conformity. The controversy, which in those days occasioned such vehement contests between the two Houses of Parliament, is probably silenced for ever.

'During the first fury of high-flying,' says he, 'I fell a sacrifice for writing against the madness of that high party, and in the service of the Dissenters.' He alludes here to *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, which he published towards the end of the year 1702; and which is a piece of exquisite irony, though there are certainly passages in it that might have shown considerate men how much the author had been in jest. He complains how hard it was, that this should not have been perceived by all the town, and that not one man can see it, either Churchman or Dissenter. This is one of the strongest proofs how much the minds of men were inflamed against each other, and how little the virtues of mutual forbearance and personal kindness existed amid the clamour of contradiction which then shook the kingdom, and gave rise to some of the most remarkable events in our annals. The Commons showed their zeal, however they may have studied their dignity, by prosecuting several libellists.[2]

During the previous twenty years of his life, Defoe had busied himself unconsciously in charging a mine, which now blew himself and his family into air. He had fought for Monmouth; he had opposed King James; he had vindicated the Revolution; he had

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[1] Defoe never alludes to King William but in language of deep gratitude and intense attachment. Scarcely had the king breathed his last, when his enemies vented their hatred in the most indecent manner, by malignant speeches, toasts, and lampoons. This roused Defoe's indignation, and urged him again to dip his pen in bitter ink and produce *The Mock Mourners: A Satire, by way of Elegy on King William* (1702). In a few weeks it passed through five large editions.

During the latter end of William's reign, Defoe took up his residence at Hackney, where he resided for several years. Here some of his children were born and buried. He had, it appears probable, some years before married the daughter of his pastor in London, the Rev. Dr. Annesley, another daughter of whom was the mother of John and Charles Wesley.

[2] Defoe, in his *Present State of Parties*, thus describes the effect produced by the book:—'The soberer Churchmen, whose principles were founded on charity, and who had their eye upon the laws and constitution of their country, as that to which their own liberties were annexed, though they still believed the book to be written by a High Churchman, yet openly exclaimed against the proposal, condemned the warmth that appeared in the clergy against their brethren, and openly professed that such a man as Sacheverell and his brethren would blow up the foundations of the Church. But either side had scarce time to discover their sentiments, when the book appeared to have been written by a Dissenter; that it was designed in derision of the standard held up by Sacheverell and others; that it was a satire upon the fury of the Churchmen, and a plot to make the rest discover themselves. Nothing was more strange than to see the effect upon the whole nation which this little book, a contemptible pamphlet of but three sheets of paper, had, and in so short a time too. The most forward, hot and furious, as well among the clergy as others, blushed when they reflected how far they had applauded the book; raged that such an abuse should be put upon the Church; and as they were obliged to damn the book, so they were strangely hampered between the doing so, and pursuing their rage at the Dissenters. The greater part, the better to qualify themselves to condemn the author, came earnestly in to condemn the principle; for it was impossible to do one without the other. They laboured incessantly, both in print and in pulpit, to prove that this was a horrible slander upon the Church. But this still answered the author's end the more; for they could never clear the Church of the slander, without openly condemning the practice; nor could they possibly condemn the practice, without censuring those clergymen who had gone such a length already as to say the same thing in print. Nor could all their rage at the author of that book contribute anything to clear them, but still made the better side the worse. It was plain they had owned the doctrine, had preached up the necessity of expelling and rooting out the Dissenters in their sermons and printed pamphlets; that it was evident they had applauded the book itself, till they knew the author; and there was no other way to prevent the odium falling on the whole body of the Church of England, but by giving up the authors of these mad principles, and openly professing moderate principles themselves.

panegyrized King William; he had defended the rights of the collective body of the people; he had displeased the treasurer and the general, by objecting to the Flanders war; he had bantered Sir Edward Seymour and Sir Christopher Musgrave, the Tory leaders of the Commons; he had just ridiculed all the high-fliers in the kingdom; and he was at length obliged to seek for shelter from the indignation of persons and parties, thus overpowering and resistless.

A proclamation was issued in January 1702–3, offering a reward of fifty pounds for discovering his retreat. Defoe was described by the Gazette 'as a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown hair, though he wears a wig, having a hook nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth.'

He soon published *An Explanation*, though he 'wonders to find there should be any occasion for it.' 'But since ignorance,' says he, 'has led most men to a censure of the book, and some people are like to come under the displeasure of the Government for it,—in justice to those who are in danger to suffer by it, in submission to the Parliament and Council, who may be offended at it, and courtesy to all mistaken people who it seems have not penetrated into the real design, the author presents the world with the genuine meaning of the paper, which he hopes may allay the anger of Government, or at least satisfy the minds of such as imagine a design to inflame and divide us.' Neither his submissiveness to the ruling powers, nor his generosity to his printers, was a sufficient shield from the resentment of his enemies. He was found guilty of a libel, sentenced to the pillory, and adjudged to be fined and imprisoned. Thus, as he acknowledges, was he a second time ruined; and by this affair, as he asserts, he lost above £3500 sterling, which consisted probably in his brick-works, and in the more abundant product of his pen.[1]

When by these means immured in Newgate, our author consoled himself with the animating reflection, that, having meant well, he unjustly suffered. He had a mind too active to be idle in the solitude of a prison, which is seldom invaded by visitors. And he wrote a hymn to the pillory—that

> 'Hieroglyphic state machine,
> Contrived to punish fancy in.'

In this ode the reader will find satire, pointed by his sufferings; generous sentiments, arising from his situation; and an unexpected flow of easy verse.[2] For example:

> 'The first intent of laws
> Was to correct the effect, and check the cause;
> And all the ends of punishment
> Were only future mischiefs to prevent:
> But justice is inverted, when
> Those engines of the law,
> Instead of pinching vicious men,
> Keep honest ones in awe.'

He employed this involuntary leisure in correcting for the press a collection of his writings, which, with several things he had no hand in, had been already published by a piratical printer. He thought it a most unaccountable boldness in him to print that particular book called *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, while he lay under the public

[1] 'There are some virtues, the strength of which can only be proved by adversity. Before his prosecution, Defoe's circumstances were sufficiently flourishing to enable him to maintain his coach, and the other appurtenances of a respectable establishment. In consequence of his long imprisonment, he could no longer attend to his pantile works, which produced the chief source of his revenue; and in the absence of the principal, they were obliged to be given up. By this affair he lost, as he himself tells us, upwards of three thousand five hundred pounds, and was again reduced to ruin. He had now a wife and six children dependent upon him, with no other resource for their support than the product of his pen. In this trying situation, the virtue of Defoe was put to a severe test. Had he chosen to desert his principles, and to enlist himself in the service of the Government, he might have escaped with a slight punishment, and probably have enriched his family. Whilst his enemies, secretly mortified at the justice and severity of his sarcasm, were treating him with so much rigour, they had the highest opinion of his talents, of which they would have gladly availed themselves. We are told by Oldmixon, that the Earl of Nottingham sent, if he did not go to him in Newgate, and offered him the mercy of the Government, if he would discover who set him on to write his *Shortest Way*. But this was needless; for all who were acquainted with Defoe, as the same writer observes, "know he needed no setting on to put such a trick on a party, of whose understandings, as well as principles, he had no good opinion."'—WILSON's *Life of Defoe*, vol. ii. p. 75.

[2] See the prefatory remarks to this poem.

resentment for the same fact. In this collection of 1703, there are one-and-twenty treatises in poetry and prose, beginning with *The True-born Englishman*, and ending with *The Shortest Way to Peace and Union*. To this volume there was prefixed the first print of Defoe; to which was afterwards added the apt inscription, *Laudatur et alget*.

In the solitariness of a gaol, the energy of Defoe projected the *Review*.[1] This is a periodical paper in 4to, which was first published on the 19th of February 1703–4, and which was intended to treat of news, foreign and domestic; of politics, British and European; of trade, particular and universal. But our author foresaw, from the natural aversion of the age to any tedious affair, that, however profitable, the world would never read, if it were not diverting. With this design, both instructive and amusing, he skilfully institutes a Scandal Club, which discusses questions in divinity, morals, war, trade, language, poetry, love, marriage, drunkenness, and gaming. Thus, it is easy to see that the *Review* pointed the way to the Tatlers, Spectators, and Guardians, which may be allowed, however, to have treated those interesting topics with more delicacy of humour, more terseness of style, and greater depth of learning; yet has Defoe many passages, both of prose and poetry, which, for refinement of wit, neatness of expression, and efficacy of moral, would do honour to Steele or to Addison. Of all this was Johnson unconscious, when he speaks of the Tatlers and Spectators as the first English writers who had undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect or the impertinence of civility; to show when to speak or to be silent; how to refuse or how to comply.[2]

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[1] Previous to this, in 1703, he published a number of controversial pamphlets on political and religious questions, among which were, *More Short Ways with Dissenters*—chiefly intended to vindicate the system of education then pursued among the Dissenters; *A Challenge of Peace, addressed to the whole Nation, with an Inquiry into the ways and means of bringing it to pass*. Defoe also wrote pamphlets to maintain the claims of the Scotch Episcopalians and the Irish Dissenters. During the paper war which was at this time being carried on between the various parties, the High Church party complained bitterly of what they called the licentiousness of the press. 'Although,' says Mr. Wilson, 'upon a comparison of their writings, they had the manifest advantage in the licence they allowed themselves in speaking of their opponents, yet men of their high and arbitrary principles, who had been used to the chair of authority, could not brook opposition, especially when conveyed in the form of satire, or directed against opinions that had long been deemed sacred.' They therefore petitioned the Upper House to take the matter into their serious consideration, requesting them to use their interest in Parliament for a bill to repress the licentiousness of the press. Defoe, one of the most outspoken writers of his own or any time, could not let such an opportunity pass of enforcing the maxim that 'truth has nothing to fear from free inquiry,' and of showing the danger and injustice of putting any check on the free expression of public opinion: accordingly he published, in 1704, his *Essay on the Regulation of the Press*.

[2] The following remarks on this wonderful production, which Defoe carried on single-handed for upwards of eight years, but which at the present day it would be thought folly to undertake without a considerable staff of contributors, are from Mr. Wilson's valuable biography. While this periodical was going on, Defoe's pen was as prolific as ever in the production of pamphlets and other works, including his *History of the Union*, in the negotiations for the accomplishment of which he took a prominent official part, costing him much time, trouble, and anxiety. The only complete copy of this work known to exist at the present day, is in the possession of James Crossley, Esq.:—'That it did not outlive its day, may be ascribed to the great proportion of temporary matter with which it abounded. There are to be found in its pages, however, many instructive pieces, of a moral and political nature, besides others devoted to amusement; and also some useful historical documents. It deserves to be remarked, that Defoe was the sole writer of the nine quarto volumes that compose the work; a prodigious undertaking for one man, especially when we consider his other numerous engagements of a literary nature. To cultivate a taste for polite learning and solid attainments,—to diffuse information, and arouse a spirit of inquiry upon political, commercial, and other subjects,—to stimulate the improvement of females, as well by a more refined behaviour in the other sex, as by an increased attention to their education,—and, above all, to give a more decided tone to the moral and religious character of his readers, were the leading objects of Defoe in the composition of the *Review*. In the prosecution of his purpose, he often brings sound learning and chastened wit to the aid of acute reasoning; and unites an accurate judgment to the effusions of a mind stored by various and extensive reading. His style is vigorous, shrewd, and often eloquent; and he has some passages that, for pathos, dignity, and well-pointed satire, are not exceeded in the writings of his successors. For keenness of satire, tempered with liberality of feeling, and decorum of expression, his work had probably no equal.

'One of the leading objects of the *Review*, after the discussion of politics, was to correct the vices of the times. Throughout the work, the writer carries on an unsparing warfare against folly and vice, in all their forms and disguises. In forcible terms he inveighs against the fashionable practice of immoderate drinking, the idle propensity to swearing, the little regard that was paid to the marriage vow, and the loose conversation and habits of men in general. In well-pointed satire, he chastises the licentiousness of the stage; and condemns, in strong language, the barbarous practice of duelling. He has also some just remarks upon the rage for gambling speculations, which, in this reign, had risen to a great height. Upon all these subjects, he brings forth his capacious stores of wit and humour to the assistance of grave reasoning, adducing examples occasionally of the flagitious courses he condemns; but with sufficient delicacy to show that his aim was the reformation, rather than the exposure, of the offender.

'A later biographer of Defoe has the following remarks in connection with the subject. "That Daniel Defoe wanted many of those qualities, both of mind and manner, which fitted Steele and Addison to be the inimitable *arbitri elegantiarum* of English society, there can be no doubt; yet it is in vain to conceal that they profited very much by the inventive genius which preceded them in their favourite path, or to deny that there exist in the *Reviews* of Defoe many, very many, passages, which for wit, humour, originality of conception, justness of observation, keenness of satire, and for power, variety, nay, even elegance of style, are scarcely inferior to the best specimens of their compositions. The political articles of the *Review*, however, were doubtless as much superior to the others in interest then, as they are inferior now."

'The first number of the *Review* was published Saturday, February 19, 1704, under the title of "A Weekly Review of the Affairs of France. Purged from the Errors and Partiality of News-writers and Petty Statesmen, of all sides." It was at first a weekly publication, and continued so through eight numbers; after which,

In the midst of these labours our author published, in July 1704, *The Storm; or, A Collection of the Most Remarkable Casualties which happened in the Tempest on the 23d of November* 1702. In explaining the natural causes of winds, Defoe shows more science, and in delivering the opinions of the ancients that this island was more subject to storms than other parts of the world he displayed more literature, than he has been generally supposed to possess. Our author is moreover entitled to yet higher praise. He seized that awful occasion to inculcate the fundamental truths of religion,—the being of a God, the superintendency of Providence, the certainty of heaven and hell—the one to reward, the other to punish.

While, as he tells himself, he lay friendless in the prison of Newgate,—his family ruined, and himself without hopes of deliverance,—a message was brought him from a person of honour, whom till that time he had not the least knowledge of. This was no less a person than Sir Robert Harley, the Speaker of the House of Commons. Harley approved probably of the principles and conduct of Defoe, and doubtless foresaw that, during a factious age, such a genius could be converted to many uses. And he sent a verbal message to the prisoner, desiring to know what he could do for him. Our author readily wrote the story of the blind man in the gospel—concluding, *Lord, that I may receive my sight.*

When the high-fliers were driven from the station which enabled them to inflame rather than conciliate, Harley became Secretary of State, in April 1704. He had now frequent opportunities of representing the unmerited sufferings of Defoe to the queen and to the treasurer; yet our author continued four months longer in gaol. The queen, however, inquired into his circumstances; and Lord Godolphin sent, as he thankfully acknowledges, a considerable sum to his wife, and to him money to pay his fine and the expense of his discharge. Here is the foundation, says he, on which he built his first sense of duty to the queen, and the indelible bond of gratitude to his first benefactor. 'Let any one say, then,' he asks, 'what I could have done, less or more than I have done for such a queen and such a benefactor?' All this he manfully avowed to the world, when Queen Anne lay lifeless and cold as King William, his first patron; and when Oxford, in the vicissitude of party, had been persecuted by faction, and overpowered, though not conquered, by violence.

Such was the high interposition by which Defoe was relieved from Newgate in August 1704.[1] In order to avoid the town-talk, he retired immediately to St. Edmund's Bury; but his retreat did not prevent persecution. Dyer the newswriter propagated that Defoe had fled from justice. Fox the bookseller published that he had deserted his security. Stephen, a state messenger, everywhere said that he had a warrant for seizing him. This I suppose was wit, during the witty age of Anne. In our duller days of law, such outrages would be referred to the judgment of a jury. Defoe informed the Secretary of State where he was, and when he would appear; but he was told not to fear, as he had not transgressed. Notwithstanding this vexation, our author's muse produced, on the 29th of August 1704, *A Hymn to Victory*,[2] when the successful skill of Marlborough furnished our poets with many occasions to publish Gazettes in rhyme.

Defoe opened the year 1704–5 with his *Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough*, disclaiming any expectation of place or pension. His encomiastic strains, I fear, were not heard while he wrote like an honest Englishman against the continuance of the war; a war

It was published twice a week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The original size was a whole sheet, or eight quarto pages; but, after the fourth number, it was reduced to a half-sheet, the publishers having discovered that they were likely to become losers by the concern. "The necessities of the trade," say they, "compel us to this alteration; the publishers of this paper honestly declaring, that while they make it a whole sheet, they get nothing by it; and though the author is very free to give the world his labours for God's sake, they don't find it for their convenience to give their paper and print away." It seems to have been a joint property between the author, printer, and publisher.'—WILSON's *Life of Defoe*, vol. ii. pp. 199, 200, 201, 205, 206.

[1] Defoe was not only delivered from prison through Harley's instrumentality, but was entrusted with an honourable and important post under the new administration. In his *Appeal* he says:—'Being delivered from the distress I was in, her Majesty, who was not satisfied to do me good by a single act of her bounty, had the goodness to think of taking me into her service, and I had the honour to be employed in several honourable, though secret services, by the interposition of my first benefactor, who then appeared as a member in the public administration. I had the happiness to discharge myself in all these trusts, so much to the satisfaction of those who employed me, though oftentimes with difficulty and danger, that my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, whose memory I have always honoured, was pleased to continue his favour to me, and to do me all good offices with her Majesty, even after an unhappy breach had separated him from my first benefactor.'

[2] Previous to this he published an elegy on himself, under the title of *An Elegy on the Author of the True-born Englishman*, appended to which was a poem on the late storm.

indeed of personal glory, of national celebration, but of fruitless expense. Defoe's activity, or his needs, produced in March 1705, *The Consolidator; or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon.* It was one of Defoe's felicities to catch the 'living manners as they rose,' or one of his resources, to 'shoot folly as it flew.' In the lunar language he applies his satiric file to the prominences of every character: of the poets, from Dryden to Durfy; of the wits, from Addison to Prior; of the metaphysicians, from Malbranche to Hobbes; of the freethinkers, from Asgyl to the *Tale of a Tub.* Our author continually complains of the ill-usage of the world; but, with all his acuteness, he did not advert that he who attacks the world will be by the world attacked. He makes the lunar politicians debate the policy of Charles XII. in pursuing the Saxons and Poles, while the Muscovites ravaged his own people. I doubt whether it were on this occasion that the Swedish ambassador was so ill advised as to complain against Defoe, for merited ridicule of a futile warfare.[1] They had not then discovered that the best defence against the shafts of satire is to let them fly. Our author's sentiment was expanded by Johnson, in those energetic lines which thus conclude the character of the Swedish Charles:

> 'Who left the name, at which the world grew pale,
> To point a moral, or adorn a tale.'

Defoe was so little disturbed by the appearance of *The Moon Calf, or Accurate Reflections on the Consolidator,* that he plunged into a controversy with Sir Humphrey Mackworth about his bill for employing the poor. This had been passed by the Commons with great applause, but received by the Peers with suitable caution. Defoe, considering this plausible project as an indigested chaos, represented it, through several *Reviews,* as a plan which would ruin the industrious, and thereby augment the poor. Sir Humphrey endeavoured to support his workhouses, in every parish, with a parochial capital for carrying on parochial manufacture. This drew from Defoe his admirable treatise, which he entitled *Giving Alms no Charity.*[2] As an English freeholder he claimed it as a right to address his performance to the House of Commons, having a particular interest in the common good; but considering the persons before whom he appeared, he laid down his archness, and assumed his dignity. He maintained, with wonderful knowledge of fact and power of argument, the following positions: 1st, That there is in England more labour than hands to perform it, and consequently a want of people, not of employment; 2d, No man in England, of sound limbs and senses, can be poor merely for want of work; 3d, All workhouses for employing the poor, as now they are employed, serve to the ruin of families and the increase of the poor; 4th, It is a regulation of the poor that is wanted, not a setting them to work. Longer experience shows this to be a difficult subject, which increases in difficulty with the effluxion of time.

Defoe had scarcely dismissed Sir Humphrey, when he introduced Lord Haversham, a peer, who is famous in our story as a maker and publisher of speeches. His Lordship published his speech on the state of the nation in 1705, which was cried about the town with unusual earnestness. Our author's prudence induced him to give no answer to the speech; but a pamphlet, which was hawked about the streets and sold for a penny, our author's shrewdness considered as a challenge to every reader. He laughed and talked so much, through several *Reviews,* about this factious effusion, as to provoke a defence of topics which his Lordship ought neither to have printed nor spoken. Defoe now published a *Reply to Lord Haversham's Vindication of his Speech.*[3] During such battles the town never fails to

[1] It was not on this occasion, but for one of his *Reviews* published in 1707, in which he criticises the apparent supineness of Charles XII.

[2] Published in November 1704.

[3] In this pamphlet Defoe speaks in the following touching manner of his past misfortunes:—'If I were to run through the black list of the encouragements I have met with in the world, while I have embarked myself in the raging sea of the nation's troubles, this vindicator would be ashamed to call them encouragements. How, in pursuit of peace, I have brought myself into innumerable broils; how many, exasperated by the sting of truth, have vowed my destruction, and how many ways attempted it; how I stand alone in the world, abandoned by those very people that own I have done them service; how I am sold and betrayed by friends, abused and cheated by barbarous and unnatural relations, sued for other men's debts, and stripped naked by public injustice of what should have enabled me to pay my own; how, with a numerous family, and no helps but my own industry, I have forced my way with discouraged diligence through a sea of debt and misfortune, and reduced them, exclusive of composition, from seventeen to less than five thousand pounds; how, in gaols, in retreats, in all manner of extremities, I have supported myself without the assistance of friends

cheer the smaller combatant. Our author, with an allusion to the biography of both, says sarcastically: 'But fate, that makes footballs of men, kicks some up stairs, and some down: some are advanced without honour, others suppressed without infamy; some are raised without merit, some are crushed without a crime; and no man knows by the beginning of things, whether his course shall issue in a peerage or a pillory.'

In the midst of these disputes, either grave or ludicrous, Defoe published *Advice to all Parties*. He strenuously recommends that moderation and forbearance which his opponents often remarked he was not so prone to practise as to preach. While he thus gave advice to all parties, he conveyed many salutary lessons to the Dissenters, whom he was zealous to defend. In the *Review* dated the 25th of December 1705, he conjures them for God's sake, if not for their own sake, to be content. 'Are there a few things more you could wish were done for you? resolve these wishes into two conclusions: 1st, Wait till Providence, if it shall be for your good, shall bring them to pass; 2d, Compare the present with the past circumstances, and you cannot repine without the highest ingratitude both to God and man.'

Defoe found leisure, notwithstanding all those labours, perhaps a necessity, to publish in 1705, *A Second Volume of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Englishman.* The same reasons which formerly induced him to collect some loose pieces held good, says he, for proceeding to a second volume, 'that if I do not, somebody else will do it for me.' He laments the scandalous liberty of the press, whereby piratic printers deprive an author of the native product of his own thought and the purity of his own style. It is said, though perhaps without authority, that the vigorous remonstrances of Defoe procured the Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by vesting the copies of printed books in the authors or their assigns. The vanity of an administration which affected to patronize the learned, concurring with the mutual interest of bookmakers and booksellers, produced this salutary law, that our author alone had called for without success. Defoe's writings, thus collected into volumes, were soon a third time printed, with the addition of a key. The satire being now pointed by the specification of characters, and obscurities being illuminated by the annexation of circumstances, a numerous class of readers were induced, by their zeal of party or desire of scandal, to look for gratification from our author's treatises. He is studious to complain, 'that his writings had been most neglected of them, who at the same time have owned them useful.' The second volume of 1705, containing eighteen treatises in prose and rhyme, begins with *A New Discovery of an Old Intrigue*, and ends with *Royal Religion*.

The year 1705 was a year of disquiet to Defoe, not so much from the oppressions of state as from the persecutions of party. When his business, of whatever nature,[1] led him to Exeter and other western towns, in August, September, and October 1705, a project was formed to send him as a soldier to the army, at a time when footmen were taken from the coaches as recruits; but conscious of his being a freeholder of England, and a liveryman of London, he knew that such characters could not be violated in this nation with impunity. When some of the western justices, of more zeal of party than sense of duty, heard from his opponents of Defoe's journey, they determined to apprehend him as a vagabond; but our author, who among other qualities had personal courage in a high degree, reflected, that to face danger is most effectually to prevent it. In his absence, real suits were commenced against him for fictitious debts; but Defoe advertised that genuine claims he would fairly

or relations; how I still live without this vindicator's suggested methods, and am so far from making my fortune by this way of *scribbling*, that no man more desires a limitation and regulation of the press than myself,—especially that speeches in Parliament might not be printed without order of Parliament, and poor authors betrayed to engage with men too powerful for them, in more forcible arguments than those of reason. . . . A man ought not to be afraid at any time to be mean to be honest. Pardon me, therefore, with some warmth, to say, that neither the vindicator, nor all his informers, can, with the utmost inquiry, make it appear that I am, or ever was, *mercenary*. And as there is a justice due from all men, of what dignity or quality soever, the wrong done me in this can be vindicated by nothing but proving the fact, which I am a most humble petitioner, that he would be pleased to do, or else give me leave to speak of it in such terms as so great an injury demands. No, my lord, pardon my freedom, I contemn and abhor every thing, and every man that can be taxed with that name, let his dignity be what it will. I was ever true to one principle; I never betrayed my master nor my friend; I always espoused the cause of truth and liberty, was ever on one side, and that side was ever right. I have lived to be ruined for it; and I have lived to see it triumph over tyranny, party-rage, and persecution principles, *and am sorry to see any man abandon it.* I thank God, this world cannot bid a price sufficient to bribe me. It is the principle I ever lived by, and shall espouse whilst I live, that a man ought to die rather than betray his friend, his cause, or his master.'

[1] Mr. W. Lee, in his *Life of Defoe*, thinks it highly probable that Defoe was commissioned by his friend Harley to visit the south-western counties, in order to promote, by all honourable means, the election of such candidates as would support the ministry in the new House of Commons.

satisfy. If all these uncommon circumstances had not been published in the *Review*, we should not have seen this striking picture of savage manners. So much more free are we at present, that the editor of a newspaper, however obnoxious to any party, may travel peaceably about his affairs over England, without fear of interruption. Were a justice of peace, from whatever motive, to offer him any obstruction, such a magistrate would be overwhelmed by the public indignation, and punished by the higher guardians of our quiet and our laws.[1]

Defoe began the year 1706 with *A Hymn to Peace*—occasioned by the two Houses of Parliament joining in one address to the queen.[2] On the 4th of May he published *An Essay at removing National Prejudices against a Union with Scotland.* A few weeks after, he gave the world a second essay, to soften rancour and defeat perversity.[3] But the time was now come when he was to perform what he had often promised; and his fruitfulness produced, in July 1706, *Jure Divino*,[4] a satire against tyranny and passive obedience, which had been delayed for fear, as he declares, of parliamentary censure. Of this poem, it cannot be said, as of Thomson's *Liberty*, that it was written to prove what no man ever denied. This satire, says the preface, had never been published, though some of it has been a long time in being, had not the world seemed to be going mad a second time with the error of passive obedience and non-resistance. 'And because some men require,' says he, 'more explicit answers, I declare my belief, that a monarchy, according to the present constitution, limited by Parliament, and dependent upon law, is not only the best government in the world, but also the best for this nation in particular, most suitable to the genius of the people, and the circumstances of the whole body.' Dryden had given an example, a few years before, of argumentative poetry, in his *Hind and Panther*, by which he endeavoured to defend the tenets of the Church of Rome. Our author now reasoned in rhyme, through twelve books, in defence of every man's birthright by nature, when all sorts of liberty were run down and opposed. His purpose is doubtless honester than Dryden's; and his argument being in support of the better cause, is perhaps superior in strength: but in the *Jure Divino* we look in vain for

> 'The varying verse, the full resounding line,
> The long majestic march, and energy divine.'

Our author was soon after engaged in more important, because much more useful, business. Lord Godolphin, who knew how to discriminate characters, determined to employ him on an errand, 'which,' as he says, 'was far from being unfit for a sovereign to direct, or an honest man to perform.' By his Lordship he was carried to the queen, who said to him, while he kissed her hand, 'that she had such satisfaction in his former services, that she had again appointed him for another affair, which was something nice, but the treasurer would tell him the rest.' In three days he was sent to Scotland. His knowledge of commerce and revenue, his powers of insinuation, and, above all, his readiness of pen, were deemed of no small utility in promoting the Union. He arrived at Edinburgh in October 1706. And we shall find him no inconsiderable actor in the performance of that greatest of all good works. He attended the committees of Parliament, for whose use he made several of the calculations on the subject of trade and taxes. He complains, however, that when afterwards some clamour was raised upon the inequality of the proportions, and the contrivers began to be blamed, and a little threatened *à la mob*, then it was D. F. made it all, and he was to be stoned for it. He endeavoured to confute all that was published by Webster and Hodges and the other writers in Scotland against the Union; and he had his share of

[1] In the year 1705, besides the works mentioned in the text, he published *The Dyet of Poland: A Satyr;* in which he satirizes the Tories, and lavishes praises on the Whig statesmen, under Polish names. He likewise took up the case of the Carolina Dissenters, who had suffered much persecution, and published in their behalf a pamphlet entitled *Party Tyranny.* It was in this year also that he published his *Apparition of Mrs. Veal* and the second volume of the *Review.*

[2] In the early part of this year Defoe made good use of his powerful and now popular pen in behalf of a bill for amending the law relating to bankrupts, the hardships to which they were liable to be subjected being well known to Defoe himself, from sad experience. Among other things which he published in the early part of this year, was a poem on the Duke of Marlborough's great victory, entitled *On the Fight of Ramillies.*

[3] The greater part of the work, the author tells us, was composed in prison. 'As a political argument,' says Wilson, 'it is triumphant, but would have told better in prose than in verse.' Although, as a whole, the poem is unreadably prosaic, still it is allowed to abound with energetic thoughts, forcible touches, and happy illustrations.

[4] During this year, and in January 1707, while in Scotland, he published four other essays towards the same end, and addressed specially to the Scotch.

danger, since, as he says, he was watched by the mob—had his chamber windows insulted; but, by the prudence of his friends, and God's providence, he escaped. In the midst of this great scene of business and tumult, he collected the documents which he afterwards published for the instruction of posterity, with regard to one of the most difficult, and, at the same time, the most fortunate transactions in our annals.

During all those labours and risks, Defoe published, in December 1706, *Caledonia, a Poem, in honour of Scotland and the Scots Nation.*[1] This poetic essay, which was intended to rescue Scotland from slander in opinion, Caledonia herself bade him dedicate to the Duke of Queensberry. Besides other benefactions, the commissioner gave the author, whom he calls Daniel Defoe, Esq., an exclusive privilege to sell his encomiastic strains for seven years within the country of his celebration. Amidst our author's busy occupations at Edinburgh, he was anxious to assure the world, that wherever the writer may be, the *Reviews* are written with his own hand—no person having, or ever had, any concern in writing them but the known author, D. F. On the 16th of January, the Act of Union was passed by the Scots Parliament; and Defoe returned to London in February 1706–7. While he thus acted importantly at Edinburgh, he formed connections with considerable persons, who were proud of his future correspondence, and profited from his political interests.[2]

How our author was rewarded by the ministers who derived a benefit from those services, and from that danger, as he does not tell, cannot now be known. Before his departure for Scotland indeed, Lord Godolphin, as he acknowledges, obtained for him the continuance of an appointment which her Majesty, by the interposition of his first benefactor, had been pleased to make him, in consideration of a former service, in a foreign country, wherein he ran as much risk as a grenadier on the counterscarp. As he was too prudent to disclose his secret services, they must at present remain undiscovered. Yet is there reason to think that he had a pension rather than an office, since his name is not in the red book of the queen; and he solemnly avers, in his *Appeal*, that he had not interest enough with Lord Oxford to procure him the arrears due to him in the time of the former ministry. This appointment, whatever it were, he is studious to tell, he originally owed to Harley; he, however, thankfully acknowledges that Lord Godolphin continued his favour to him after the unhappy breach that separated his first benefactor from the minister, who continued in power till August 1710.[3]

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[1] "In this poem," says one of his biographers, "Defoe celebrates the courage of the Scots, and enumerates some of their military exploits. He endeavours to prove that the situation of Scotland rendered it well adapted for trade; he speaks honourably of the abilities of the inhabitants; he commends them for their learning, and their attention to religion; and he hints at the advantages which they might derive from a union with England. But though Defoe's poem was a panegyric upon Scotland and Scotsmen, it did not wholly consist of commendation. He takes notice of the evils that the common people suffered from their vassalage to their chiefs, and from their ignorance of the blessings of liberty. He also censures the Scots for not improving the natural advantages which their country possessed, and for neglecting their fishery; and he gives them some excellent advice."—WILSON'S *Life of Defoe*, vol. ii. p. 487.

[2] The following extract from a letter to the Earl of Buchan by Defoe, dated the 29th of May 1711, was communicated to Mr. Chalmers by his Lordship's grandson:—"The person with whom *I endeavoured to plant the interest of your Lordship's friend* has been strangely taken up since I had that occasion, viz. first, in suffering the operation of the surgeons to heal the wound of the assassin; and since, in accumulating honours from Parliament, the queen, and the people. On Thursday evening, her Majesty created him Earl Mortimer, Earl of Oxford, and Lord Harley of Wigmore; and we expect that to-morrow, in council, he will have the white staff given him by the queen, and be declared Lord Treasurer. I wrote this yesterday, and this day, May the 29th, he is made Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and carried the white staff before the queen this morning to chapel."—WILSON'S *Life of Defoe*, vol. ii. p. 503, note. While in Scotland, Defoe, besides the works mentioned, also published a pamphlet entitled *A Voice from the South; or, an Address from some Protestant Dissenters in England to the Kirk of Scotland*, the design being to expostulate with the Presbyterians for their opposition to the union, and to reconcile them to the measure.

[3] The following character of Defoe by a contemporary is worth quoting here. It is written by Dunton, who about this time wrote *A Secret History of Weekly Writers*, beginning his catalogue with our author, of whom he speaks well in the main, though with much of the jealousy of a rival journalist:—"To do him justice, take him with all his failings, it must be acknowledged that Defoe is a man of good parts, and very clear sense. Whatever he says upon the subject of peace and war, is so true and correct that, like Pythagoras's *ipse dixit*, it might almost stand for an infallible rule. He is master of the English tongue; can say what he pleases upon any subject; and by his printing a poem every day, one would think rhymed in his sleep. It is his misfortune that a prejudiced person should write his character. But (with all my revenge) I cannot but own, his thoughts upon any subject are always surprising, new, and singular; and though he write for bread, could never be hired to disgrace the quill, or to wrong his conscience; and, which crowns his panegyric, he is a person of true courage. It is true, I have reason to think Daniel Defoe dares not quarrel with John Dunton; but I believe he fears nothing on earth but myself, and he says as much in telling the world, "I adhere firmly to truth, and resolve to defend it against all extremities" (*Review*, vol. ii. No. 75). He reviews without fear, and acts without fainting. He is not daunted with multitudes of enemies; for he faces as many every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday as there are foes to moderation and peace. Loyalty to the queen is his guide, and resolution his companion, and a lawful occasion makes him truly brave. It was this sent him to Weymouth, Exeter, and Crediton, to preach peace and moderation to the high-fliers; and though they had not the manners to thank him, yet I hope to see them all on their knees for not listening to his wholesome doctrine—Peace! It is

The nation, which was filled with combustible matter, burst into flame the moment of that memorable separation in 1707. In the midst of this conflagration our author was not inactive. He waited on Harley after he had been driven from power, who generously advised him to continue his services to the queen, which he supposed would have no relation to personal differences among statesmen. Godolphin received him with equal kindness, by saying, I always think a man honest till I find to the contrary. And if we may credit Defoe's asseverations in the presence of those who could have convicted him of falsehood, he for three years held no correspondence with his principal benefactor, which the great man never took ill of him.[1]

As early as February 1706-7, Defoe avowed his purpose to publish the *History of the Union*, which he had ably assisted to accomplish. This design he executed in 1709, though he was engaged in other lucubrations, and gave the world a *Review* three times a week. His history seems to have been little noticed when it first appeared; for, as the preface states, it had many difficulties in the way—many factions to encounter, and parties to please. Yet it was republished in 1712; and a third time in 1786, when a similar union had become the topic of public debate and private conversation. The subject of this work is the completion of a measure, which was carried into effect notwithstanding obstructions apparently insurmountable and tumults approaching to rebellion, and which has produced the ends designed, beyond expectation, whether we consider its influence on the Government, or its operation on the governed. The minuteness with which he describes what he saw and heard on the turbulent stage, where he acted a conspicuous part, is extremely interesting to us, who wish to know what actually passed, however this circumstantiality may have disgusted contemporaneous readers. History is chiefly valuable as it transmits a faithful copy of the manners and sentiments of every age. This narrative of Defoe is a drama, in which he introduces the highest peers and the lowest peasants, speaking and acting, according as they were each actuated by their characteristic passions; and while the man of taste is amused by his manner, the man of business may draw instruction from the documents, which are appended to the end, and interspersed in every page. This publication had alone preserved his name, had his *Crusoe* pleased us less.[2]

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a dangerous experiment the Western Tackers could not approve of; and for that reason the Weymouth Gothams had fettered him, whipped him, and perhaps burnt him, had not his known courage, and great party of two men, set him above their malice. (See *Review*, vol. ii. No. 75.) To sum up all: Defoe has piety enough for an author, and courage enough for a martyr. And, in a word, if ever any, Daniel Defoe is a *True Englishman;* and for that reason he is more respected by men of honour and sense than he can be affronted by Alderman B——, Justice S——, and the rest of the Western blockheads. Now, if such an author as this should attack my journal, I shall think there is reason for it, and will endeavour to answer him; and, to speak the truth, it is pity this peace-making traveller should have any enemy but error, and such a weak assailant as John Dunton.'

[1] About this time Defoe was subjected to much obloquy and persecution, both on account of the active part he had taken in the accomplishment of the union, and on account of the vigorous manner in which he wielded his pen in behalf of his political party, and in the cause of justice and freedom. He was much harassed also by a few old creditors, who appear to have been animated principally by personal hatred. He seems to have entertained the design of taking up his residence permanently in Scotland, and no doubt stayed there longer than he otherwise would have done, to escape the persecutions of his creditors. In his preface to the third volume of the *Review*, published in February 1707, he thus writes:—'Should I descend to particulars, it would hardly appear credible that in a Christian, a Protestant, and a reformed nation, any men could receive such treatment as I have done, even from those very people whose consciences and judgments have stooped to the venerable truth, and owned it useful and seasonable. It would make this preface a history, to relate the reproaches, the insults, the contempt with which these papers have been treated in discourse, writing, and print, even by those who say they are embarked in the same cause. The charge made against me of partiality, bribery, pensions, and payments,—things, the circumstances, family, and fortunes of a man devoted to his country's peace, clears me of. If paid for writing, if hired, if employed, why still harassed by merciless and malicious men? Why pursued to all extremities by law, for old accounts, of which other men are cleared every day? Why oppressed, distressed, and driven from his family, and from all his prospects of delivering either them or himself? Is this the fate of men employed and hired? Is this the figure the agents of courts and princes make? Certainly, had I been hired or employed, those people that own the service would by this time have set their servant free from the little and implacable malice of litigious prosecutions, murthering warrants, and men whose mouths are to be stopped by trifles. Let this suffice, then, to clear me of all the little and scandalous charge of being hired and employed.' Defoe returned to London in January 1708. He, however, was twice again in Scotland during this year, entrusted by Queen Anne with the management of some secret business, probably connected with the threatened invasion by the French in behalf of the Pretender.

[2] As a set-off to this laudatory estimate of Defoe's *History*, we give here the opinion formed of it by Dr. J. H. Burton, author of the *History of Scotland*, than whom no one ought to be more competent to pass judgment on it. 'That the author of *Robinson Crusoe* and the *History of the Plague* should write a dull book, would not be readily believed. But it may be fairly questioned if any one seeking the usual enjoyments of miscellaneous reading ever perused this dense quarto. To one who requires to examine it for information, it is extremely irksome, so full is it of long prolix meandering speculations, of useless guesses about motives, of repetitions, and of unimportant matters of routine. . . . Under what internal influence Defoe could have written such a work, is a mystery.'—BURTON'S *History of Scotland* (1689-1748), vol. i. p. 405. In March of this year the fifth volume of the *Review* was completed, and in the preface Defoe announces that a sufficient sum had been subscribed to encourage the reprinting of it in Edinburgh, which would commence with the next volume.

When, by such imprudence as the world had never seen before, Godolphin was in his turn expelled, in August 1710, our author waited on the ex-minister, who obligingly said to him, that he had the same goodwill, but not the same power to assist him; and Godolphin told him, what was of more real use, to receive the queen's commands from her confidential servants, when he saw things settled. It naturally occurred to Defoe, that it was his duty to go along with the ministers, while, as he says, they did not break in on the constitution. And who can blame a very subordinate officer (if indeed he held an office), who had a wife and six children to maintain with very precarious means? He was thus, says he, cast back providentially on his first benefactor, who laid his case before her Majesty, whereby he preserved his interest, without any engagement. On that memorable change, Defoe, however, somewhat changed his tone. The method I shall take, says he, in talking of the public affairs, shall for the future be, though with the same design to support truth, yet with more caution of embroiling myself with a party who have no mercy, and who have no sense of service.

Defoe now lived at Newington in comfortable circumstances, publishing the *Reviews*, and sending out such tracts as either gratified his prejudices or supplied his needs. During that contentious period he naturally gave and received many wounds; and he prudently entered into a truce with Mr. J. Dyer, who was engaged in similar occupations, that however they might clash in party, they may write without personal reflections, and thus differ still, and yet preserve the Christian and the gentleman. But between professed controvertists such a treaty could only be persevered in with Punic faith.

While thus occupied, Defoe was not forgotten by the city of Edinburgh, with the usual ingratitude of public bodies.[1] On the 1st of February 1710-11, that corporation, remembering his *Caledonia*, empowered him to publish the *Edinburgh Courant*, in the room of Adam Booge, though I suspect that he did not continue long to edify the Edinburgh citizens by his weekly[2] lucubrations. He had then much to think of, and much to do at a distance; and

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In the end of 1709 and beginning of 1710, London, and indeed the whole of England, was thrown into a state of wild and almost unparalleled excitement by the notorious Sacheverell's sermon on non-resistance, and his subsequent impeachment and trial. Of course Defoe could not choose but mingle in the *melée*. He was almost the only man, from the peer to the shoeblack, who could look at the matter coolly, and estimate Sacheverell and his sermon at their true value; and he vainly endeavoured, during the months that the agitation continued, by ridicule and reason, to bring the mad mob to their senses. Of course he earned the hearty hatred of the High Church party, whose proceedings he was the foremost to denounce. His denunciations must have been very telling, as we learn, from the following passage in his *Review*, that he was threatened even with assassination:—

'I have by me fifteen letters from gentlemen of more anger than honour, who have faithfully promised to come and kill me by such and such a day; nay, some have descended to tell me the very manner; yet not one of them has been so good as his word. Once I had the misfortune to come into a room where five gentlemen had been killing me a quarter of an hour before, yet, to the reproach of their villanous design, as well as of their courage, they did not dare to own it to a poor defenceless man when he was too much in their power. In short, I here give my testimony, from my own experience, and I note it for the instruction of these five assassins, that their cause is villanous, and that makes the party cowardly. A man that has any honour in him is really put to more difficulty how to speak than how to act; in the case of murder and assassination, he is straitened between the extremes of showing too much courage or too much fear.

'Should I tell the world the repeated cautions given me by my friends not to appear in the streets, nor to draw myself,—letters sent to bid me remember Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Mr. Tutchin, and the like,—should I let you know how I have been three times beset and way-laid for the mischief designed, but still I live, you would wonder what I mean. Wherefore, my brief resolution is this: while I live, they may be assured I shall never desist doing my duty, in exposing the doctrines that oppose God and the Revolution, such as passive submission to tyrants, and non-resistance in cases of oppression. . . . As to defence, I have had some thoughts to stay at home by night, and by day to wear a piece of armour on my back: the first, because I am persuaded these murderers will not do their work by daylight; and the second, because I firmly believe they will never attempt it fairly to my face. . . .

'Upon the whole, as I am going on in what I esteem my duty, and for the public good, I firmly believe it will not please God to deliver me up to this bloody and ungodly party; and therefore shall still go on to expose a bigoted race of people, in order to reclaim and reform them, or to open the eyes of the good people of Britain, that they may not be imposed upon. Whether in this work I meet with punishment or praise, safety or hazard, life or death, *Te Deum laudamus*.'

[1] Defoe had gone to Scotland in November 1710, whether to escape the importunities of his creditors and political enemies, or on a secret mission from Government, cannot now be known.

[2] This paper, now published daily as the leading Conservative organ for Scotland, was in Defoe's time published *twice* a week, in a folio half-sheet, with double columns. Defoe returned to London in March 1711. In the same month appeared the seventh volume of his *Review*, which was taken up mostly with the discussion of home politics and ecclesiastical affairs. Notwithstanding his attempt 'to steer the middle course between all parties,' he had the misfortune to be 'maltreated by all;' he led the life of an Ishmaelite. In the *Review* for December 16, 1710, he thus circumstantially narrates the ill-usage he received from the High party:—'Lest I should some time or other, as God shall let loose their hands, fall into the power of this enraged party, give me leave to show a little how they have treated the author of this paper, that it may stand upon record against them; and I'll be very brief. When, railing in print, bullying and hectoring would not silence him, letters were sent threatening to murder him. His house was marked to be pulled down by the rabble; and he was assured, by writing and by messengers, that he had not long to live. The very printer was threatened to have his house mobbed for printing it. Several attempts were made to prosecute the paper at the Old Bailey, at Guildhall, and at Westminster; but when no jury could be found to present it, and no crime to present for, that was let fall. Other measures were taken to embroil him

he soon after gave some support to Lord Oxford's South Sea project, by publishing *An Essay on the South Sea Trade, with an Inquiry into the Grounds and Reasons of the Present Complaint against the Settlement of the South Sea Company.* In the same year (1811) he published *An Essay at a Plain Exposition of that difficult phrase, A Good Peace.* He obviously intended to abate the national ardour for war, and to incite a national desire of quiet.[1]

The ministers, by the course of events, were engaged ere long in one of the hardest tasks which can be assigned to British statesmen—the re-establishment of tranquillity after a

with the Government; but still all was in vain. When this failed, endeavours were used to 'rouse sleeping lions, and harass him with dormant creditors—men who, satisfied with the frequent offers he had made of a complete surrender of his effects, had declined for seventeen years. A fruitless cruelty upon a man who had given such evidence of his integrity. However, some mischief of this kind they brought him into; and when he had extricated himself from that, the same perjured villain that insulted Mr. Dan. Burgess, for a sham pretence well known, assaulted him, took fifteen guineas from him to get out of his hands again, which extortion he is now under legal prosecution for, and may speedily be brought to justice. Not content with this, the same villain insulted his house on the Sabbath-day, without any legal warrant or the least pretence, in order, upon a sham, to get him into custody and betray him, whether to murtherers or creditors he yet knows not. Other sets of rogues were employed after this to take out sham writs in names not known, and to men that were not officers, pretending to arrest him; which pretended officers are now under prosecution also, and one of them has confessed the fact. He has been often beset, waylaid, and dogged into dark passages; yet, when they have actually met him, and found him prepared for his defence, their hearts have failed them; for villains are always cowardly. And all this, 'tis evident, is for writing this paper. . . .

'Defoe met with as much injustice from the public authorities as from private individuals. The issue of the prosecution above alluded to is thus related by himself:—"It is but lately that I troubled the world with a complaint of the barbarous usage I met with from a villain's waiting and watching for me, under a pretence to arrest, though without a warrant, and whether to murther or deliver me up to those that should, is like, for want of justice, to remain a secret. I took up lately one of these fellows with a sham writ. He had taken money of a man employed by me formerly to treat with him, believing him then to have been an officer. This villain I had long pursued, and at last apprehended. He begged, confessed, offered to refund the money, and pay the charges; but not discovering his accomplices, he was carried before a justice of the peace, not a hundred miles from Sir H——y B——lds. The justice, when he heard the first complaint, readily granted his warrant; the case was so black, he could not but resolve to punish it. The rogue is brought before him, a lawyer appears, makes out the fact, and the justice discovered some indignation at the crime. But as soon as he heard the prosecutor was Daniel Defoe, author of the *Review*, he calls the gentleman that pleaded it a rogue, though as honest a man as himself, and, by the way, no Whig; discharges the warrant, and bids the villain keep the money: which, for all that, he shall not do, nor shall the justice himself escape the shame of his partiality, for giving orders to a cheat to keep what he owned to have been unjustly gotten. Excellent justice this, to make a nation flourish!"

'"Well, this is all on one side," observes our author; who proceeds to relate a dishonourable transaction that implicated some Whigs. "On board of a ship," says he, "I loaded some goods. The master is a Whig, of a kind more particular than ordinary. He comes to the port, my bill of lading is produced, my title to my goods undisputed; no claim, no pretence, but my goods cannot be found. The ship sailed again, and I am told my goods are carried back, and all the reason given is, that they belong to Defoe, author of the *Review*, and he is turned about, and writes for keeping up the public credit. Thus, gentlemen, I am ready to be assassinated, arrested without warrant, robbed and plundered by all sides: I can neither trade nor live; and what is this for? Only, as I can yet see, because there being faults on both sides, I tell both sides of it too plainly."'—WILSON'S *Life of Defoe*, vol. iii. pp. 187, 188, 190, 191.

[1] Defoe likewise published a pamphlet this year in vindication of his great hero, King William, and took an active part, both in his *Review* and by separate publications, against a bill introduced into Parliament for the purpose of loading the Dissenters with additional disabilities. Defoe gives a melancholy picture of the state of parties in the beginning of 1712. On this subject he published two pamphlets in this year,—one entitled *The Conduct of Parties in England, more especially of those Whigs who appear against the new Ministry, etc.*; the other, *The Present State of Parties in Great Britain, etc.* In July of 1712 was published the eighth volume of the *Review*, which, like its predecessors, is divided between trade and politics. We give from his preface the following extract relating to himself and his circumstances:—

'In the school of affliction I have learnt more philosophy than at the academy, and more divinity than from the pulpit; in prison I have learnt to know that liberty does not consist in open doors, and the free egress and regress of locomotion. I have seen the rough side of the world as well as the smooth, and have in less than half a year tasted the difference between the closet of a king and the dungeon of Newgate. I have suffered deeply for cleaving to principles, of which integrity I have lived to say, none but those I suffered for ever reproached me with it. The immediate causes of my suffering have been the being betrayed by those I have trusted, and scorning to betray those who trusted me. To the honour of English gratitude, I have this remarkable truth to leave behind me—that I was never so basely betrayed as by those whose families I had preserved from starving, nor so basely treated as by those I starved my own family to preserve. The same chequer work of fortune attends me still; the people I have served, and love to serve, cut my throat every day, because I will not cut the throat of those that have served and assisted me. Ingratitude has always been my aversion, and perhaps for that reason it is my exercise.

'And now I live under universal contempt, which contempt I have learned to contemn, and have an uninterrupted joy in my soul, not at my being contemned, but that no crime can be laid to my charge to make that contempt my due. Fame, a lying jade, would talk me up, for I know not what of courage; and they call me a fighting fellow. . . . He that is honest must be brave, and it is my opinion that a coward cannot be an honest man. In defence of truth I think (pardon me that I dare go no further, for who knows himself?)—I say, I *think* I could dare to die; but a child may beat me if I am in the wrong. . . .

'Early disasters, and frequent turns of my affairs, have left me encumbered with an insupportable weight of debt; and the remarkable compassion of some creditors, after continued offers of stripping myself naked by entire surrenders upon oath, have never given me more trouble than they were able, or less than they knew how; by which means most of the debts I have discharged have cost me forty shillings in the pound, and the creditor half as much to recover. I have a large family, a wife and six children, who never want what they should enjoy, or spend what they ought to save. Under all these circumstances, and many more too long to write, my only happiness is this: I have always been kept cheerful, easy, and quiet, enjoying a perfect calm of mind, clearness of thought, and satisfaction not to be broken in upon by whatever may happen to me. If any man ask me how I arrived to it? I answer him, in short, by a constant serious application to the great, solemn, and weighty work of resignation to the will of Heaven; by which let no man think I presume. I have endeavoured, and am in a great measure able to say feelingly and effectually the following lines, which I recommend to the world, not only as the fruit of my own experience, but for the practice of all such as know how to value it, and think they need it.'

glorious war. The treaty at Utrecht furnishes a memorable example of this. The furious debates which ensued within the walls of Parliament and without are sufficiently remembered. About this time, says Boyer in May 1713, a paper, entitled *Mercator, or Commerce Retrieved*, was published on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.[1] This was first fathered on Arthur Moore, assisted by Dr. D'Avenant; but the latter solemnly denied it; and it soon after appeared to be the production of Daniel Defoe, 'an ambidextrous hireling, who for this dirty work received a large weekly allowance from the Treasury.' That he wrote in the *Mercator* Defoe admits; but he expressly denies 'that he either was the author of it, had the property of it, the printing of it, the profit of it, or had the power to put anything into it, if he would.' And, by his *Appeal*, he affirms before God and the world, 'that he never had any payment or reward for writing any part of it;' yet, that he was ready to defend those papers of the *Mercator* which were really his, if men would answer with arguments rather than abuse—though not those things which he had never written, but for which he had received such usage. He adds, with the noble spirit of a true-born Englishman, 'The press was open to me as well as to others; and how or when I lost my English liberty of speaking my mind, I know not: neither how my speaking my opinions, without fee or reward, could authorize any one to call me villain, rascal, traitor, and such opprobrious names.'

Of the imputed connection with his first benefactor, Harley, during that memorable period, our author speaks with equal firmness, at a moment when firmness was necessary. 'I solemnly protest,' says he by his *Appeal*, 'in the presence of Him who shall judge us all, that I have received no instructions, orders, or directions for writing anything, or materials from Lord Oxford, since Lord Godolphin was treasurer, or that I have ever shown to Lord Oxford anything I had written or printed.' He challenges the world to prove the contrary; and he affirms that he always capitulated for liberty to speak according to his own judgment of things. As to consideration, pension, or reward, he declares most solemnly that he had none, except his old appointment made him long before by Lord Godolphin. What is extremely probable we may easily credit, without such strong asseverations. However Lord Oxford may have been gratified by the voluntary writings of Defoe, he had doubtless other persons who shared his confidence, and wrote his *Examiners*.[2]

But Defoe published that which by no means promoted Lord Oxford's views, and which therefore gained little of his favour. Our author wrote against the peace of Utrecht, because he approved of it as little as he had done the treaty at Gertruydenburgh, under very different influences, a few years before. The peace *he* was for, as he himself says, was such as should neither have given the Spanish monarchy to the house of Bourbon, nor to the house of Austria; but that this bone of contention should have been so broken to pieces, as that it should not have been dangerous to Europe; and that England and Holland should have so strengthened themselves, by sharing its commerce, as should have made them no more afraid of France or the Emperor; and that all that we should conquer in the Spanish West Indies should be our own. But it is equally true, he affirms, that when the peace was established, 'I thought our business was to make the best of it; and rather to inquire what improvements could be made of it, than to be continually exclaiming against those who procured it.'

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[1] 'The first *Mercator* was published on the 26th of May 1713, the last on the 20th of July 1714; and they were written by William Brown and his assistants, with great knowledge, great strength, and great sweetness, considering how much party then embittered every composition. The *British Merchant*, which opposed the *Mercator*, and which was compiled by Henry Martin and his associates, has fewer facts, less argument, and more factiousness. It began on the 1st of August 1713, and ended the 27th of July 1714. I have spoken of both from my own convictions, without regarding the declamations which have continued to pervert the public opinion from that epoch to the present times. Defoe was struck at in the third number of the *British Merchant*, and plainly mentioned in the fourth. "Mr. Daniel Defoe may change his name from *Review* to *Mercator*, from *Mercator* to any other title, yet still his singular genius shall be distinguished by his inimitable way of writing." This personal sarcasm was introduced to supply deficiency of facts, or weakness of reasoning. When Charles King republished the *British Merchant* in volumes, among various changes he expunged, with other personalities, the name of Defoe.'—WILSON's *Life of Defoe*, vol. iii. p. 335.

[2] It is now sufficiently known that Lord Oxford had relinquished the treaty of commerce to its fate before it was finally debated in Parliament. (See much curious matter on this subject in Macpherson's *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 421–23). It is there said that he gave up the commercial treaty in compliment to Sir Thomas Hanmer, as he would by no means be an occasion of a breach among his friends. The treasurer had other reasons: the treaty had been made by Bolingbroke, whom he did not love; Lords Anglesea and Abingdon had made extravagant demands for their support; and, like a wise man, he thought it idle to drive a nail that would not go. Yet Lord Halifax boasted to the Hanoverian minister that he alone had been the occasion of the treaty being rejected. (Same papers, pp. 509–47.)

He manfully avowed his opinion in 1715, when it was both disgraceful and dangerous, that the ninth article of the treaty of commerce[1] was calculated for the advantage of our trade: 'Let who will make it, that,' says he, 'is nothing to me. My reasons are, because it tied up the French to open the door to our manufactures, at a certain duty of importation there, and left the Parliament of Britain at liberty to shut theirs out, by as high duties as they pleased here, there being no limitation upon us as to duties on French goods, but that other nations should pay the same. While the French were thus bound, and the British free, I always thought we must be in a condition to trade to advantage, or it must be our own fault: this was my opinion, and is so still; and I would engage to maintain it against any man, on a public stage, before a jury of fifty merchants, and venture my life upon the cause, if I were assured of fair play in the dispute. But that it was my opinion we might carry on a trade with France to our great advantage, and that we ought for that reason to trade with them, appears in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the *Reviews*, above nine years before *The Mercator* was thought of.' Experience has decided in favour of Defoe against his opponents, with regard both to the theory and the practice of commerce.

In May 1713, our author relinquished the *Review* after nine years' continuance: in Newgate it began, and in Newgate it ended.[2] Whether we consider the frequency of the publication or the power of his disquisitions, the pertinacity of his opponents or the address of his defences, amid other studies, without assistance, this must be allowed to be such a work as few of our writers have equalled. Yet of this great performance said Gay, 'The poor *Review* is quite exhausted, and grown so very contemptible, that though he has provoked all his brothers of the quill, none will enter into a controversy with him. The fellow, who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those wits who, as an ingenious author says, will endure but one skimming.' Poor Gay had learned this cant in the Scriblerus Club, who thought themselves the wisest, the wittiest, and virtuousest men that ever were, or ever would be. But of all their works, which of them have been so often skimmed, or yielded such cream, as *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Family Instructor*, or *Religious Courtship?* Some of their writings may indeed be allowed to have uncommon merit; yet let them not arrogate exclusive excellence, or claim appropriate praise.

When Defoe relinquished the *Review*, he began to write *A General History of Trade*, which he proposed to publish in monthly numbers. The first number appeared on the 1st of August 1713. His great design was to show the reader 'what the whole world is at this time employed in as to trade.' But his more immediate end was, to rectify the mistake we are fallen into as to commerce, and to inform those who are willing to inquire into the truth. In the execution of this arduous undertaking, he avows his intention of speaking what reason dictates and fact justifies, however he may clash with the popular opinions of some people in trade. He could not, however, wholly abstract himself from the passing scene. When his second number appeared, on the 15th of August 1713, he gave a discourse on the harbour of Dunkirk,—wherein he insists that the port ought to be destroyed, if it must remain with France; but if it were added to England or made a free port, it would be for the good of mankind to have a safe harbour in such dangerous seas. This *History of Trade*, which exhibits the ingenuity, the strength, and the piety of Defoe, extended only to two numbers. The agitations of the times carried him to other literary pursuits; and the factiousness of the times constrained him to attend to personal security.

'While I spoke of things thus,' says our author, 'I bore infinite reproaches, as the defender of the peace, by pamphlets, which I had no hand in.' He appears to have been silenced by noise, obloquy, and insult; and finding himself in this manner treated, he declined writing at all, as he assures us; and for great part of a year never set pen to paper, except in the *Reviews*. 'After this,' continues he, 'I was a long time absent in the north of England,' though we may easily infer, for a very different reason than that of the famous retirement of Swift, upon the final breach between Oxford and Bolingbroke.

The place of his retreat is now known to have been Halifax, or the borders of Lancashire.[3]

[1] He attacked it first, in 1713, in *An Essay on the Treaty of Commerce with France, with necessary Explanations.*

[2] It closed on June 11, 1713, with the ninth volume.

[3] Watson's *History of Halifax* relates, that Daniel Defoe, being forced to abscond on account of his political writings, resided at Halifax, in the Back Lane, at the sign of the Rose and Crown, being known to Dr.

And observing here, as he himself relates, the insolence of the Jacobite party, and how they insinuated the Pretender's rights into the common people, 'I set pen to paper again, by writing *A Seasonable Caution*; and, to open the eyes of the poor ignorant country-people, I gave away this all over the kingdom, as gain was not intended.' With the same laudable purpose he wrote three other pamphlets: the first, *What if the Pretender should Come?* the second, *Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover*; the third, *What if the Queen should Die?* 'Nothing could be more plain,' says he, 'than that the titles of these were amusements,[1] in order to put the books into the hands of those people who had been deluded by the Jacobites.' These petty volumes were so much approved by the zealous friends of the Protestant succession, that they were diligent to disperse them through the most distant counties. And Defoe protests, that had the Elector of Hanover given him a thousand pounds, he could not have served him more effectually than by writing these three treatises.

The reader will learn, with surprise and indignation, that for these writings Defoe was arrested, obliged to give eight hundred pounds bail, contrary to the Bill of Rights, and prosecuted by information, during Trinity term 1713. This groundless prosecution was instituted by the absurd zeal of William Benson, who afterwards became ridiculously famous for literary exploits, which justly raised him to the honours of the *Dunciad*. Our author attributes this prosecution to the malice of his enemies, who were numerous and powerful. No inconsiderable people were heard to say that they knew the books were against the Pretender, but that Defoe had disobliged them in other things, and they resolved to take this advantage to punish him. This story is the more credible, as he had procured evidence to prove the fact, had the trial proceeded. He was prompted by consciousness of innocence to defend himself in the *Review* during the prosecution, which offended the judges, who, being somewhat infected with the violent spirit of the times, committed him to Newgate, in Easter term 1713. He was, however, soon released, on making a proper submission. But it was happy for Defoe that his first benefactor was still in power, who procured him the queen's pardon, in November 1713. This act of liberal justice was produced by the party-writers of those black and bitter days, as an additional proof of Lord Oxford's attachment to the abdicated family, while Defoe was said to be convicted of absolute Jacobitism, contrary to the tenor of his life and the purpose of his writings. He himself said sarcastically that they might as well have made him Mahommedan. On his tombstone it might have been engraved, that he was the only Englishman who had been obliged to ask a royal pardon, for writing in favour of the Hanover succession.

'By this time,' says Boyer in October 1714, 'the treasonable design to bring in the Pretender was manifested to the world by the agent of one of the late managers, Defoe, in his *History of the White Staff*. The *Detection of the Secret History of the White Staff*, which was soon published, confidently tells that it was written by Defoe; as is to be seen by his abundance of words, his false thoughts, and his false English.'[2] We now know that there was at that epoch no plot in favour of the Pretender, except in the assertions of those who wished to promote their interest by exhibiting their zeal. And I have shown that Defoe had done more to keep out the Pretender than the political tribe who profited from his zeal, yet detracted from his fame.[3]

Nettleton, the physician, and the Rev. Mr. Priestley, minister of a Dissenting congregation there. Mr. Watson is mistaken when he supposes that Defoe wrote his *Jure Divino* here, which had been published previously in 1706; and he is equally mistaken when he says that Defoe had made an improper use of the papers of Selkirk, whose story had been often published.

[1] The pamphlets mentioned in the text were filled with palpable banter. He recommends the Pretender, by saying that the prince would confer on every one the privilege of wearing wooden shoes, and at the same time ease the nobility and gentry of the hazard and expense of winter journeys to Parliament.

[2] There appears to be considerable doubt as to whether Defoe was the author of these pamphlets; the only writer decidedly in favour of Defoe's authorship is Mr. Lee, author of the recent *Life of Defoe*.

[3] In the year 1714, Defoe, besides employing his pen in various other ways, pleaded the cause of religious liberty in his most effective manner. He was roused to action by the bill then passing Parliament, 'to prevent the growth of schism,' which was of course only another name for intolerance. By this bill, all schoolmasters were required to be licensed by the bishop, and have a certificate of conformity from the minister of his parish! Defoe of course could not be silent on such an occasion, and he published *The Remedy worse than the Disease; or, Reasons against passing the Bill for preventing the Growth of Schism: to which is added, a Brief Discourse of Toleration and Persecution, showing their unavoidable effects, good or bad, and proving that neither Diversity of Religion, nor Diversity in the same Religion, are dangerous, much less inconsistent with good Government. In a Letter to a noble Earl. Hæc sunt enim fundamenta firmissima nostræ Libertatis, sui quemque juris et retinendi et dimittendi esse dominum.—Cic. in Orat. pro Balbo.* 1714.

'No sooner (August 1, 1714) was the queen dead,' says he, 'and the king, as right required, proclaimed, but the rage of men increased upon me to that degree, that their threats were such as I am unable to express. Though I have written nothing since the queen's death, yet a great many things are called by my name, and I bear the answerers' insults. I have not seen or spoken with the Earl of Oxford,' continues he, 'since the king's landing, but once; yet he bears the reproach of my writing for him, and I the rage of men for doing it.' Defoe appears indeed to have been, at that noisy period, stunned by factious clamour, and overborne, though not silenced, by unmerited obloquy. He probably lost his original appointment when his first benefactor was finally expelled. Instead of meeting with reward for his zealous services in support of the Protestant succession, he was, on the accession of George I., discountenanced by those who had derived a benefit from his active exertions. And of Addison, who was now exalted into office, and enjoyed literary patronage, our author had said, in his *Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough*, with less poetry than truth,

> 'Mæcenas has his modern fancy strung,
> And fix'd his pension first, or he had never sung.'

While thus insulted by enemies and discountenanced by power, Defoe published, in 1715, his *Appeal to Honour and Justice; being a True Account of his Conduct in Public Affairs.* As a motive for this intrepid measure, he affectingly says, that 'by the hints of mortality and the infirmities of a life of sorrow and fatigue, I have reason to think that I am very near to the great ocean of eternity, and the time may not be long ere I embark on the last voyage: wherefore I think I should even accounts with this world before I go, that no slanders may lie against my heirs, to disturb them in the peaceable possession of their father's inheritance, his character.' It is a circumstance perhaps unexampled in the life of any other writer, that before he could finish his *Appeal*, he was struck with apoplexy. After languishing more than six weeks, neither able to go on, nor likely to recover, his friends thought fit to delay the publication no longer. 'It is the opinion of most who know him,' says Baker, the publisher, 'that the treatment which he here complains of, and others of which he would have spoken, have been the cause of this disaster.' When the ardent mind of Defoe reflected on what he had done and what he had suffered, how he had been rewarded and persecuted, his heart melted in despair. His spirit, like a candle struggling in the socket, blazed and sank, and blazed and sank, till it disappeared in darkness.

While his strength remained, he expostulated with his adversaries in the following terms of great manliness and instructive intelligence: 'It has been the disaster of all parties in this nation to be very hot in their turn, and as often as they have been so, I have differed with them all, and shall do so. I will repeat some of the occasions on the Whig side, because from that quarter the accusation of my turning about comes.

'The first time I had the misfortune to differ with my friends was about the year 1683, when the Turks were besieging Vienna, and the Whigs in England, generally speaking, were for the Turks taking it—which I, having read the history of the cruelty and perfidious dealings of the Turks in their wars, and how they had rooted out the name of the Christian religion in above three score and ten kingdoms, could by no means agree with; and though then but a young man, and a younger author, I opposed it and wrote against it, which was taken very unkindly indeed.

'The next time I differed with my friends, was when King James was wheedling the Dissenters to take off the penal laws and test, which I could by no means come into. I told the Dissenters I had rather the Church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures, than the Papists should fall both upon the Church and the Dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and fagot.

'The next difference I had with good men, was about the scandalous practice of occasional conformity, in which I had the misfortune to make many honest men angry, rather because I had the better of the argument, than because they disliked what I said.

'And now I have lived to see the Dissenters themselves very quiet, if not very well pleased with an Act of Parliament to prevent it. Their friends indeed laid it on; they would be friends indeed if they would talk of taking it off again.

'Again, I had a breach with honest men for their maltreating King William, of which I

say nothing, because I think they are now opening their eyes, and making what amends they can to his memory.

'The fifth difference I had with them was about the treaty of partition, in which many honest men were mistaken, and in which I told them plainly then, that they would at last end the war upon worse terms; and so it is my opinion they would have done, though the treaty of Gertruydenburgh had taken place.

'The sixth time I differed with them, was when the old Whigs fell out with the modern Whigs, and when the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin were used by the *Observator* in a manner worse, I confess, for the time it lasted, than ever they were used since; nay, though it were by Abel and the *Examiner*. But the success failed. In this dispute my Lord Godolphin did me the honour to tell me I had served him, and his Grace also, both faithfully and successfully. But his Lordship is dead; and I have now no testimony of it but what is to be found in the *Observator*, where I am plentifully abused for being an enemy to my country, by acting in the interest of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough. What weathercock can turn with such tempers as these?

'I am now in the seventh breach with them, and my crime now is, that I will not believe and say the same things of the queen and the late treasurer, which I could not believe before of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough, and which in truth I cannot believe, and therefore could not say it of either of them; and which, if I had believed, yet I ought not to have been the man that should have said it, for the reasons aforesaid.

'In such turns of tempers and times, a man must have been tenfold a Vicar of Bray, or it is impossible but he must one time or other be out with everybody. This is my present condition; and for this I am reviled with having abandoned my principles, turned Jacobite, and what not: God judge between me and these men! Would they come to any particulars with me, what real guilt I may have, I would freely acknowledge; and if they would produce any evidence of the bribes, the pensions, and the rewards I have taken, I would declare honestly whether they were true or no. If they would give a list of the books which they charge me with, and the reasons why they lay them at my door, I would acknowledge any mistake, own what I have done, and let them know what I have not done. But these men neither show mercy, nor leave room for repentance; in which they act not only unlike their Maker, but contrary to his express commands.'[1]

With the same independence of spirit, but with greater modesty of manner, our author openly disapproved of the intemperance which was adopted by Government in 1714, contrary to the original purpose of George I. 'It is and ever was my opinion,' says Defoe in his *Appeal*, 'that moderation is the only virtue by which the tranquillity of this nation can be preserved; and even the king himself (I believe his Majesty will allow me that freedom) can only be happy in the enjoyment of the crown by a moderate administration: if he should be obliged, contrary to his known disposition, to join with intemperate councils, if he does not lessen his security, I am persuaded it will lessen his satisfaction. To attain at the happy calm, which is the consideration that should move us all (and he would merit to be called the nation's physician who could prescribe the specific for it), I think I may be allowed to say, a conquest of parties will never do it,—a balance of parties may.' Such was the political testament of Defoe; which it had been happy for Britain had it been as faithfully executed as it was wisely made!

The year 1715 may be regarded as the period of our author's political life.[2] Faction henceforth found other advocates, and parties procured other writers, to propagate their falsehoods. Yet when a cry was raised against foreigners, on the accession of George I., *The True-born Englishman* was revived, rather by Roberts the bookseller, than by Defoe the author. But the persecutions of party did not cease when Defoe ceased to be a party-writer.

[1] The most solemn asseverations, and the most unanswerable arguments of our author, were not, after all, believed. When Charles King republished *The British Merchant*, in 1721, he without a scruple attributed *The Mercator* to a hireling writer of a weekly paper called *the Review*. And Anderson, at a still later period, goes further in his *Chronology of Commerce*, and names Defoe as the hireling writer of the *Mercator*, and other papers, in favour of the French treaty of trade. We can now judge with the impartiality of arbitrators: on the one hand, there are the living challenge, and the deathbed declaration of Defoe; on the other, the mere surmise and unauthorized assertion of King, Anderson, and others, who detract from their own veracity by their own factiousness or foolery. It is surely time to free ourselves from prejudices of every kind, and to disregard the sound of names as much as the falsehoods of party.

[2] See editor's note prefixed to this biography.

He was insulted by Boyer, in April 1716, as the author of *The Triennial Act impartially Stated.*[1] 'But whatever was offered,' says Boyer, 'against the septennial bill, was fully confuted by the ingenious and judicious Joseph Addison, Esq.' Whether Defoe wrote in defence of the people's rights or in support of the law's authority, he is to be censured; whether Addison defended the septennial bill or the peerage bill, he is to be praised. With the same misconception of the fact and malignity of spirit, Toland reviled Defoe for writing an answer to *The State of Anatomy*, in 1717. The time, however, will at last come, when the world will judge of men from their actions rather than pretensions.

The death of Anne, and the accession of George I., seem to have convinced Defoe of the vanity of party-writing. And from this eventful epoch he appears to have studied how to meliorate rather than to harden the heart, how to regulate, more than to vitiate, the practice of life.

Early in 1715 he published *The Family Instructor*, in three parts: 1st, relating to fathers and children; 2d, to masters and servants; 3d, to husbands and wives. He carefully concealed his authorship, lest the good effects of his labour should be instructed by the great imperfections of the writer. The world was then too busy to look immediately into the work. The bookseller soon procured a recommendatory letter from the Rev. Samuel Wright, a well-known preacher in the Blackfriars. It was praised from the pulpit and the press, and the utility of the end, with the attractiveness of the execution, gave it at length a general reception. The author's first design was to write a dramatic poem; but the subject was too solemn, and the text too copious, to admit of restraint, or to allow excursions. His purpose was to divert and instruct at the same moment; and by giving it a dramatic form, it has been called by some a religious play. Defoe at last says with his usual archness: As to its being called a play, be it called so, if they please; it must be confessed, some parts of it are too much acted in many families among us. The author wishes that either all our plays were as useful for the improvement and entertainment of the world, or that they were less encouraged. There is, I think, some mysticism in the preface, which it were to be desired a judicious hand would expunge, when *The Family Instructor* shall be again reprinted; for reprinted it will be, while our language endures; at least, while wise men shall continue to consider the influences of religion and the practice of morals as of the greatest use to society.

Defoe afterwards added a second volume, in two parts: 1st, relating to family breaches; 2d, to the great mistake of mixing the passions in the managing of children. He considered it indeed as a bold adventure to write a second volume of anything, there being a general opinion among modern readers, that second parts never come up to the spirit of the first. He quotes Mr. Milton, for differing from the world upon the question, and for affirming with regard to his own great performances, that the people had a general sense of the loss of Paradise, but not an equal gust for regaining it. Of Defoe's second volume, it will be easily allowed, that it is as instructive and pleasing as the first. His *Religious Courtship*, which he published in 1722, may properly be considered as a third volume; for the design is equally moral, the manner is equally attractive, and it may in the same manner be called a religious play.[2]

But the time at length came, when Defoe was to deliver to the world the most popular of all his performances. In April 1719 he published the well-known *Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.* The reception was immediate and universal; and Taylor, who purchased the manuscript after every bookseller had refused it, is said to have gained a thousand pounds. If it be inquired by what charm it is that these surprising adventures should have instantly pleased, and always pleased, it will be found that few books have ever so naturally mingled amusement with instruction. The attention is fixed, either by the simplicity of the narration, or by the variety of the incidents; the heart is amended by a vindication of the ways of God to man; and the understanding is informed by various

[1] According to Mr. Lee, Defoe in 1716 published two pamphlets on the subject of the duration of parliaments: the first entitled, *Some Considerations on a Law for Triennial Parliaments, etc.*; the other, *The Alteration in the Triennial Act considered.*

[2] Between 1716 and 1719 Defoe published various other works besides those mentioned in the text, political and historical; among them were his recently discovered *History of the Wars of Charles XII., King of Sweden* (published in 1715); *Two Accounts of the Rebellion of 1715*; *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, in four periods* (1717); and probably *Memoirs of the Life, etc., of the Rev. Daniel Williams, D.D.* (1718).

examples, how much utility ought to be preferred to ornament: the young are instructed, while the old are amused.

Robinson Crusoe had scarcely drawn his canoe ashore, when he was attacked by his old enemies, the savages. He was assailed first by *The Life and Strange Adventures of Mr. D—— D——, of London, Hosier, who has Lived above Fifty Years by himself in the Kingdoms of North and South Britain.* In a dull dialogue between Defoe, Crusoe, and his man Friday, our author's life is lampooned, and his misfortunes ridiculed. But he who had been struck by apoplexy, and who was now discountenanced by power, was no fit object of an Englishman's satire. Our author declares, when he was himself a writer of satiric poetry, 'that he never reproached any man for his private infirmities,—for having his house burnt, his ships cast away, or his family ruined; nor had he ever lampooned any one because he could not pay his debts, or differed in judgment from him.' Pope has been justly censured for pursuing a vein of satire extremely dissimilar. And Pope placed Defoe with Tutchin in the *Dunciad*, when our author's infirmities were greater and his comfort less. He was again assaulted in 1719, by *An Epistle to D—— D——, the Reputed Author of Robinson Crusoe.* 'Mr Foe,' says the letter-writer, 'I have perused your pleasant story of *Robinson Crusoe;* and if the faults of it had extended no further than the frequent solecisms and incorrectness of style, improbabilities, and sometimes impossibilities, I had not given you the trouble of this epistle.' 'Yet,' said Johnson to Piozzi, 'was there ever anything written by mere man that was wished longer by its readers, except *Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe,* and the *Pilgrim's Progress?*' This epistolary critic, who renewed his angry attack when the second volume appeared, has all the dulness, without the acumen, of Dennis, and all his malignity, without his purpose of reformation. The *Life of Crusoe* has passed through innumerable editions, and has been translated into foreign languages, while the criticism has sunk into oblivion.

Defoe set the critics at defiance while he had the people on his side. As a commercial legislator, he knew that it is rapid sale that is the great incentive; and in August 1719 he published a second volume of *Surprising Adventures,* with similar success. In hope of profit and of praise he produced, in August 1720, *Serious Reflections during the Life of Robinson Crusoe, with his Vision of the Angelic World.* He acknowledges that the present work is not merely the product of the two first volumes, but the two first may rather be called the product of this: the fable is always made for the moral, not the moral for the fable. He, however, did not advert that instruction must be insinuated rather than enforced. That this third volume has more morality than fable is the cause, I fear, that it has never been read with the same avidity as the former two, or spoken of with the same approbation. We all prefer amusement to instruction; and he who would inculcate useful truths, must study to amuse, or he will offer his lessons to an auditory neither numerous nor attentive.

The tongue of detraction is seldom at rest. It has often been repeated that Defoe had surreptitiously appropriated the papers of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotch mariner, who having lived solitary on the isle of Juan Fernandez four years and four months, was relieved on the 2d of February 1708–9 by Captain Woodes Rogers, in his cruising voyage round the world. But let no one draw inferences till the fact be first ascertained. The adventures of Selkirk had been thrown into the air in 1712 for literary hawks to devour; and Defoe may have catched a common prey, which he converted to the uses of his intellect, and distributed for the purposes of his interest. Thus he may have fairly acquired the fundamental incident of Crusoe's life; but he did not borrow the various events, the useful moralities, or the engaging style. Few men could write such a poem; and few Selkirks could imitate so pathetic an original. It was the happiness of Defoe, that as many writers have succeeded in relating enterprises by land, he excelled in narrating adventures by sea with such felicities of language, such attractive varieties, such insinuative instruction, as have seldom been equalled, but never surpassed.[1]

While Defoe in this manner busied himself in writing adventures which have charmed every reader, a rhyming fit returned on him. He published in 1720 *The Complete Art of Painting,* which he did into English from the French of Du Fresnoy. Dryden had given

[1] For further details concerning Defoe's great work, see the introductory remarks to *Robinson Crusoe,* in this edition.

in 1695 a translation of Du Fresnoy's poem, which has been esteemed for its knowledge of the sister arts. What could tempt Defoe to this undertaking it is not easy to discover, unless we may suppose that he hoped to gain a few guineas without much labour of the head or hand. Dryden has been justly praised for relinquishing vicious habits of composition, and adopting better models for his muse. Defoe, after he had seen the correctness and heard the music of Pope, remained unambitious of accurate rhymes, and regardless of sweeter numbers. His politics and his poetry, for which he was long famous among biographers, would not have preserved his name beyond the fleeting day; yet I suspect that, in imitation of Milton, he would have preferred his *Jure Divino* to his *Robinson Crusoe.*

Defoe lived not then, however, in pecuniary distress, for his genius and his industry were to him the mines of Potosi; and in 1722 he obtained from the corporation of Colchester, though my inquiries have not discovered by what interposition, a ninety years' lease of Kingswood Heath, at a yearly rent of £120, with a fine of £500. This transaction seems to evince a degree of wealth much above want, though the assignment of his lease not long after to Walter Bernard equally proves that he could not easily hold what he had thus obtained. Kingswood Heath is now (end of last century) worth £300 a year, and is advertised for sale by Bennet, the present possessor.

Whatever may have been his opulence, our author did not waste his subsequent life in unprofitable idleness. No one can be idly employed who endeavours to make his fellow-subjects better citizens and wiser men. This will sufficiently appear if we consider his future labours, under the distinct heads of voyages; fictitious biography; moralities, either grave or ludicrous; domestic travels; and tracts on trade.

The success of *Crusoe* induced Defoe to publish, in 1720, *The Life and Piracies of Captain Singleton*, though not with similar success: the plan is narrower, and the performance is less amusing. In 1725 he gave *A New Voyage round the World, by a Course never Sailed before.*[1] Most voyagers have had this misfortune, that whatever success they had in the adventure, they had very little in the narration; they are indeed full of the incidents of sailing, but they have nothing of story for the use of readers who never intend to brave the dangers of the sea. These faults Defoe is studious to avoid in his new voyage. He spreads before his readers such adventures as no writer of a real voyage can hope to imitate, if we except the teller of Anson's tale. In the life of Crusoe we are gratified by continually imagining that the fiction is a fact; in the *Voyage round the World* we are pleased by constantly perceiving that the fact is a fiction, which, by uncommon skill, is made more interesting than a genuine voyage.

Of fictitious biography it is equally true, that by matchless art it may be made more instructive than a real life. Few of our writers have excelled Defoe in this kind of biographical narration, the great qualities of which are, to attract by the diversity of circumstances, and to instruct by the usefulness of examples.

He published in 1720 *The History of Duncan Campbell.* Of a person who was born deaf and dumb, but who himself taught the deaf and dumb to understand, it is easy to see that the life would be extraordinary. It will be found that the author has intermixed some disquisitions of learning, and has contrived that the merriest passages shall end with some edifying moral. *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders* were made to gratify the world in 1721. Defoe was aware that, in relating a vicious life, it was necessary to make the best use of a bad story; and he artfully endeavours that the reader shall be more pleased with the moral than the fable; with the application than the relation; with the end of the writer

[1] Concerning Defoe's knowledge of geography and nautical affairs, Mr. Wilson remarks:—'As Defoe had mixed much in society, he was become familiar with the habits and modes of talking that distinguished different persons, particularly in common life; and it is upon such subjects that he feels most at home. His different excursions to the Continent would bring him in contact with the British sailor, whose peculiarity of character was not lost upon him; and it is not improbable that he numbered amongst his acquaintance persons of a seafaring life, from whom he derived that correct knowledge of nautical affairs which is so conspicuous in his writings. When personating the sailor, he is as much at home as when he is discoursing upon trade, or discussing politics. It has been thought that he was not unacquainted with the celebrated Dampier, who, to professional skill, united other commendable qualities. Defoe lived at a period when buccaneering was carried on to a great extent, being encouraged by the long wars that grew out of the Revolution, particularly the war of the Spanish succession. From the relations of these lawless adventurers, he no doubt derived many anecdotes of surprising encounters and hairbreadth escapes, which he skilfully converted by his own genius to the uses required. He was also well read in the voyages and travels of former days, from whence he transferred the most striking incidents into his own imaginary voyages.'—WILSON'S *Life of Defoe*, vol. iii. 471, 472.

than the adventures of the person.[1] There was published in 1721 a work of a similar tendency, *The Life of Colonel Jack*, who was born a gentleman, but was bred a pickpocket. Our author is studious to convert his various adventures into a delightful field, where the reader might gather herbs, wholesome and medicinal, without the incommodation of plants, poisonous or noxious. In 1724 appeared *The Life of Roxana*. Scenes of crimes can scarcely be represented in such a manner, says Defoe, but some make a criminal use of them; but when vice is painted in its low-prized colours, it is not to make people love what from the frightfulness of the figures they ought necessarily to hate. Yet I am not convinced that the world has been made much wiser or better by the perusal of these lives: they may have diverted the lower orders, but I doubt if they have much improved them; if, however, they have not made them better, they have not left them worse. But they do not exhibit many scenes which are welcome to cultivated minds.[2] Of a very different quality are the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, during the civil wars in England, which seem to have been published without a date.[3] This is a romance the likest to truth that ever was written. It is a narrative of great events, which is drawn with such simplicity and enlivened with such reflections, as to inform the ignorant and entertain the wise.

The moralities of Defoe, whether published in single volumes or interspersed through many passages, must at last give him a superiority over the crowd of his contemporaries. The approbation which has been long given to his *Family Instructor* and his *Religious Courtship*, seem to contain the favourable decision of his countrymen. But there are still other performances of this nature, which are now to be mentioned, of not inferior merit.

Defoe published in 1722 *A Journal of the Plague in* 1665. The author's artifice consists in fixing the reader's attention by the deep distress of fellow-men; and, by recalling the reader's recollection to striking examples of mortality, he endeavours to inculcate the uncertainty of life and the usefulness of reformation. In 1724 Defoe published *The Great Law of Subordination*. This is an admirable commentary on the *Unsufferable Behaviour of Servants*. Yet though he interest by his mode, inform by his facts, and convince by his argument, he fails at last, by expecting from law what must proceed from manners. Our author gave *The Political History of the Devil* in 1726. The matter and the mode conjoin to make this a charming performance. He engages poetry and prose, reasoning and wit, persuasion and ridicule, on the side of religion and morals, with wonderful efficacy. Defoe wrote *A System of Magic* in 1726.[4] This may be properly regarded as a supplement to the *History of the Devil*. His end and his execution are exactly the same. He could see no great harm in the present pretenders to magic, if the poor people would but keep their money in their pockets; and that they should have their pockets picked by such an unperforming, unmeaning, ignorant crew as these are, is the only magic Defoe could see in the whole science. But the reader will discover in our author's system, extensive erudition, salutary remark, and useful

[1] 'The story of *Moll Flanders*, although seriously told, and abounding in just reflections upon the danger of an habitual course of wickedness, is a book, after all, that cannot be recommended for indiscriminate perusal. The scenes it unfolds are such as must be always unwelcome to a refined and well-cultivated mind; whilst, with respect to others, it is to be feared that those who are predisposed to the oblique paths of vice and dishonesty, will be more alive to the facts of the story, than to the moral that is suspended to it. The life of a courtezan, however carefully told, if told faithfully, must contain much matter unfit to be presented to a virtuous mind.'—WILSON'S *Life of Defoe*, vol. iii. p. 492.

[2] 'Although Roxana has passed under the same ban of proscription as Moll Flanders, yet there is an essential difference in the character of the two stories. The latter is an epitome of vice in low life, exhibiting the homely features of the class to which she belongs. Roxana, on the contrary, is a high-bred courtezan, and however revolting her story, she presents less grossness than is common to many of her order. She is just such a sort of person as may be supposed to have figured in the gay and licentious days of Charles II.; when a thorough-bred loyalist, whether in court or city, would have thought it a breach of good manners to be considered better than his prince.'—WILSON'S *Life of Defoe*, vol. iii. p. 530.

[3] In 1725 he published *Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business*, a sequel to the work mentioned in the text, reprinted in the present edition.

[4] And also, in 1727, *An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions; being an Account of what they are, and what they are not*. . . . In 1726 he also published *An Essay upon Literature; or, An Inquiry into the Antiquity and Original of Letters, etc.*; and *An Account of Peter the Wild Boy, then lately discovered in one of the German Forests*. This latter work is entitled *Mere Nature Delineated; or, a Body without a Soul. Being Observations upon the young Forester lately brought to Town from Germany*. . . . In the year 1727, in addition to the work mentioned by Mr. Chalmers, Defoe published *The Protestant Monastery; or, A Complaint against the Brutality of the present Age, particularly the Pertness and Insolence of our Youth to Aged Persons, with a Caution to People in years how they give the staff out of their own hands, and leave themselves at the mercy of others*. Concluding with a Proposal for erecting a Protestant Monastery, where persons of small fortunes may end their days in plenty, ease, and credit, without burdening their relations, or accepting public charities; And *Parochial Tyranny; or, The Housekeeper's Complaint against the insupportable Exactions and partial Assessments of Select Vestries, etc.*; with a Plain Detection of many Abuses committed in the distribution of public charities.

satire. Defoe published in 1727 his *Treatise on the Use and Abuse of the Marriage-bed.* The author had begun this performance thirty years before; he delayed the publication, though it had been long finished, in hopes of reformation. But being now grown old, and out of the reach of scandal, and despairing of amendment from a vicious age, he thought proper to close his days with this satire. He appealed to that Judge, before whom he expected soon to appear, that as he had done it with an upright intention, so he had used his utmost endeavour to perform it in a manner which was the least liable to reflection, and the most answerable to the end of it,—the reformation of the guilty. After such an appeal, and such asseverations, I will only remark that this is an excellent book with an improper title-page.

We are now to consider our author's tours. He published his *Travels through England,* in 1724 and 1725; and through *Scotland,* in 1727. Defoe was not one of those travellers who seldom quit the banks of the Thames. He had made wide excursions over all those countries with observant eyes and a vigorous intellect. The great artifice of these volumes consists in the frequent mention of such men and things as are always welcome to the reader's mind.[1]

Defoe's *Commercial Tracts* are to be reviewed lastly. Whether his fancy gradually failed as age hastily advanced, I am unable to tell. He certainly began in 1726 to employ his pen more frequently on the real business of common life. He published in 1727 *The Complete English Tradesman,*—directing him in the several parts of trade. A second volume soon after followed, which was addressed chiefly to the more experienced and more opulent traders. In these treatises the tradesmen found many directions of business, and many lessons of prudence. Defoe was not one of those writers who consider private vices as public benefits: 'God forbid,' he exclaims, 'that I should be understood to prompt the vices of the age in order to promote any practice of traffic: trade need not be destroyed though vice were mortally wounded.' With this salutary spirit he published in 1728 *A Plan of the English Commerce.* This seems to be the conclusion of what he had begun in 1713. In 1728 Gee printed his *Trade and Navigation Considered.* Defoe insisted that our industry, our commerce, our opulence, and our people had increased, and were increasing. Gee represented that our manufacturers had received mortal stabs, that our poor were destitute, and our country miserable. Defoe maintained the truth, which experience has taught to unwilling auditors. Gee asserted the falsehood without knowing the fact; yet Gee is quoted, while Defoe, with all his knowledge of the subject, as a commercial writer, is almost forgotten. The reason may be found perhaps in the characteristic remark with which he opens his plan: 'Trade, like religion, is what everybody talks of, but few understand.'

When curiosity has contemplated such copiousness, such variety, and such excellence, it naturally inquires which was the last of Defoe's performances? Were we to determine from the date of the title-page, the *Plan of Commerce* must be admitted to be his last. But if we judge from his prefatory declaration, in *The Abuse of the Marriage-bed,* where he talks of

[1] Of the pains he took to procure correct information, he thus speaks:—'The preparations for this work have been suitable to my earnest concern for its usefulness. Seventeen very large circuits, or journeys, have been taken through divers parts separately, and three general tours over almost the whole English part of the island; in all which the author has not been wanting to treasure up just remarks upon particular places and things. Besides these several journeys in England, he has also lived some time in Scotland, and has travelled critically over great part of it; he has viewed the north part of England and the south part of Scotland five several times over: all which is hinted here, to let the readers know what reason they have to be satisfied with the authority of the relation.'

The first of these Tours was published in 1724, under the title of *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits and Journeys.* Giving a particular and diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Observation, viz.—I. A Description of the principal Cities and Towns: their Situations, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. II. The Customs, Manners, Spirit, as also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the People. III. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. IV. The Seaports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and Inland Navigation. V. The Public Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With useful Observations on the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the island. By a Gentleman.

The favourable reception of this volume encouraged the author to follow it by a second in the next year, with a similar title, and the addition of a map of South Britain, by Herman Moll, the geographer. A third volume, the same also in title, was added in 1727, containing the northern counties of England and the south of Scotland; and this completes the work. The useful information contained in these volumes is conveyed in the familiar form of letters. In commending the work to the notice of the public, he says, 'I have endeavoured that these letters shall not be a journal of trifles. If it is on that account too grave for some people, I hope it will not for others. I have studied the advancement and increase of knowledge for those that read, and shall be as glad to make them wise as to make them merry; yet I hope they will not find the story so ill told or so dull as to tire them so soon, or so barren as to put them to sleep over it. The observations here made, as they principally regard the present state of things, so, as near as can be, they are adapted to the present state of the times.'

closing his days with this satire, which he was so far from seeing cause of being ashamed of, that he hoped he should not be ashamed of it where he was going to account for it, we must finally decide that our author closed his career 'with this upright intention for the good of mankind.'[1]

Defoe, after those innumerable labours, which I have thus endeavoured to recall to the public recollection, died in April 1731 within the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, at an age when it was time to prepare for his last voyage.[2] He left a widow, Susannah, who did not long survive him, and six sons and daughters, whom he boasts of having educated as well as his circumstances would admit. His son Daniel is said to have emigrated to Carolina: of Benjamin, his second son, no account can be given. His youngest daughter, Sophia, married Mr. Henry Baker, a person more respectable as a philosopher than a poet, who died in 1774 at the age of seventy. His daughter Maria married one Langley; but Hannah and Henrietta probably remained unmarried, since they were heiresses only of a name which did not recommend them. With regard to

> 'Norton, from Daniel and Ostræa sprung,[3]
> Blessed with his father's front, and mother's tongue,'

it is only said that he was a wretched writer in the *Flying Post*, and the author of *Alderman Barber's Life*. Defoe probably died insolvent; for letters of administration on his goods and chattels were granted to Mary Brooke, widow, a creditrix, in September 1733, after summoning in official form the next of kin to appear. John Dunton, who personally knew our author, describes him in 1705 as a man of good parts and clear sense, of a conversation ingenious and brisk, of a spirit enterprising and bold, but of little prudence, with good nature and real honesty. Of his petty habits little now can be told, more than he has thus confessed himself: 'God, I thank thee, I am not a drunkard, or a swearer, or a whoremaster, or a busybody, or idle, or revengeful; and though this be true, and I challenge all the world to prove the contrary, yet, I must own, I see small satisfaction in all the negatives of common virtues; for though I have not been guilty of any of these vices, nor of many more, I have nothing to infer from thence, but *Te Deum laudamus.*' He says himself:

> 'Confession will anticipate reproach,
> He that reviles us then, reviles too much;
> All satire ceases when the men repent—
> 'Tis cruelty to lash the penitent.'[4]

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[1] Mr. Chalmers is mistaken in thinking this the last work published by Defoe; he appears to have issued a number of other works between 1727 and his death. Among these were, in 1727, *An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions; Augusta Triumphans, or the Way to make London the most flourishing City in the World* (1728). In the same year two pamphlets on the subject of street robberies; *The Complete English Gentleman—containing useful Observations on the general neglect of the Education of English Gentlemen, with the Reason and Remedies.* This was begun to be printed in 1729, but was never published. According to Mr. Lee (*Life of Defoe*), in 1731, the year of his death, was published his last work, *An Effectual Scheme for the Immediate Preventing of Street Robberies, and Suppressing the other Disorders of the Night.* Concerning this work, Mr. Crossley of Manchester, who has the merit of discovering and affiliating it, says in *Notes and Queries* (1st Series, iii. 195), 'It gives a history, and the only one I ever met with, written in all Defoe's graphic manner, of the London police, and the various modes of street robbery in the metropolis, from the time of Charles II. to 1731, and concludes by suggestions of effectual means of prevention. It is evidently the work of one who lived in London during the whole of the period.'

[2] He was buried in Tindall's burying-ground, now known by the name of Bunhill Fields.

[3] Pope had collected this scandal from Savage, who says in the preface to his *Author to be Let*, 'Had it not been an honester livelihood for Mr. Norton (Daniel Defoe's son of love by a lady who vended oysters) to have dealt in a fish-market, than to be dealing out the dialects of Billingsgate in the *Flying Post?*'

[4] Of Defoe's latter days, Mr. Wilson thus speaks:—'The latter years of Defoe's life furnish but few materials for biography, independently of those arising from the history of his publications. The rapidity with which these followed each other, and the successive editions that were in demand during his lifetime, if his gains were at all commensurate, must have ensured him a considerable degree of wealth; such at least would be the well-earned reward of an author possessed of only half of his genius in the present day. But Defoe was never destined to be a rich man. He must, however, have been in easy circumstances during the first run of his romances. We have seen that, in 1721, he fined to the parish of Stoke-Newington to be excused serving parish offices, a tax that he paid for being a Dissenter. In the following year he obtained from the corporation of Colchester a lease for ninety-nine years of Kingswood Heath, at a yearly rent of £120, besides a fine of £500. . . . It must have been about this time, or a little before, that he built a large and handsome house for his own residence at Stoke-Newington; and if we may believe the report of his literary opponents, he had the luxury of a coach and its accustomed appendages. . . . Prosperous as Defoe's circumstances now appeared to be, they could not procure him the blessing of health. He was now tormented with those dreadful maladies, the gout and the stone, occasioned in part, most probably, by his close application, and they subjected him to continual attacks of illness during the remainder of his life. . . .

'Strangely as it may consist with the foregoing account of Defoe's circumstances, it was not long after his daughter's marriage before he was doomed to undergo the privation, not only of the comforts he enjoyed in his retreat at Newington, but even of his personal liberty

When Defoe had arrived at sixty-five, while he was encumbered with a family, and, I fear, pinched with penury, Pope endeavoured by repeated strokes to bring his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. This he did without propriety, and, as far as appears, without provocation; for our author is not in the black list of scribblers, who, by attempting to lessen the poet's fame, incited the satirist's indignation. The offence and the fate of Bentley and Defoe were nearly alike. Bentley would not allow the translation to be Homer. Defoe had endeavoured to bring Milton into vogue seven years ere the *Paradise Lost* and *Chevy Chase* had been criticised in the *Spectators* by Addison. Our author had said in *More Reformation:*

> 'Let this describe the nation's character:
> One man reads Milton, forty ————;
> The case is plain, the temper of the time:
> One wrote the lewd, the other the sublime.'

The immediate occasion of it cannot now be known; but he was probably thrown into prison by some merciless creditor, whom he hints at as a "wicked and perjured enemy." That he was not long in confinement seems probable, as we find him again at liberty in August 1730, although still not without apprehensions of renewed troubles. All this while he suffered greatly from bodily affliction, having been brought low by an attack of fever. But these were not the whole of Defoe's misfortunes. He who had borne so long the buffetings of the world possessed a spirit that refused to sink under them, until he was touched by a hand that should have nourished and protected him. He could say, in the language of the prophet, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." It seems that, to prevent the shipwreck of his property, he had conveyed it to his son, with a legal obligation, as well as private understanding, that it was for the joint benefit of his wife and two unmarried daughters. But he proved an unfaithful steward, converting the property to his own use, and leaving his mother and sisters to want. This unnatural conduct pierced his unhappy father to the very soul; but how it touched him can be told only by his own pen. The following letter to Mr. Baker, for which the present writer is indebted to his great-great-grandson, presents a tale of sorrow such as perhaps was never told before, and, for the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped but rarely occurs. He who can read it with unmoistened eyes must be possessed of feelings that no man ought to envy.

'"DEAR MR. BAKER,—

'"I have your very kind and affectionate letter of the 1st, but not come to my hand till the 16th; where it had been delayed I know not. As your kind manner, and kinder thought, from which it flows (for I take all you say to be as I always believed you to be, sincere and Nathanael-like, without guile), was a particular satisfaction to me; so the stop of a letter, however it happened, deprived me of that cordial too many days, considering how much I stood in need of it, to support a mind sinking under the weight of an affliction too heavy for my strength, and looking on myself as abandoned of every comfort, every friend, and every relation, except such only as are able to give me no assistance.

'"I was sorry you should say at the beginning of your letter you were debarred seeing me; depend upon my sincerity for this, I am far from debarring you. On the contrary, it would be a greater comfort to me than any I now enjoy, that I could have your agreeable visits with safety, and could see both you and my dearest Sophia, could it be without giving her the grief of seeing her father *in tenebris*, and under the load of insupportable sorrows. I am sorry I must open my griefs so far as to tell her it is not the blow I received from a wicked, perjured, and contemptible enemy that has broken in upon my spirit, which, she well knows, has carried me on through greater disasters than these. But it has been the injustice, unkindness, and, I must say, inhuman dealing of my own son, which has both ruined my family and, in a word, has broken my heart; and as I am at this time under a weight of very heavy illness, which I think will be a fever, I take this occasion to vent my grief in the breasts who I know will make a prudent use of it, and tell you that nothing but this has conquered me, or could conquer me. *Et tu! Brute.* I depended upon him, I trusted him, I gave up my two dear unprovided children into his hands; but he had no compassion, and suffered them and their poor dying mother to beg their bread at his door, and to crave, as if it were an alms, what he is bound under hand and seal, besides the most sacred promises, to supply them with; himself at the same time living in a profusion of plenty. It is too much for me. Excuse my infirmity; I can say no more: my heart is too full. I only ask one thing of you as a dying request. Stand by them when I am gone, and let them not be wronged, while he is able to do them right. Stand by them as a brother; and if you have anything within you owing to my memory, who have bestowed on you the best gift I had to give, let them not be injured and trampled on by false pretences and unnatural reflections. I hope they will want no help but that of comfort and counsel; but that they will indeed want, being so easy to be managed by words and promises.

'"It adds to my grief that it is so difficult to me to see you. I am at a distance from London, in Kent; nor have a lodging in London, nor have I been at that place in the Old Bailey since I wrote you I was removed from it. At present I am weak, having had some fits of a fever that have left me low. But those things much more.

'"I have not seen son or daughter, wife or child, many weeks, and know not which way to see them. They dare not come by water, and by land here is no coach, and I know not what to do.

'"It is not possible for me to come to Enfield, unless you could find a retired lodging for me, where I might not be known, and might have the comfort of seeing you both now and then; upon such a circumstance, I could gladly give the days to solitude, to have the comfort of half an hour now and then with you both for two or three weeks. But just to come and look at you, and retire immediately, it is a burden too heavy. The parting will be a pain beyond the enjoyment.

'"I would say I hope, with comfort, that it is yet well. I am so near my journey's end, and am hastening to the place where the 'weary are at rest, and the wicked cease to trouble;' but that the passage is rough, and the day stormy, by what way soever He pleases to bring me to the end of it, I desire to finish life with this temper of soul in all cases: *Te Deum laudamus.*

'"I congratulate you on the occasion of your happy advance in your employment. May all you do be prosperous, and all you meet with pleasant, and may you both escape the tortures and troubles of uncasy life. May you sail the dangerous voyage of life with a forcing wind, and make the port of heaven without a storm.

'"It adds to my grief that I must never see the pledge of your mutual love, my little grandson. Give him my blessing, and may he be to you both your joy in youth and your comfort in age, and never add a sigh to your sorrow. But, alas! that is not to be expected. Kiss my dear Sophy once more for me; and if I must see her no more, tell her this is from a father that loved her above all his comforts, to his last breath.—Your unhappy,

D. F.

'"About two miles from Greenwich, Kent,
Tuesday, August 12, 1730.

'"*P.S.*—I wrote you a letter some months ago, in answer to one from you, about selling the house; but you never signified to me whether you received it. I have not the policy of assurance; I suppose my wife, or Hannah, may have it.—*Idem,* D. F."'

An enraged poet alone could have thrust into the *Dunciad*, Bentley, a profound scholar, Cibber, a brilliant wit, and Defoe, a happy genius. This was the consequence of exalting satire as the test of truth,—while truth ought to have been enthroned the test of satire. Yet it ought not to be forgotten that Defoe has some sarcasm in his *System of Magic*, on the *sylphs* and *gnomes*, which Pope may have deemed a daring invasion of his Rosicrutian territories.

Defoe has outlived his century, and has long been acknowledged one of the ablest, as he is one of the most captivating, writers of which this island can boast. Let us consider him distinctly as a poet, as a novelist, as a polemic, as a commercial writer, and as a grave historian.

As a poet, we must look to the end of his effusions rather than to his execution, ere we can allow him considerable praise. To mollify national animosities or to vindicate national rights, are certainly noble objects, which merit the vigour and imagination of Milton, or the flow and precision of Pope; but our author's energy runs into harshness, and his sweetness is to be tasted in his prose more than in his poesy. If we regard the *Adventures of Crusoe*, like the *Adventures of Telemachus*, as a poem, his moral, his incidents, and his language must lift him high in the poet's scale. His professed poems, whether we contemplate the propriety of sentiment or the suavity of numbers, may indeed, without much loss of pleasure or instruction, be resigned to those who, in imitation of Pope, poach in the fields of obsolete poetry for brilliant thoughts, felicities of phrase, or for happy rhymes.

As a novelist, every one will place him in the foremost rank who considers his originality, his performance, and his purpose. *The Ship of Fools* had indeed been launched in early times; but who, like Defoe, had ever carried his reader to sea, in order to mend the heart and regulate the practice of life, by showing his readers the effect of adversity, or how they might equally be called to sustain his hero's trials, as they sailed round the world? But, without attractions, neither the originality nor the end can have any salutary consequence. This he had foreseen; and for this he has provided, by giving his adventures in a style so pleasing, because it is simple and so interesting, because it is particular, that every one fancies he could write a similar language. It was, then, idle in Boyer formerly, or in Smollett lately, to speak of Defoe as a party-writer, in little estimation. The writings of no author since have run through more numerous editions. And he whose works have pleased generally and pleased long, must be deemed a writer of no small estimation, the people's verdict being the proper test of what they are the proper judges.

As a polemic, I fear we must regard our author with less kindness, though it must be recollected that he lived during a contentious period, when two parties distracted the nation, and writers indulged in great asperities. But, in opposition to reproach, let it ever be remembered that he defended freedom without anarchy, that he supported toleration without libertinism, that he pleaded for moderation even amidst violence. With acuteness of intellect, with keenness of wit, with archness of diction, and pertinacity of design, it must be allowed that nature had qualified in a high degree Defoe for a disputant. His polemical treatises, whatever might have been their attractions once, may now be delivered without reserve to those who delight in polemical reading. Defoe, it must be allowed, was a party-writer. But, were not Swift and Prior, Steel and Addison, Halifax and Bolingbroke, party-writers? Defoe being a party-writer upon settled principles, did not change with the change of parties. Addison and Steel, Prior and Swift, connected as they were with persons, changed their note as persons were elevated or depressed.

As a commercial writer, Defoe is fairly entitled to stand in the foremost rank among his contemporaries, whatever may be their performances or their fame. Little would be his praise to say of him that he wrote on commercial legislation like Addison, who, when he touches on trade, sinks into imbecility without knowledge of fact or power of argument. The distinguishing characteristics of Defoe as a commercial disquisitor are originality and depth. He has many sentiments with regard to traffic which are scattered through his *Reviews*, and which I never read in any other book. His *Giving Alms no Charity* is a capital performance, with the exception of one or two thoughts about the abridgment of labour by machinery, which are either half formed or half expressed. Were we to compare Defoe with D'Avenant, it would be found that D'Avenant has more detail from official documents,—that Defoe has

more fact from wider inquiry. D'Avenant is more apt to consider laws in their particular application; Defoe more frequently investigates commercial legislation in its general effects. From the publications of D'Avenant it is sufficiently clear that he was not very regardful of means, or very attentive to consequences; Defoe is more correct in his motives, and more salutary in his ends. But, as a commercial prophet, Defoe must yield the palm to Child; who, foreseeing from experience that men's conduct must finally be directed by their principles, foretold the colonial revolt. Defoe, allowing his prejudices to obscure his sagacity, reprobated that suggestion, because he deemed interest a more strenuous prompter than enthusiasm. Were we, however, to form an opinion, not from special passages, but from whole performances, we must incline to Defoe when compared with the ablest contemporary; we must allow him the preference, on recollection, that when he writes on commerce he seldom fails to insinuate some axiom of morals, or to inculcate some precept of religion.

As a historian, it will be found that our author had few equals in the English language when he wrote. His *Memoirs of a Cavalier* show how well he could execute the lighter narratives. His *History of the Union* evinces that he was equal to the higher department of historic composition. This is an account of a single event, difficult indeed in its execution, but beneficial certainly in its consequences. With extraordinary skill and information, our author relates, not only the event, but the transactions which preceded, and the effects which followed. He is at once learned and intelligent. Considering the factiousness of the age, his candour is admirable. His moderation is exemplary. And if he spoke of James I. as a tyrant, he only exercised the prerogative, which our historians formerly enjoyed, of casting obloquy on an unfortunate race, in order to supply deficiency of knowledge, of elegance, and of style. In this instance Defoe allowed his prejudice to overpower his philosophy. If the language of his narrative want the dignity of the great historians of the current times, it has greater facility; if it be not always grammatical, it is generally precise; and if it be thought defective in strength, it must be allowed to excel in sweetness.

ROBINSON CRUSOE.

The Life and strange surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner, who lived eight and twenty years all alone in an uninhabited island on the coast of America, near the mouth of the great River Oroonoque; having been cast on shore by shipwreck, wherein all the men perished but himself. With an account how he was at last as strangely delivered by Pirates. Written by Himself.

[THE fascinating story of *Robinson Crusoe* was first published in 1719, when Defoe was nearly sixty years of age, and it rapidly achieved a European fame. It may now be said to be 'familiar as a household word' over nearly the whole world, and therefore anything new by way of laudation, if that were possible, would at this time of day be superfluous, if not impertinent. We shall therefore content ourselves with transcribing a few of the remarks of Mr. Walter Wilson, the able author of the interesting and copious biography of Defoe. '*Robinson Crusoe*, in spite of all the efforts of envy and malevolence, has taken an honourable station in our literature. It has obtained a ready passport to the mansions of the rich and the cottages of the poor, and communicated equal delight to all ranks and classes of the community. As a work of amusement, it is one of the first books put into the hands of youth; and there can be none more proper to insinuate instruction, while it administers delight. "*Robinson Crusoe*," says Marmontel, "is the first book I ever read with exquisite pleasure; and I believe every boy in Europe might say the same thing." Whilst youth and ignorance have found ample scope for entertainment in the succession of incidents, told with all the verisimilitude of real life, it has commended itself to the more enlightened as one of those rare efforts of genius that places its author in the first rank among writers of invention. As a narrative replete with incidents, it stands unrivalled for its natural and easy transitions from one part of the story to another, unincumbered by irrelative matter or display of useless ornament. The whole machinery is strictly subservient to the main object of the story, and its various parts are so nicely adjusted, that there is nothing wanting to complete the chain nor to heighten the interest. Crusoe is strictly a child of nature, assisted only by the circumstances that arose out of his peculiar situation and sphere of life. There is an air of plausibility, or rather reality, in all the particulars of the story, even to the minutest, that the reader reluctantly admits any part of it to be a fiction. When his mind is upon the stretch, it is absorbed in the fascinating description of scenes from real life; he is never astounded by improbabilities, nor disgusted by mawkish sensibility. His attention is fixed by one artless chain of natural incidents, such as may happen to any individual in a similar situation; but told in a concise manner, without decoration, and deriving their interest solely from the peculiar mode of telling the story.'—(*Life of Defoe*, iii. 441.) 'Was there ever,' said Dr. Johnson, 'anything written by mere man, that was wished longer by its readers, except *Don Quixote*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and the *Pilgrim's Progress*?'

Like everything else which Defoe had hitherto published, the appearance of *Crusoe* was the signal for covering its author with low abuse and false accusation. We need only

mention the weak and vain attempt of an unscrupulous pamphleteer of the day to blast Defoe's reputation and depreciate his work; and the assertion that Defoe had no share in the merit of the book, seeing that it was entirely compiled from the journals kept by Alexander Selkirk during his twenty-two years' solitary sojourn in the island of Juan Fernandez. This latter assertion now needs no refutation, seeing that long ago it has most satisfactorily been proved to be wholly devoid of foundation. That the idea of Defoe's story was first suggested to him by the narrative of Selkirk, we think is highly probable; but there is no doubt that this is all he owed to that source. 'He took no more of *Robinson Crusoe* from Selkirk's story than Shakespeare did of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* from the old Scotch and Danish chronicles, or of *Romeo and Juliet* from the Italian ballad.' The entire working-out of the idea was the product of Defoe's own rich imagination. However, as the story is interesting in itself, and especially so in connection with the great work but for which it might have been known only to the curious few, we shall give here a short account of what is known of Selkirk's lonely island life. The story has appeared in various forms, but the most satisfactory and authentic version is contained in *The Life and Adventures of Alexander Selkirk*, by John Howell. The following narrative is taken mainly from Captain Woodes Rogers' *Cruising Voyage round the World*, in which the story was first given to the public.

Alexander Selkirk, or more correctly Selcraig, is said to have been born at Largo, Fifeshire, in the year 1676, and, after a common school education, was put to his father's business, which was that of a shoemaker. On account of some indiscretion, he suddenly left home when eighteen years of age, and was never heard of for six years. He is supposed to have been with the buccaneers in the South Seas. Returning in 1701, and staying a short time at home, he went up to London and was engaged as sailing-master of the *Cinque Ports* galley, about to proceed on a cruising expedition to the South Seas, under the command of Captain Dampier. The expedition left England in 1703, and after having cruised about for some time, a violent quarrel appears to have arisen between Selkirk and his commander, Captain Stradling, on account of which the former determined to quit the ship at the first opportunity. This occurred in September 1704, when the vessel was obliged to put in at the island of Juan Fernandez in the South Pacific. Here, at his own desire, he was put ashore, and remained a solitary prisoner for upwards of four years, until he was released by Captain Woodes Rogers in February 1709.

'He had with him when put ashore,' says Captain Rogers, 'his clothes and bedding, with a firelock, some powder, bullets, and tobacco, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a Bible, some practical pieces, and his mathematical instruments and books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but for the first eight months had much ado to bear up against melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in such a desolate place. He built two huts with pimento trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted, so long as his powder lasted, which was but a pound; and that being almost spent, he got fire by rubbing two sticks of pimento wood together upon his knee. In the lesser hut, at some distance from the other, he dressed his victuals; and in the larger he slept, and employed himself in reading, singing psalms, and praying; so that, he said, he was a better Christian while in this solitude, than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again.

'At first he never ate anything till hunger constrained him, partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and salt; nor did he go to bed till he could watch no longer; the pimento wood, which burnt very clear, served him both for fire and candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant smell. He might have had fish enough, but would not eat them for want of salt, because they occasioned a looseness, except cray fish, which are as large as our lobsters, and very good. These he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his goats' flesh, of which he made very good broth, for they are not so rank as ours. He kept an account of 500 that he killed while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the ear, and let go. When his powder failed, he took them by speed of feet; for his way of living, continual exercise of walking and running, cleared him of all gross humours, so that he ran with wonderful swiftness through the woods, and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived when we employed him to catch goats for us. We had a bull dog, which we sent with

several of our nimblest runners to help him in catching goats; but he distanced and tired both the dog and the men, caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back.

'He told us that his agility in pursuing a goat had once like to have cost him his life; he pursued it with so much eagerness, that he catched hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the bushes hiding it from him, so that he fell with the goat down the precipice, a great height, and was so stunned and bruised with the fall, that he narrowly escaped with his life; and when he came to his senses, found the goat dead under him. He lay there about twenty-four hours, and was scarce able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile distant, or to stir abroad again in ten days.

'He came at last to relish his meat well enough without salt or bread; and, in the season, had plenty of good turnips, which had been sowed there by Captain Dampier's men, and have now overspread some acres of ground. He had enough of good cabbage from the cabbage trees, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the pimento trees, which is the same as Jamaica pepper, and smells deliciously. He found also a black pepper called Malageta, which was very good to expel wind, and against griping in the guts.

'He soon wore out all his shoes and clothes by running in the woods; and at last being forced to shift without them, his feet became so hard, that he ran everywhere without difficulty; and it was some time before he could wear shoes after we found him; for, not being used to any so long, his feet swelled when he came first to wear them again.

'After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himself sometimes with cutting his name on the trees, and the time of his being left, and continuance there. He was at first much pestered with cats and rats, that bred in great numbers, from some of each species which had got ashore from ships that put in there to wood and water. The rats gnawed his feet and clothes whilst asleep, which obliged him to cherish the cats with his goats' flesh, by which many of them became so tame that they would lie about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He likewise tamed some kids, and to divert himself, would now and then sing and dance with them and his cats; so that, by the favour of Providence and vigour of his youth, being now but thirty years old, he came at last to conquer all the inconveniences of his solitude, and to be very easy.

'When his clothes were worn out, he made himself a coat and a cap of goat-skins, which he stitched together with little thongs of the same that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle but a nail; and when his knife was worn to the back, he made others as well as he could, of some iron hoops that were left ashore, which he beat thin, and ground upon stones. Having some linen cloth by him, he sewed him some shirts with a nail, and stitched them with the worsted of his old stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last shirt on when we found him in the island.

'At his first coming on board us, he had so much forgot his language, for want of use, that we could scarce understand him, for he seemed to speak his words by halves. We offered him a dram, but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water since his being there; and it was some time before he could relish our victuals. He could give us an account of no other product of the island than what we have mentioned, except some black plums, which are very good, but hard to come at; the trees which bear them growing on high mountains and rocks. Pimento trees are plenty here; and we saw some of sixty feet high, and about two yards thick; and cotton trees higher, and near four fathoms round in the stock. The climate is so good that the trees and grass are verdant all the year round. The winter lasts no longer than June and July, and is not then severe, there being only a small frost and a little hail; but sometimes great rains. The heat of the summer is equally moderate; and there is not much thunder, or tempestuous weather of any sort. He saw no venomous or savage creature on the island, nor any sort of beasts but goats, the first of which had been put ashore here, on purpose for a breed, by Juan Fernandez, a Spaniard, who settled there with some families, till the continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this island, capable, however, of maintaining a good number of people, and being made so strong, that they could not be easily dislodged from thence.'

After a long and fatiguing cruise, Selkirk arrived in England in the month of October

1711, with a booty of £800, after an absence of rather more than eight years. On his appearance in London, Selkirk became the object of much curiosity, and was visited by crowds of wonder-seekers, most of whom, we are told, represented him as an 'unsociable man, of singular habits, and far from communicative.' Among others who visited him was Sir Richard Steele, who managed to draw from him many particulars of his solitary life, which he gave to the public in an interesting paper, in his paper the *Englishman* for December 3, 1713.

Selkirk returned home and married a peasant girl named Sophia Bruce, with whom he went to London. He however appears to have grown tired of an inactive life, and again went to sea on board of His Majesty's ship *Weymouth*, where he died in 1723, leaving his effects 'to sundry loving female friends, with whom he had contracted intimacies during his residence on shore.'

The name of Crusoe, according to Wilson, is not fictitious, having had a real owner in Timothy Crusoe, a popular preacher among the Presbyterians in London. He published a considerable number of sermons, mostly upon public occasions, and his name was most probably known to Defoe. According to the same authority, the story of Friday may, perhaps, have been borrowed from that of a Mosquito Indian related by Dampier.

According to the editor (Mr. H. Kingsley) of the 'Globe' edition of *Crusoe*, 'it is the confusion between Robinson Crusoe and Alexander Selkirk, combined with abbreviated editions of Defoe's romance, which make a very great majority of people think that Robinson Crusoe's island is identical with Juan Fernandez. It has nothing on earth in common with it, except that there are caves in it and goats.' Juan Fernandez is a large rocky island, eighteen miles long by six broad, in the South Pacific, about 400 miles off Valparaiso, on the coast of Chili. It is covered with high rocky peaks, the highest of which is about 4000 feet above the sea. It contains many fertile valleys, and the cliffs afford food to numbers of wild goats. There are at present about forty inhabitants. The nearest land is the island of Mas-a-Fuera, which is about ninety miles west of Fernandez. 'The imaginary Robinson Crusoe island,' says Mr. Kingsley, 'is an utterly different one in the Atlantic, 10 degrees north of the line, close off the coast of Venezuela, in the very estuary, if estuary it may be called, of the Orinoco. The mainland which Robinson Crusoe sees, from which the *Caribs* or *Cannibals* come, is our own island of Trinidad. . . . Friday was a *Carib*, for Trinidad is the most southerly and the largest (except Porto Rico) of the Caribbee Islands. His straight hair, his handsome body, everything about him shows that Defoe was as careful in writing fiction as he was in writing politics.' Indeed, the extent and accuracy of Defoe's geographical knowledge has often been noticed, and any one who takes the trouble to compare the geography of Crusoe and his other fictions, even with the knowledge to which we have attained in that department at the present day, cannot but wonder how Defoe came by all he knew. One is almost forced to think that he himself had been an explorer.

Robinson Crusoe has been translated into most European languages, and even into Arabic by Burckhardt the traveller, who says that 'the most bigoted lovers of Oriental literature could not help confessing that the Frankish story-teller had afforded them as much amusement as the historian of Sinbad, without ever having recourse to anything in the smallest degree improbable, and without ever writing one sentence less pregnant with instruction than amusement.'

Defoe had, of course, to submit to the penalty which is almost invariably paid as the price of popularity, that of being imitated. The most notable English imitation is entitled, 'The Hermit; or, the unparalleled sufferings and surprising adventures of Mr. Philip Quarll, an Englishman, who was lately discovered by Mr. Dorrington, a British merchant, upon an uninhabited island in the South Sea, where he has lived above fifty years without any human assistance, still continues to reside, and will not come away. Containing,' etc. etc. etc. It appeared in 1727, and, says Mr. Wilson, was the first edition of a work which has been often printed on coarse paper for the common people, but never attained to any reputation. The preface sufficiently shows that it was suggested by envy at the popularity of Defoe's writings, which the author vainly imagined to supersede by his own lucubrations.

There have, continues Mr. Wilson, been also several French imitations of the work, with

the same title, of which the best, perhaps, is that of M. Campe, who, taking some hints from Rousseau, composed a story upon the model of Defoe's romance, in which he professed to develop the resources of nature to a greater extent than had been done by the original writer. His work is cast into dialogues, and split into portions adapted to evening conversations. As everything offensive to Catholics has been expunged, it has been translated into several continental languages. It was, at least under the late *régime*, the only version of *Crusoe* allowed to circulate in Spain. There is an English translation under the title of *The New Robinson Crusoe*. The well-known story, *The Swiss Family Robinson*, is also a French imitation.]

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

If ever the Story of any private Man's Adventures in the World were worth making Publick, and were acceptable when Publish'd, the Editor of this Account thinks this will be so.

The Wonders of this Man's Life exceed all that (he thinks) is to be found extant; the Life of one Man being scarce capable of a greater Variety.

The Story is told with Modesty, with Seriousness, and with a religious Application of Events to the Uses to which wise Men always apply them, (viz.) to the Instruction of others by this Example, and to justify and honour the Wisdom of Providence in all the Variety of our Circumstances, let them happen how they will.

The Editor believes the thing to be a just History of Fact; neither is there any Appearance of Fiction in it: And however thinks, because all such things are dispatch'd, that the Improvement of it, as well to the Diversion as to the Instruction of the Reader, will be the same; and as such, he thinks, without farther Compliment to the World, he does them a great Service in the Publication.

I was born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, though not of that country, my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull. He got a good estate by merchandise, and leaving off his trade, lived afterwards at York, from whence he had married my mother, whose relations were named Robinson, a very good family in that country, and after whom I was called Robinson Kreutznaer; but by the usual corruption of words in England, we are now called, nay, we call ourselves, and write our name Crusoe; and so my companions always called me.

I had two elder brothers, one of which was lieutenant-colonel to an English regiment of foot in Flanders, formerly commanded by the famous Colonel Lockhart, and was killed at the battle near Dunkirk against the Spaniards. What became of my second brother I never knew, any more than my father and mother did know what was become of me.

Being the third son of the family, and not bred to any trade, my head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts. My father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning, as far as house-education and a country free school generally go, and designed me for the law; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea, and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay the commands of my father, and against all the entreaties and persuasions of my mother and other friends, that there seemed to be something fatal in that propension of nature, tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall me.

My father, a wise and grave man, gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design. He called me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and expostulated very warmly with me upon this subject. He asked me what reasons, more than a mere wandering inclination, I had for leaving my father's house and my native country, where I might be well introduced, and had a prospect of raising my fortunes, by application and industry, with a life of ease and pleasure. He told me it was for men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring, superior fortunes on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprise, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of low life, which he had found, by long experience, was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings, of the mechanic part of mankind, and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind. He told me I might judge of the happiness of this state by one thing, viz. that this was the state of life which all other people envied; that kings have frequently lamented the miserable consequences of being born to great things, and wished they had been placed in the middle of the two extremes, between the mean and the great; that the wise man gave his testimony to this, as the just standard of true

felicity, when he prayed to have 'neither poverty nor riches.'

He bade me observe it, and I should always find, that the calamities of life were shared among the upper and lower part of mankind; but that the middle station had the fewest disasters, and was not exposed to so many vicissitudes as the higher or lower part of mankind; nay, they were not subjected to so many distempers and uneasinesses, either of body or mind, as those were who, by vicious living, luxury, and extravagances on one hand, or by hard labour, want of necessaries, and mean or insufficient diet on the other hand, bring distempers upon themselves by the natural consequences of their way of living; that the middle station of life was calculated for all kind of virtues, and all kind of enjoyments; that peace and plenty were the handmaids of a middle fortune; that temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desirable pleasures were the blessings attending the middle station of life; that this way men went silently and smoothly through the world, and comfortably out of it, not embarrassed with the labours of the hands or of the head, not sold to the life of slavery for daily bread, or harassed with perplexed circumstances, which rob the soul of peace and the body of rest; not enraged with the passion of envy, or secret burning lust of ambition for great things; but, in easy circumstances, sliding gently through the world, and sensibly tasting the sweets of living, without the bitter, feeling that they are happy, and learning by every day's experience to know it more sensibly.

After this he pressed me earnestly, and in the most affectionate manner, not to play the young man, not to precipitate myself into miseries which nature, and the station of life I was born in, seemed to have provided against; that I was under no necessity of seeking my bread; that he would do well for me, and endeavour to enter me fairly into the station of life which he had been just recommending to me; and that if I was not very easy and happy in the world, it must be my mere fate or fault, that must hinder it, and that he should have nothing to answer for, having thus discharged his duty in warning me against measures which he knew would be to my hurt: in a word, that as he would do very kind things for me if I would stay and settle at home as he directed, so he would not have so much hand in my misfortunes as to give me any encouragement to go away: and, to close all, he told me I had my elder brother for an example, to whom he had used the same earnest persuasions to keep him from going into the Low Country wars, but could not prevail, his young desires prompting him to run into the army, where he was killed; and though, he said, he would not cease to pray for me, yet he would venture to say to me, that if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me, and I would have leisure, hereafter, to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery.

I observed in this last part of his discourse, which was truly prophetic, though, I suppose, my father did not know it to be so himself, I say, I observed the tears run down his face very plentifully, and especially when he spoke of my brother who was killed; and that when he spoke of my having leisure to repent, and none to assist me, he was so moved, that he broke off the discourse, and told me, his heart was so full he could say no more to me.

I was sincerely affected with this discourse, as, indeed, who could be otherwise? and I resolved not to think of going abroad any more, but to settle at home according to my father's desire. But, alas! a few days wore it all off; and, in short, to prevent any of my father's further importunities, in a few weeks after, I resolved to run quite away from him. However, I did not act so hastily, neither as my first heat of resolution prompted, but I took my mother, at a time when I thought her a little pleasanter than ordinary, and told her, that my thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the world that I should never settle to anything with resolution enough to go through with it, and my father had better give me his consent than force me to go without it; that I was now eighteen years old, which was too late to go apprentice to a trade, or clerk to an attorney; that I was sure, if I did, I should never serve out my time, and I should certainly run away from my master before my time was out, and go to sea; and if she would speak to my father to let me make but one voyage abroad, if I came home again and did not like it, I would go no more, and I would promise, by a double diligence, to recover that time I had lost.

This put my mother into a great passion: she told me she knew it would be to no purpose to speak to my father upon any such subject; that he knew too well what was my interest to give his consent to anything so much for my hurt, and that she wondered how I could think of any such thing, after such a discourse as I had had with my father, and such kind and tender expressions as she knew my father had used to me; and that, in short, if I would ruin myself there was no help for me; but I might depend I should never have their consent to it: that, for her part, she would not have so much hand in my destruction; and I should never have it to say that my mother was willing when my father was not.

Though my mother refused to move it to my father, yet, as I have heard afterwards, she reported all the discourse to him, and that my father, after showing a great concern at it, said to her, with a sigh, 'That boy might be happy if he would stay at home, but if he goes abroad, he will be the miserablest wretch that ever was born: I can give no consent to it.'

It was not till almost a year after this that I broke loose, though in the meantime I continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business, and frequently expostulating with my father and mother about their being so positively determined against what they knew my inclinations prompted me to. But being one day at Hull, where I went casually, and without any purpose of making an elopement at that time; but I say, being there, and one of my companions being going by sea to London, in his father's ship, and prompting me to go with them, with the common allurement of seafaring men, viz., that it should cost me nothing for my passage, I consulted neither father or mother any more, nor so much as sent them word of it; but leaving them to hear of it as they might, without asking God's blessing, or my father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences, and in an ill hour, God knows, on the first of September 1651, I went on board a ship bound for London; never any young adventurer's misfortunes, I believe, began sooner, or continued longer, than mine. The ship had no sooner gotten out of the Humber, but the wind began to blow, and the waves to rise, in a most frightful manner; and as I had never been at sea before, I was most inexpressibly

sick in body, and terrified in mind: I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the judgment of Heaven for my wicked leaving my father's house, and abandoning my duty; all the good counsel of my parents, my father's tears and my mother's entreaties, came now fresh into my mind, and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness to which it has been since, reproached me with the contempt of advice, and the breach of my duty to God and my father.

All this while the storm increased, and the sea, which I had never been upon before, went very high, though nothing like what I have seen many times since; no, nor what I saw a few days after; but it was enough to affect me then, who was but a young sailor, and had never known anything of the matter. I expected every wave would have swallowed us up, and that every time the ship fell down, as I thought, in the trough or hollow of the sea, we should never rise more; and in this agony of mind I made many vows and resolutions, that if it would please God here to spare my life this voyage, if ever I got once my foot on dry land again, I would go directly home to my father, and never set it into a ship again while I lived; that I would take his advice, and never run myself into such miseries as these any more. Now I saw plainly the goodness of his observations about the middle station of life, how easy, how comfortable he had lived all his days, and never had been exposed to tempests at sea or troubles on shore; and I resolved that I would, like a true repenting prodigal, go home to my father.

These wise and sober thoughts continued all the while the storm continued, and indeed some time after; but the next day the wind was abated, and the sea calmer, and I began to be a little inured to it. However, I was very grave all that day, being also a little sea-sick still; but towards night the weather cleared up, the wind was quite over, and a charming fine evening followed; the sun went down perfectly clear, and rose so the next morning; and having little or no wind, and a smooth sea, the sun shining upon it, the sight was, as I thought, the most delightful that ever I saw.

I had slept well in the night, and was now no more sea-sick, but very cheerful, looking with wonder upon the sea that was so rough and terrible the day before, and could be so calm and pleasant in so little time after. And now, lest my good resolutions should continue, my companion, who had indeed enticed me away, comes to me, 'Well, Bob,' says he, clapping me on the shoulder, 'how do you do after it? I warrant you were frightened, wa'n't you, last night, when it blew but a capful of wind?' 'A capful, do you call it?' said I; 'twas a terrible storm.' 'A storm, you fool you!' replies he; 'do you call that a storm? Why, it was nothing at all; give us but a good ship, and sea-room, and we think nothing of such a squall of wind as that; but you are but a fresh-water sailor, Bob; come, let us make a bowl of punch, and we'll forget all that, d'ye see what charming weather 'tis now?' To make short this sad part of my story, we went the old way of all sailors, the punch was made, and I was made drunk with it, and in that one night's wickedness I drowned all my repentance, all my reflections upon my past conduct, and all my resolutions for my future. In a word, as the sea was returned to its smoothness of surface and settled calmness by the abatement of that storm, so the hurry of my thoughts being over, my fears and apprehensions of being swallowed up by the sea forgotten, and the current of my former desires returned, I entirely forgot the vows and promises that I had made in my distress. I found, indeed, some intervals of reflection, and the serious thoughts did, as it were, endeavour to return again sometimes, but I shook them off and roused myself from them, as it were from a distemper, and, applying myself to drink and company, soon mastered the return of those fits, for so I called them, and I had in five or six days got as complete a victory over conscience as any young fellow that resolved not to be troubled with it could desire. But I was to have another trial for it still; and Providence, as in such cases generally it does, resolved to leave me entirely without excuse. For if I would not take this for a deliverance, the next was to be such a one as the worst and most hardened wretch among us would confess both the danger and the mercy.

The sixth day of our being at sea we came into Yarmouth Roads; the wind having been contrary and the weather calm, we had made but little way since the storm. Here we were obliged to came to an anchor, and here we lay, the wind continuing contrary, viz. at south-west, for seven or eight days, during which time a great many ships from Newcastle came into the same roads, as the common harbour where the ships might wait for a wind for the river.

We had not, however, rid here so long, but we should have tided it up the river, but that the wind blew too fresh; and, after we had lain four or five days, blew very hard. However, the roads being reckoned as good as a harbour, the anchorage good, and our ground-tackle very strong, our men were unconcerned, and not in the least apprehensive of danger, but spent the time in rest and mirth, after the manner of the sea; but the eighth day, in the morning, the wind increased, and we had all hands at work to strike our topmasts, and make everything snug and close, that the ship might ride as easy as possible. By noon the sea went very high indeed, and our ship rode forecastle in, shipped several seas, and we thought, once or twice, our anchor had come home; upon which our master ordered out the sheet anchor; so that we rode with two anchors ahead, and the cables veered out to the better end.

By this time it blew a terrible storm indeed, and now I began to see terror and amazement in the faces of even the seamen themselves. The master though vigilant to the business of preserving the ship, yet as he went in and out of his cabin by me, I could hear him softly to himself say several times, 'Lord, be merciful to us! we shall be all lost, we shall be all undone;' and the like. During these first hurries I was stupid, lying still in my cabin, which was in the steerage, and cannot describe my temper. I could ill re-assume the first penitence, which I had so apparently trampled upon, and hardened myself against: I thought the bitterness of death had been past, and that this would be nothing too, like the first. But when the master himself came by me, as I said just now, and said we should be all lost, I was dreadfully frighted: I got up out of my cabin, and looked out; but such a dismal sight I never saw: the sea went mountains high, and broke upon us every three or four minutes. When I could look about, I could see nothing but distress round us; two ships that rid near us, we found had cut their masts by the board, being deeply laden; and our men cried out that a ship, which rid about a mile ahead of us, was foundered. Two more

ships being driven from their anchors, were run out of the roads to sea, at all adventures, and that with not a mast standing. The light ships fared the best, as not so much labouring in the sea; but two or three of them drove, and came close by us, running away with only their spirit-sail out before the wind.

Towards evening the mate and boatswain begged the master of our ship to let them cut away the foremast, which he was very unwilling to do: but the boatswain protesting to him that if he did not the ship would founder, he consented; and when they had cut away the foremast, the mainmast stood so loose, and shook the ship so much, they were obliged to cut her away also, and make a clear deck.

Any one may judge what a condition I must be in at all this, who was but a young sailor, and who had been in such a fright before at but a little. But if I can express at this distance the thoughts I had about me at that time, I was in tenfold more horror of mind upon account of my former convictions, and the having returned from them to the resolutions I had wickedly taken at first, than I was at death itself; and these, added to the terror of the storm, put me into such a condition, that I can by no words describe it. But the worst was not come yet; the storm continued with such fury, that the seamen themselves acknowledged they had never known a worse. We had a good ship, but she was deep laden, and wallowed in the sea, that the seamen every now and then cried out she would founder. It was my advantage in one respect, that I did not know what they meant by 'founder,' till I inquired. However, the storm was so violent, that I saw what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others, more sensible than the rest, at their prayers, and expecting every moment when the ship would go to the bottom. In the middle of the night, and under all the rest of our distresses, one of the men, that had been down on purpose to see, cried out we had sprung a leak; another said there was four feet water in the hold. Then all hands were called to the pump. At that very word my heart, as I thought, died within me, and I fell backwards upon the side of my bed, where I sat, into the cabin. However, the men roused me, and told me, that I that was able to do nothing before, was as well able to pump as another; at which I stirred up and went to the pump, and worked very heartily. While this was doing, the master seeing some light colliers, who, not able to ride out the storm, were obliged to slip and run away to sea, and would come near us, ordered to fire a gun as a signal of distress. I, who knew nothing what was meant, was so surprised, that I thought the ship had broke, or some dreadful thing had happened. In a word, I was so surprised that I fell down in a swoon. As this was a time when everybody had his own life to think of, nobody minded me, or what was become of me; but another man stepped up to the pump, and thrusting me aside with his foot, let me lie, thinking I had been dead; and it was a great while before I came to myself.

We worked on, but the water increasing in the hold, it was apparent that the ship would founder; and though the storm began to abate a little, yet as it was not possible she could swim till we might run into a port, so the master continued firing guns for help; and a light ship, who had rid it out just ahead of us, ventured a boat out to help us. It was with the utmost hazard the boat came near us, but it was impossible for us to get on board, or for the boat to lie near the ship side, till at last the men rowing very heartily, and venturing their lives to save ours, our men cast them a rope over the stern with a buoy to it, and then veered it out a great length, which they, after great labour and hazard, took hold of, and we hauled them close under our stern, and got all into their boat. It was to no purpose for them or us, after we were in the boat, to think of reaching to their own ship, so all agreed to let her drive, and only to pull her in towards shore as much as we could, and our master promised them, that if the boat was staved upon shore, he would make it good to their master; so, partly rowing and partly driving, our boat went away to the northward, sloping towards the shore almost as far as Winterton Ness.

We were not much more than a quarter of an hour out of our ship but we saw her sink, and then I understood, for the first time, what was meant by a ship foundering in the sea; I must acknowledge I had hardly eyes to look up when the seamen told me she was sinking; for, from that moment, they rather put me into the boat, than that I might be said to go in; my heart was as it were dead within me, partly with fright, partly with horror of mind and the thoughts of what was yet before me.

While we were in this condition, the men yet labouring at the oar to bring the boat near the shore, we could see, when our boat mounting the waves, we were able to see the shore, a great many people running along the shore to assist us when we should come near; but we made slow way towards the shore, nor were we able to reach the shore till, being past the lighthouse at Winterton, the shore falls off to the westward towards Cromer, and so the land broke off a little the violence of the wind: here we got in, and, though not without much difficulty, got all safe on shore, and walked afterwards on foot to Yarmouth, where, as unfortunate men, we were used with great humanity, as well by the magistrates of the town, who assigned us good quarters, as by particular merchants and owners of ships, and had money given us sufficient to carry us either to London or back to Hull, as we thought fit.

Had I now had the sense to have gone back to Hull, and have gone home, I had been happy and my father, an emblem of our blessed Saviour's parable, had even killed the fatted calf for me; for, hearing the ship I went in was cast away in Yarmouth Roads, it was a great while before he had any assurance that I was not drowned.

But my ill fate pushed me on with an obstinacy that nothing could resist; and though I had several times loud calls from my reason and my more composed judgment to go home, yet I had no power to do it. I know not what to call this, nor will I urge that it is a secret, overruling decree that hurries us on to be the instruments of our own destruction, even though it be before us, and that we rush upon it with our eyes open. Certainly nothing but some such decreed unavoidable misery attending, and which it was impossible for me to escape, could have pushed me forward against the calm reasonings and persuasions of my most retired thoughts, and against two such visible instructions as I had met with in my first attempt.

My comrade, who had helped to harden me before, and who was the master's son, was now less forward than I; the first time he spoke to me after we were at Yarmouth, which was

not till two or three days, for we were separated in the town to several quarters; I say, the first time he saw me, it appeared his tone was altered, and looking very melancholy, and shaking his head, he asked me how I did, and telling his father who I was, and how I had come this voyage only for a trial, in order to go farther abroad; his father, turning to me with a very grave and concerned tone, 'Young man,' says he, 'you ought never to go to sea any more, you ought to take this for a plain and visible token that you are not to be a seafaring man.' 'Why, sir,' said I, 'will you go to sea no more?' 'That is another case,' said he; 'it is my calling, and therefore my duty; but as you made this voyage for a trial, you see what a taste Heaven has given you of what you are to expect if you persist; perhaps this is all befallen us on your account, like Jonah in the ship of Tarshish. Pray,' continues he, 'what are you, and on what account did you go to sea?' Upon that I told him some of my story; at the end of which he burst out with a strange kind of passion; 'What had I done,' said he, 'that such an unhappy wretch should come into my ship? I would not set my foot in the same ship with thee again for a thousand pounds.' This indeed was, as I said, an excursion of his spirits, which were yet agitated by the sense of his loss, and was farther than he could have authority to go. However, he afterwards talked very gravely to me, exhorted me to go back to my father, and not tempt Providence to my ruin; told me I might see a visible hand of Heaven against me, 'and young man,' said he, 'depend upon it, if you do not go back, wherever you go, you will meet with nothing but disasters and disappointments, till your father's words are fulfilled upon you.'

We parted soon after, for I made him little answer, and I saw him no more; which way he went, I know not. As for me, having some money in my pocket, I travelled to London by land; and there, as well as on the road, had many struggles with myself what course of life I should take, and whether I should go home or go to sea.

As to going home, shame opposed the best motions that offered to my thoughts; and it immediately occurred to me how I should be laughed at among the neighbours, and should be ashamed to see, not my father and mother only, but even everybody else; from whence I have since often observed, how incongruous and irrational the common temper of mankind is, especially of youth, to that reason which ought to guide them in such cases, viz. that they are not ashamed to sin, and yet are ashamed to repent; not ashamed of the action for which they ought justly to be esteemed fools, but are ashamed of the returning, which only can make them be esteemed wise men.

In this state of life, however, I remained some time, uncertain what measures to take, and what course of life to lead. An irresistible reluctance continued to going home; and as I stayed awhile, the remembrance of the distress I had been in wore off; and as that abated, the little motion I had in my desires to a return wore off with it, till at last I quite laid aside the thoughts of it, and looked out for a voyage.

That evil influence which carried me first away from my father's house, that hurried me into the wild and indigested notion of raising my fortune; and that impressed those conceits so forcibly upon me, as to make me deaf to all good advice, and to the entreaties, and even command of my father: I say, the same influence, whatever it was, presented the most unfortunate of all enterprises to my view; and I went on board a vessel bound to the coast of Africa, or, as our sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea.

It was my great misfortune, that in all these adventures I did not ship myself as a sailor; whereby, though I might indeed have worked a little harder than ordinary, yet, at the same time, I had learned the duty and office of a foremast man; and in time might have qualified myself for a mate or lieutenant, if not a master: but as it was always my fate to choose for the worse, so I did here; for having money in my pocket, and good clothes upon my back, I would always go on board in the habit of a gentleman; and so I neither had any business in the ship, or learned to do any.

It was my lot, first of all, to fall into pretty good company in London, which does not always happen to such loose and misguided young fellows as I then was, the devil generally not omitting to lay some snare for them very early; but it was not so with me. I first fell acquainted with the master of a ship who had been on the coast of Guinea, and who, having had very good success there, was resolved to go again; and who, taking a fancy to my conversation, which was not at all disagreeable at that time, hearing me say I had a mind to see the world, told me that if I would go the voyage with him, I should be at no expense; I should be his messmate and his companion, and if I could carry anything with me, I should have all the advantage of it that the trade would admit; and perhaps I might meet with some encouragement.

I embraced the offer, and entering into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest and plain-dealing man, I went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me, which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend the captain, I increased very considerably; for I carried about £40 in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This £40 I had mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations whom I corresponded with, and who, I believe, got my father, or at least my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure.

This was the only voyage which I may say was successful in all my adventures, and which I owe to the integrity and honesty of my friend the captain, under whom also I got a competent knowledge of the mathematics and the rules of navigation, learned how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and, in short, to understand some things that were needful to be understood by a sailor: for, as he took delight to introduce me, I took delight to learn; and, in a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant: for I brought home 5 lbs. 9 ounces of gold dust for my adventure, which yielded me in London, at my return, almost £300, and this filled me with those aspiring thoughts which have since so completed my ruin.

Yet even in this voyage I had my misfortunes too; particularly, that I was continually sick, being thrown into a violent calenture by the excessive heat of the climate; our principal trading being upon the coast, from the latitude of 15 degrees north even to the line itself.

I was now set up for a Guinea trader; and my friend, to my great misfortune, dying soon after his arrival, I resolved to go the same voyage again, and I embarked in the same vessel with one who was his mate in the former voyage, and had now got the command of the ship. This

was the unhappiest voyage that ever man made; for, though I did not carry quite £100 of my new-gained wealth, so that I had £200 left, and which I lodged with my friend's widow, who was very just to me, yet I fell into terrible misfortunes in this voyage; and the first was this, viz., our ship, making her course towards the Canary Islands, or rather between those islands and the African shore, was surprised in the gray of the morning, by a Turkish rover of Sallee, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could make. We crowded also as much canvas as our yards would spread, or our masts carry, to have got clear; but finding the pirate gained upon us, and would certainly come up with us in a few hours, we prepared to fight; our ship having 12 guns and the rogue 18. About three in the afternoon he came up with us, and bringing to by mistake, just athwart our quarter, instead of athwart our stern, as he intended, we brought 8 of our guns to bear on that side, and poured in a broadside upon him, which made him sheer off again, after returning our fire, and pouring in also his small shot from near 200 men which he had on board. However, we had not a man touched, all our men keeping close. He prepared to attack us again, and we to defend ourselves; but laying us on board the next time upon our other quarter, he entered 60 men upon our decks, who immediately fell to cutting and hacking the decks and rigging. We plied them with small shot, half-pikes, powder-chests, and such like, and cleared our deck of them twice. However, to cut short this melancholy part of our story, our ship being disabled, and three of our men killed and eight wounded, we were obliged to yield, and were carried all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so dreadful as at first I apprehended, nor was I carried up the country to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but was kept by the captain of the rover as his proper prize, and made his slave, being young and nimble, and fit for his business. At this surprising change of my circumstances, from a merchant to a miserable slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed; and now I looked back upon my father's prophetic discourse to me, that I should be miserable, and have none to relieve me, which I thought was now so effectually brought to pass, that it could not be worse; that now the hand of Heaven had overtaken me, and I was undone without redemption. But, alas! this was but a taste of the misery I was to go through, as will appear in the sequel of this story.

As my new patron or master had taken me home to his house, so I was in hopes that he would take me with him when he went to sea again, believing that it would, some time or other, be his fate to be taken by a Spanish or Portuguese man of war, and that then I should be set at liberty. But this hope of mine was soon taken away; for when he went to sea, he left me on shore to look after his little garden, and do the common drudgery of slaves about his house; and when he came home again from his cruise, he ordered me to lie in the cabin to look after the ship.

Here I meditated nothing but my escape, and what method I might take to effect it, but found no way that had the least probability in it: nothing presented to make the supposition of it rational; for I had nobody to communicate it to that would embark with me; no fellow-slave, no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman there but myself; so that, for two years, though I often pleased myself with the imagination, yet I never had the least encouraging prospect of putting it in practice.

After about two years an odd circumstance presented itself, which put the old thought of making some attempt for my liberty again in my head. My patron lying at home longer than usual, without fitting out his ship, which, as I heard, was for want of money, he used constantly, once or twice a week, sometimes oftener, if the weather was fair, to take the ship's pinnace, and go out into the road a fishing; and as he always took me and a young Moresco with him to row the boat, we made him very merry, and I proved very dexterous in catching fish; insomuch that sometimes he would send me with a Moor, one of his kinsmen, and the youth, the Moresco, as they called him, to catch a dish of fish for him.

It happened one time, that going a fishing in a stark calm morning, a fog rose so thick, that though we were not half a league from the shore we lost sight of it; and rowing we knew not whither or which way, we laboured all day and all the next night, and when the morning came we found we had pulled off to sea, instead of putting in for the shore, and that we were at least two leagues from the shore. However, we got well in again, though with a great deal of labour, and some danger, for the wind began to blow pretty fresh in the morning; but particularly we were all very hungry.

But our patron, warned by this disaster, resolved to take more care of himself for the future; and having lying by him the long-boat of our English ship which he had taken, he resolved he would not go a fishing any more without a compass and some provision; so he ordered the carpenter of the ship, who also was an English slave, to build a little state-room or cabin in the middle of the long-boat, like that of a barge, with a place to stand behind it, to steer and haul home the main sheet, and room before for a hand or two to stand and work the sails. She sailed with what we called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, and the boom jibbed over the top of the cabin, which lay very snug and low, and had in it room for him to lie, with a slave or two, and a table to eat on, with some small lockers to put in some bottles of such liquor as he thought fit to drink; particularly his bread, rice, and coffee.

We went frequently out with this boat a fishing, and as I was most dexterous to catch fish for him, he never went without me. It happened that he had appointed to go out in this boat, either for pleasure or for fish, with two or three Moors of some distinction in that place, and for whom he had provided extraordinarily; and had therefore sent on board the boat, over night, a larger store of provisions than ordinary, and had ordered me to get ready three fusees, with powder and shot, which were on board his ship; for that they designed some sport of fowling as well as fishing.

I got all things ready as he had directed, and waited the next morning with the boat washed clean, her ensign and pendants out, and everything to accommodate his guests; when, by and by, my patron came on board alone, and told me his guests had put off going, upon some business that fell out, and ordered me with the man and boy, as usual, to go out with the boat, and catch them some fish, for that his friends were to sup at his house; and commanded, that as soon as I had got some fish, I should bring it home to his house; all which I prepared to do.

This moment my former notions of deliverance darted into my thoughts, for now I found I was like to have a little ship at my command; and my master being gone, I prepared to furnish myself, not for a fishing business, but for a voyage; though I knew not, neither did I so much as consider, whither I should steer; for anywhere, to get out of that place, was my way.

My first contrivance was to make a pretence to speak to this Moor, to get something for our subsistence on board; for I told him we must not presume to eat of our patron's bread. He said, that was true; so he brought a large basket of rusk or biscuit of their kind, and three jars with fresh water, into the boat; I knew where my patron's case of bottles stood, which it was evident, by the make, were taken out of some English prize, and I conveyed them into the boat while the Moor was on shore, as if they had been there before for our master: I conveyed also a great lump of bees-wax into the boat, which weighed above half a hundredweight, with a parcel of twine or thread, a hatchet, a saw, and a hammer, all which were of great use to us afterwards; especially the wax to make candles. Another trick I tried upon him, which he innocently came into also; his name was Ismael, whom they call Muley, or Moley; so I called to him, 'Moley,' said I, 'our patron's guns are on board the boat, can you not get a little powder and shot? it may be we may kill some alcamies' (fowls like our curlews) 'for ourselves, for I know he keeps the gunner's stores in the ship.' 'Yes,' says he, 'I'll bring some,' and accordingly he brought a great leather pouch, which held about a pound and a half of powder, or rather more, and another with shot, that had five or six pounds, with some bullets, and put all into the boat; at the same time I had found some powder of my master's in the great cabin, with which I filled one of the large bottles in the case, which was almost empty, pouring what was in it into another: and thus furnished with everything needful, we sailed out of the port to fish. The castle, which is at the entrance of the port, knew who we were, and took no notice of us; and we were not above a mile out of the port, before we hauled in our sail, and set us down to fish. The wind blew from N.N.E., which was contrary to my desire; for had it blown southerly, I had been sure to have made the coast of Spain, and at least reached to the bay of Cadiz; but my resolutions were, blow which way it would, I would be gone from the horrid place where I was, and leave the rest to fate.

After we had fished some time and catched nothing, for when I had fish on my hook I would not pull them up, that he might not see them, I said to the Moor, 'This will not do, our master will not be thus served; we must stand farther off.' He thinking no harm, agreed, and being in the head of the boat, set the sails; and as I had the helm, I run the boat near a league farther, and then brought her to, as if I would fish; when, giving the boy the helm, I stepped forward to where the Moor was, and making as if I stooped for something behind him, I took him by surprise with my arm under his twist, and tossed him clear overboard into the sea; he rose immediately, for he swam like a cork, and called to me, begged to be taken in, told me he would go all the world over with me. He swam so strong after the boat that he would have reached me very quickly, there being but little wind; upon which I stepped into the cabin, and fetching one of the fowling-pieces, I presented it at him and told him I had done him no hurt, and if he would be quiet, I would do him none; 'but,' said I, 'you swim well enough to reach the shore, and the sea is calm; make the best of your way to shore and I will do you no harm; but if you come near the boat, I'll shoot you through the head; for I am resolved to have my liberty.' So he turned himself about, and swam for the shore, and I make no doubt but he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

I could have been content to have taken this Moor with me and have drowned the boy, but there was no venturing to trust him. When he was gone I turned to the boy, whom they called Xury, and said to him, 'Xury, if you will be faithful to me I will make you a great man, but if you will not stroke your face to be true to me,' that is, swear by Mahomet and his father's beard, 'I must throw you into the sea too.' The boy smiled in my face, and spoke so innocently, that I could not mistrust him; and swore to be faithful to me, and go all over the world with me.

While I was in view of the Moor that was swimming, I stood out directly to sea with the boat, rather stretching to windward, that they might think me gone towards the Strait's mouth (as indeed any one that had been in their wits must have been supposed to do); for who would have supposed we were sailed on to the southward, to the truly Barbarian coast, where whole nations of Negroes were sure to surround us with their canoes, and destroy us; where we could never once go on shore but we should be devoured by savage beasts, or more merciless savages of human kind?

But as soon as it grew dusk in the evening, I changed my course, and steered directly south and by east, bending my course a little towards the east, that I might keep in with the shore; and having a fair fresh gale of wind, and a smooth quiet sea, I made such sail that I believe by the next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, when I first made the land, I could not be less than 150 miles south of Salee; quite beyond the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, or indeed of any other king thereabouts, for we saw no people.

Yet such was the fright I had taken at the Moors, and the dreadful apprehensions I had of falling into their hands, that I would not stop, or go on shore, or come to an anchor; the wind continuing fair, till I had sailed in that manner five days; and then the wind shifting to the southward, I concluded also that if any of our vessels were in chase of me, they also would now give over; so I ventured to make to the coast, and came to an anchor in the mouth of a little river, I knew not what or where; neither what latitude, what country, what nation, or what river. I neither saw, nor desired to see, any people, the principal thing I wanted was fresh water. We came into this creek in the evening, resolving to swim on shore as soon as it was dark, and discover the country; but as soon as it was quite dark, we heard such dreadful noises of the barking, roaring, and howling of wild creatures, of we knew not what kinds, that the poor boy was ready to die with fear, and begged of me not to go on shore till day; 'Well, Xury,' said I, 'then I won't, but it may be we may see men by day, who may be as bad to us as those lions.' 'Then we give them the shoot gun,' says Xury, laughing, 'make them run away;' such English Xury spoke by conversing among us slaves. However, I was glad to see the boy so cheerful, and I gave him a dram (out of our patron's case of

bottles) to cheer him up. After all, Xury's advice was good, and I took it; we dropped our little anchor, and lay still all night; I say still, for we slept none! for in two or three hours we saw vast great creatures (we knew not what to call them), of many sorts, come down to the sea-shore, and run into the water, wallowing and washing themselves for the pleasure of cooling themselves; and they made such hideous howlings and yellings, that I never indeed heard the like.

Xury was dreadfully frighted, and indeed so was I too; but we were both more frighted when we heard one of these mighty creatures come swimming towards our boat; we could not see him, but we might hear him by his blowing, to be a monstrous, huge, and furious beast; Xury said it was a lion, and it might be so for aught I know; but poor Xury cried to me to weigh the anchor and row away; 'no,' says I, 'Xury, we can slip our cable with a buoy to it, and go off to sea, they cannot follow us far.' I had no sooner said so, but I perceived the creature (whatever it was) within two oars' length, which something surprised me; however, I immediately stepped to the cabin door, and taking up my gun, fired at him, upon which he immediately turned about and swam to the shore again.

But it is impossible to describe the horrible noises, and hideous cries and howlings that were raised, as well upon the edge of the shore as higher within the country, upon the noise or report of the gun, a thing, I had some reason to believe, those creatures had never heard before. This convinced me that there was no going on shore for us in the night upon that coast; and how to venture on shore in the day was another question too; for to have fallen into the hands of any of the savages, had been as bad as to have fallen into the hands of lions and tigers; at least we were equally apprehensive of the danger of it.

Be that as it would, we were obliged to go on shore somewhere or other for water, for we had not a pint left in the boat; when and where to get it was the point; Xury said, if I would let him go on shore with one of the jars, he would find if there was any water and bring some to me. I asked him why he would go? why I should not go, and he stay in the boat? The boy answered with so much affection that he made me love him ever after. Says he, 'If wild mans come, they eat me, you go away.' 'Well, Xury,' said I, 'we will both go, and if the wild mans come, we will kill them, they shall eat neither of us;' so I gave Xury a piece of rusk bread to eat, and a dram out of our patron's case of bottles, which I mentioned before; and we hauled in the boat as near the shore as we thought was proper, and so waded on shore, carrying nothing but our arms, and two jars for water.

I did not care to go out of sight of the boat, fearing the coming of canoes with savages down the river; but the boy, seeing a low place about a mile up the country, rambled to it; and, by and by, I saw him come running towards me. I thought he was pursued by some savage, or frightened with some wild beast, and I ran forwards towards him to help him, but when I came nearer to him, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, which was a creature that he had shot, like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs; however, we were very glad of it, and it was very good meat; but the great joy that poor Xury came with, was to tell me he had found good water and seen no wild mans.

But we found afterwards that we need not take such pains for water, for a little higher up the creek where we were, we found the water fresh when the tide was out, which flowed but a little way up; so we filled our jars and feasted on the hare we had killed, and prepared to go on our way, having seen no footsteps of any human creature in that part of the country.

As I had been one voyage to this coast before, I knew very well that the islands of the Canaries, and the Cape de Verd Islands also, lay not far off from the coast. But as I had no instruments to take an observation to know what latitude we were in, and did not exactly know, or at least remember what latitude they were in, I knew not where to look for them, or when to stand off to sea towards them; otherwise I might now easily have found some of these islands. But my hope was, that if I stood along this coast till I came to that part where the English traded, I should find some of their vessels upon their usual design of trade, that would relieve and take us in.

By the best of my calculation, that place where I now was, must be that country which, lying between the Emperor of Morocco's dominions and the Negroes, lies waste and uninhabited, except by wild beasts; the Negroes having abandoned it and gone farther south for fear of the Moors, and the Moors not thinking it worth inhabiting by reason of its barrenness; and, indeed, both forsaking it because of the prodigious numbers of tigers, lions, leopards, and other furious creatures which harbour there; so that the Moors use it for their hunting only, where they go like an army, two or three thousand men at a time; and, indeed, for near a hundred miles together upon this coast, we saw nothing but a waste, uninhabited country by day, and heard nothing but howlings and roaring of wild beasts by night.

Once or twice in the day-time I thought I saw the Pico of Teneriffe, being the high top of the mountain Teneriffe, in the Canaries, and had a great mind to venture out, in hopes of reaching thither; but having tried twice, I was forced in again by contrary winds, the sea also going too high for my little vessel, so I resolved to pursue my first design, and keep along the shore.

Several times I was obliged to land for fresh water after we had left this place; and once in particular, being early in the morning, we came to an anchor under a little point of land which was pretty high, and the tide beginning to flow, we lay still to go farther in; Xury, whose eyes were more about him than, it seems, mine were, calls softly to me, and tells me that we had best go farther off the shore; 'for,' says he, 'look, yonder lies a dreadful monster on the side of that hillock, fast asleep;' I looked where he pointed, and saw a dreadful monster indeed, for it was a terrible great lion that lay on the side of the shore, under the shade of a piece of the hill that hung, as it were, a little over him. 'Xury,' says I, 'you shall go on shore and kill him;' Xury looked frightened, and said, 'Me kill! he eat me at one mouth;' one mouthful he meant. However I said no more to the boy, but bade him lie still, and I took our biggest gun, which was almost musket bore, and loaded it with a good charge of powder and with two slugs, and laid it down; then I loaded another gun with two bullets, and a third, for we had three pieces, I loaded with five smaller bullets. I took the best aim I could with the first piece, to have shot him into the head, but he lay so, with his leg raised a little above his nose, that the slugs hit his leg about the knee, and broke the bone. He started up, growling at first, but finding his leg broke, fell down again, and then got up upon three legs, and gave the most hideous roar that ever I heard;

I was a little surprised that I had not hit him on the head; however, I took up the second piece immediately, and though he began to move off, fired again, and shot him into the head, and had the pleasure to see him drop, and make but little noise, but lay struggling for life. Then Xury took heart, and would have me let him go on shore. 'Well, go,' said I; so the boy jumped into the water, and taking a little gun in one hand, swam to shore with the other hand, and coming close to the creature, put the muzzle of the piece to his ear, and shot him into the head again, which despatched him quite.

This was game, indeed, to us, but it was no food, and I was very sorry to lose three charges of powder and shot upon a creature that was good for nothing to us. However, Xury said he would have some of him; so he comes on board, and asked me to give him the hatchet; 'for what, Xury?' said I. 'Me cut off his head,' said he. However, Xury could not cut off his head, but he cut off a foot, and brought it with him, and it was a monstrous great one.

I bethought myself, however, that perhaps the skin of him might one way or other be of some value to us, and I resolved to take off his skin if I could. So Xury and I went to work with him, but Xury was much the better workman at it, for I knew very ill how to do it. Indeed, it took us both up the whole day, but at last we got off the hide of him, and, spreading it on the top of our cabin, the sun effectually dried it in two days' time, and it afterwards served me to lie upon.

After this stop, we made on to the southward continually for ten or twelve days, living very sparing on our provisions, which began to abate very much, and going no oftener into the shore than we were obliged to for fresh water; my design in this was to make the river Gambia or Senegal, that is to say, anywhere about the Cape de Verd, where I was in hopes to meet with some European ship, and if I did not, I knew not what course I had to take, but to seek out for the islands, or perish there among the Negroes. I knew that all the ships from Europe which sailed either to the coast of Guinea, or to Brazil, or to the East Indies, made this Cape, or those islands; and, in a word, I put the whole of my fortune upon this single point, either that I must meet with some ship, or must perish.

When I had pursued this resolution about ten days longer, as I have said, I began to see that the land was inhabited, and in two or three places, as we sailed by, we saw people stand upon the shore to look at us; we could also perceive they were quite black, and stark naked. I was once inclined to have gone on shore to them; but Xury was my better counsellor, and said to me, 'no go, no go;' however, I hauled in nearer the shore, that I might talk to them, and I found they ran along the shore by me a good way; I observed they had no weapons in their hands, except one who had a long slender stick, which Xury said was a lance, and that they would throw them a great way with good aim; so I kept at a distance, but talked with them by signs as well as I could; and particularly made signs for something to eat. They beckoned to me to stop my boat, and that they would fetch me some meat; upon this I lowered the top of my sail and lay by, and two of them ran up into the country, and in less than half an hour came back and brought with them two pieces of dry flesh and some corn, such as is the produce of their country, but we neither knew what the one or the other was; however, we were willing to accept it; but how to come at it was our next dispute, for I was not for venturing on shore to them, and they were as much afraid of us; but they took a safe way for us all, for they brought it to the shore and laid it down, and went and stood a great way off till we fetched it on board, and then came close to us again.

We made signs of thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends; but an opportunity offered that very instant to oblige them wonderfully, for while we were lying by the shore, came two mighty creatures, one pursuing the other, (as we took it) with great fury, from the mountains towards the sea; whether it was the male pursuing the female, or whether they were in sport or in rage, we could not tell, any more than we could tell whether it was usual or strange, but I believe it was the latter; because, in the first place, those ravenous creatures seldom appear but in the night; and, in the second place, we found the people terribly frighted, especially the women. The man that had the lance or dart, did not fly from them, but the rest did. However, as the two creatures ran directly into the water, they did not seem to offer to fall upon any of the Negroes, but plunged themselves into the sea, and swam about, as if they had come for their diversion; at last, one of them began to come nearer our boat than at first I expected, but I lay ready for him, for I had loaded my gun with all possible expedition, and bade Xury load both the others; as soon as he came fairly within my reach, I fired, and shot him directly into the head; immediately he sank down into the water, but rose instantly, and plunged up and down, as if he was struggling for life, and so indeed he was. He immediately made to the shore; but between the wound, which was his mortal hurt, and the strangling of the water, he died just before he reached the shore.

It is impossible to express the astonishment of these poor creatures at the noise and the fire of my gun; some of them were even ready to die for fear, and fell down as dead with the very terror. But when they saw the creature dead, and sunk in the water, and that I made signs to them to come to the shore, they took heart and came to the shore, and began to search for the creature. I found him by his blood staining the water, and by the help of a rope, which I slung round him, and gave the Negroes to haul, they dragged him on shore, and found that it was a most curious leopard, spotted and fine to an admirable degree, and the Negroes held up their hands with admiration to think what it was I had killed him with.

The other creature, frighted with the flash of fire and the noise of the gun, swam on shore, and ran up directly to the mountains from whence they came, nor could I, at that distance, know what it was. I found quickly the Negroes were for eating the flesh of this creature, so I was willing to have them take it as a favour from me, which, when I made signs to them that they might take him, they were very thankful for. Immediately they fell to work with him, and though they had no knife, yet with a sharpened piece of wood they took off his skin as readily, and much more readily, than we could have done with a knife. They offered me some of the flesh, which I declined, making as if I would give it them, but made signs for the skin, which they gave me very freely, and brought me a great deal more of their provision, which, though I did not understand, yet I accepted; then I made signs to them for some water, and held out one of my jars to them, turning it bottom upwards

to show that it was empty, and that I wanted to have it filled. They called immediately to some of their friends, and there came two women, and brought a great vessel made of earth, and burnt, as I suppose, in the sun; this they set down to me as before, and I sent Xury on shore with my jars, and filled them all three. The women were as stark naked as the men.

I was now furnished with roots and corn, such as it was, and water, and leaving my friendly Negroes, I made forward for about eleven days more without offering to go near the shore, till I saw the land run out a great length into the sea at about the distance of four or five leagues before me, and the sea being very calm, I kept a large offing to make this point; at length, doubling the point at about two leagues from the land, I saw plainly land on the other side to seaward; then I concluded, as it was most certain indeed, that this was the Cape de Verd, and those the islands called, from thence, Cape de Verd Islands. However, they were at a great distance, and I could not well tell what I had best to do, for if I should be taken with a fresh of wind, I might neither reach one nor the other.

In this dilemma, as I was very pensive, I stepped into the cabin and sat me down, Xury having the helm, when, on a sudden, the boy cried out, 'Master, master, a ship with a sail!' and the foolish boy was frighted out of his wits, thinking it must needs be some of his master's ships sent to pursue us, when I knew we were gotten far enough out of their reach. I jumped out of the cabin, and immediately saw not only the ship, but what she was, viz. that it was a Portuguese ship, and, as I thought, was bound to the coast of Guinea for Negroes. But when I observed the course she steered, I was soon convinced they were bound some other way, and did not design to come any nearer to the shore; upon which I stretched out to sea as much as I could, resolving to speak with them if possible.

With all the sail I could make, I found I should not be able to come in their way, but that they would be gone by before I could make any signal to them; but after I had crowded to the utmost, and began to despair, they, it seems, saw me by the help of their perspective glasses, and that it was some European boat, which, as they supposed, must belong to some ship that was lost, so they shortened sail to let me come up. I was encouraged with this, and as I had my patron's ensign on board, I made a waft of it to them for a signal of distress, and fired a gun, both which they saw, for they told me they saw the smoke though they did not hear the gun; upon these signals, they very kindly brought to, and lay by for me, and in about three hours' time I came up with them.

They asked me what I was in Portuguese, and in Spanish, and in French, but I understood none of them; but at last a Scots sailor, who was on board, called to me, and I answered him, and told him I was an Englishman, that I had made my escape out of slavery from the Moors at Sallee; then they bade me come on board, and very kindly took me in, and all my goods.

It was an inexpressible joy to me, that any one will believe, that I was thus delivered, as I esteemed it, from such a miserable and almost hopeless condition as I was in, and I immediately offered all I had to the captain of the ship as a return for my deliverance; but he generously told me he would take nothing from me, but that all I had should be delivered safe to me when I came to the Brazils; 'for,' says he, 'I have saved your life on no other terms than I would be glad to be saved myself, and it may, one time or other, be my lot to be taken up in the same condition; besides,' said he, 'when I carry you to the Brazils, so great a way from your own country, if I should take from you what you have, you will be starved there, and then I only take away that life I have given. No, no, Seignor Inglese,' says he (Mr. Englishman), 'I will carry you thither in charity, and those things will help you to buy your subsistence there, and your passage home again.'

As he was charitable in this proposal, so he was just in the performance to a tittle, for he ordered the seamen that none should offer to touch anything I had; then he took everything into his own possession, and gave me back an exact inventory of them, that I might have them, even so much as my three earthen jars.

As to my boat, it was a very good one, and that he saw, and told me he would buy it of me for the ship's use, and asked me what I would have for it? I told him he had been so generous to me in everything, that I could not offer to make any price of the boat, but left it entirely to him, upon which he told me he would give me a note of hand to pay me 80 pieces of eight for it at Brazil, and when it came there, if any one offered to give more, he would make it up. He offered me also 60 pieces of eight more for my boy Xury, which I was loath to take, not that I was not willing to let the captain have him, but I was very loath to sell the poor boy's liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However, when I let him know my reason, he owned it to be just, and offered me this medium, that he would give the boy an obligation to set him free in ten years, if he turned Christian; upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the captain have him.

We had a very good voyage to the Brazils, and arrived in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All Saints' Bay, in about twenty-two days after. And now I was once more delivered from the most miserable of all conditions of life, and what to do next with myself I was now to consider.

The generous treatment the captain gave me, I can never enough remember; he would take nothing of me for my passage, gave me twenty ducats for the leopard's skin, and forty for the lion's skin which I had in my boat, and caused everything I had in the ship to be punctually delivered me, and what I was willing to sell he bought, such as the case of bottles, two of my guns, and a piece of the lump of bees-wax, for I had made candles of the rest; in a word, I made about 220 pieces of eight of all my cargo, and with this stock I went on shore in the Brazils.

I had not been long here, but being recommended to the house of a good honest man like himself, who had an *ingenio* as they call it, that is, a plantation and a sugar-house; I lived with him some time, and acquainted myself, by that means, with the manner of their planting and making of sugar; and seeing how well the planters lived, and how they grew rich suddenly, I resolved, if I could get licence to settle there, I would turn planter among them, resolving in the meantime to find out some way to get my money, which I had left in London, remitted to me. To this purpose, getting a kind of a letter of naturalisation, I purchased as much land that was uncured as my money would reach, and formed a plan for my plantation and settlement, and such a one as might be suitable to the stock

which I proposed to myself to receive from England.

I had a neighbour, a Portuguese of Lisbon, but born of English parents, whose name was Wells, and in much such circumstances as I was. I call him my neighbour, because his plantation lay next to mine, and we went on very sociably together. My stock was but low, as well as his; and we rather planted for food than anything else, for about two years. However, we began to increase, and our land began to come into order; so that the third year we planted some tobacco, and made each of us a large piece of ground ready for planting canes in the year to come; but we both wanted help; and now I found, more than before, I had done wrong in parting with my boy Xury.

But, alas! for me to do wrong that never did right, was no great wonder: I had no remedy but to go on; I had got into an employment quite remote to my genius, and directly contrary to the life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my father's house, and broke through all his good advice; nay, I was coming into the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which my father advised me to before; and which, if I resolved to go on with, I might as well have stayed at home, and never have fatigued myself in the world as I had done; and I used often to say to myself, I could have done this as well in England, among my friends, as have gone 5000 miles off, to do it among strangers and savages in a wilderness, and at such a distance, as never to hear from any part of the world that had the least knowledge of me.

In this manner I used to look upon my condition with the utmost regret. I had nobody to converse with but now and then this neighbour; no work to be done, but by the labour of my hands; and I used to say, I lived just like a man cast away upon some desolate island, that had nobody there but himself. But how just has it been, and how should all men reflect, that, when they compare their present conditions with others that are worse, Heaven may oblige them to make the exchange, and be convinced of their former felicity by their experience: I say, how just has it been, that the truly solitary life I reflected on, in an island of mere desolation, should be my lot, who had so often unjustly compared it with the life which I then led, in which, had I continued, I had, in all probability, been exceeding prosperous and rich.

I was, in some degree, settled in my measures for carrying on the plantation, before my kind friend the captain of the ship that took me up at sea, went back; for the ship remained there in providing his lading, and preparing for his voyage, near three months, when telling him what little stock I had left behind me in London, he gave me this friendly and sincere advice; 'Seignor Inglese,' says he, for so he always called me, 'if you will give me letters, and a procuration here in form to me, with orders to the person who has your money in London, to send your effects to Lisbon, to such persons as I shall direct, and in such goods as are proper for this country, I will bring you the produce of them, God willing, at my return; but since human affairs are all subject to changes and disasters, I would have you give orders but for one hundred pounds sterling, which, you say, is half your stock, and let the hazard be run for the first; so that, if it come safe, you may order the rest the same way; and, if it miscarry, you may have the other half to have recourse to for your supply.'

This was so wholesome advice, and looked so friendly, that I could not but be convinced it was the best course I could take; so I accordingly prepared letters to the gentlewoman with whom I had left my money, and a procuration to the Portuguese captain, as he desired.

I wrote the English captain's widow a full account of all my adventures, my slavery, escape, and how I had met with the Portuguese captain at sea, the humanity of his behaviour, and in what condition I was now in, with all other necessary directions for my supply; and when this honest captain came to Lisbon, he found means, by some of the English merchants there, to send over not the order only, but a full account of my story to a merchant at London, who represented it effectually to her; whereupon she not only delivered the money, but out of her own pocket sent the Portuguese captain a very handsome present for his humanity and charity to me.

The merchant in London, vesting this hundred pounds in English goods, such as the captain had written for, sent them directly to him at Lisbon, and he brought them all safe to me to the Brazils; among which, without my direction (for I was too young in my business to think of them), he had taken care to have all sorts of tools, iron work, and utensils necessary for my plantation, and which were of great use to me.

When this cargo arrived, I thought my fortune made, for I was surprised with joy of it; and my good steward, the captain, had laid out the five pounds, which my friend had sent him for a present for himself, to purchase and bring me over a servant under bond for six years' service, and would not accept of any consideration, except a little tobacco, which I would have him accept, being of my own produce.

Neither was this all; but my goods being all English manufactures, such as cloth, stuffs, baize, and things particularly valuable and desirable in the country, I found means to sell them to a very great advantage; so that I might say I had more than four times the value of my first cargo, and was now infinitely beyond my poor neighbour, I mean in the advancement of my plantation; for the first thing I did, I bought me a Negro slave, and a European servant also; I mean another besides that which the captain brought me from Lisbon.

But as abused prosperity is oftentimes made the very means of our greatest adversity, so was it with me. I went on the next year with great success in my plantation: I raised fifty great rolls of tobacco on my own ground, more than I had disposed of for necessaries among my neighbours; and these fifty rolls, being each of above a cwt., were well cured, and laid by against the return of the fleet from Lisbon. And now, increasing in business and in wealth, my head began to be full of projects and undertakings beyond my reach; such as are, indeed, often the ruin of the best heads in business.

Had I continued in the station I was now in, I had room for all the happy things to have yet befallen me, for which my father so earnestly recommended a quiet retired life, and of which he had so sensibly described the middle station of life to be full of; but other things attended me, and I was still to be the wilful agent of all my own miseries; and, particularly, to increase my fault and double the reflections upon myself, which in my future sorrows I should have leisure to make, all these miscarriages were procured by my apparent obstinate adhering to my foolish inclination of wandering about, and pursuing

that inclination, in contradiction to the clearest views of doing myself good in a fair and plain pursuit of those prospects and those measures of life, which nature and providence concurred to present me with, and to make my duty.

As I had once done thus in my breaking away from my parents, so I could not be content now, but I must go and leave the happy view I had of being a rich and thriving man in my new plantation, only to pursue a rash and immoderate desire of rising faster than the nature of the thing admitted; and thus I cast myself down again into the deepest gulf of human misery that ever man fell into, or perhaps could be consistent with life and a state of health in the world.

To come, then, by just degrees, to the particulars of this part of my story; you may suppose that, having now lived almost four years in the Brazils, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learned the language, but had contracted acquaintance and friendship among my fellow-planters, as well as among the merchants at St. Salvador, which was our port; and that, in my discourses among them, I had frequently given them an account of my two voyages to the coast of Guinea, the manner of trading with the Negroes there, and how easy it was to purchase upon the coast for trifles, such as beads, toys, knives, scissors, hatchets, bits of glass, and the like, not only gold dust, Guinea grains, elephants' teeth, etc., but Negroes, for the service of the Brazils, in great numbers.

They listened always very attentively to my discourses on these heads, but especially to that part which related to the buying Negroes, which was a trade, at that time, not only not far entered into, but, as far as it was, had been carried on by the *assiento*, or permission of the kings of Spain and Portugal, and engrossed in the public, so that few Negroes were bought, and those excessive dear.

It happened, being in company with some merchants and planters of my acquaintance, and talking of those things very earnestly, three of them came to me the next morning, and told me they had been musing very much upon what I had discoursed with them of, the last night, and they came to make a secret proposal to me; and after enjoining me secrecy, they told me that they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea, that they had all plantations as well as I, and were straitened for nothing so much as servants; that as it was a trade that could not be carried on, because they could not publicly sell the Negroes when they came home, so they desired to make but one voyage, to bring the Negroes on shore privately, and divide them among their own plantations; and, in a word, the question was, whether I would go their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part upon the coast of Guinea? And they offered me that I should have my equal share of the Negroes, without providing any part of the stock.

This was a fair proposal, it must be confessed, had it been made to any one that had not had a settlement and plantation of his own to look after, which was in a fair way of coming to be very considerable, and with a good stock upon it. But for me, that was thus entered and established, and had nothing to do but go on as I had begun, for three or four years more, and to have sent for the other hundred pounds from England, and who, in that time and with that little addition, could scarce have failed of being worth three or four thousand pounds sterling, and that increasing too; for me to think of such a voyage, was the most preposterous thing that ever man in such circumstances could be guilty of.

But I, that was born to be my own destroyer, could no more resist the offer than I could restrain my first rambling designs, when my father's good counsel was lost upon me. In a word, I told them I would go with all my heart, if they would undertake to look after my plantation in my absence, and would dispose of it to such as I should direct, if I miscarried. This they all engaged to do, and entered into writings or covenants to do so; and I made a formal will, disposing of my plantation and effects, in case of my death, making the captain of the ship that had saved my life as before, my universal heir; but obliging him to dispose of my effects, as I had directed in my will, one-half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be shipped to England.

In short, I took all possible caution to preserve my effects, and keep up my plantation; had I used half as much prudence to have looked into my own interest, and have made a judgment of what I ought to have done and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from so prosperous an undertaking, leaving all the probable views of a thriving circumstance, and gone upon a voyage to sea, attended with all its common hazards; to say nothing of the reasons I had to expect particular misfortunes to myself.

But I was hurried on, and obeyed blindly the dictates of my fancy, rather than my reason: and, accordingly, the ship being fitted out, and the cargo furnished, and all things done as by agreement, by my partners in the voyage, I went on board in an evil hour, the first of September 1659, being the same day eight year that I went from my father and mother at Hull, in order to act the rebel to their authority, and the fool to my own interest.

Our ship was about 120 tons burthen, carried 6 guns and 14 men, besides the master, his boy, and myself; we had on board no large cargo of goods, except of such toys as were fit for our trade with the Negroes, such as beads, bits of glass, shells, and odd trifles, especially little looking-glasses, knives, scissors, hatchets, and the like.

The same day I went on board we set sail, standing away to the northward upon our own coast, with design to stretch over for the African coast, when they came about 10 or 12 degrees of northern latitude, which, it seems, was the manner of their course in those days. We had very good weather, only excessive hot, all the way upon our own coast, till we came the height of Cape St. Agostino, from whence, keeping farther off at sea, we lost sight of land, and steered as if we were bound for the isle Fernando de Noronha, holding our course N.E. by N., and leaving those isles on the east. In this course we passed the line in about 12 days' time, and were, by our last observation, in 7 degrees 22 minutes northern latitude, when a violent tornado or hurricane took us quite out of our knowledge; it began from the south-east, came about to the north-west, and then settled into the north-east, from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that for twelve days together we could do nothing but drive, and, scudding away before it, let it carry us whither ever fate and the fury of the winds directed; and during these 12 days, I need not say, that I expected every day to be swallowed up, nor, indeed, did any in the ship expect to save their lives.

In this distress, we had, besides the terror of

the storm, one of our men died of the calenture, and one man and the boy washed overboard; about the 12th day, the weather abating a little, the master made an observation as well as he could, and found that he was in about 11 degrees north latitude, but that he was 22 degrees of longitude difference, west from Cape St. Agostino; so that he found he was gotten upon the coast of Guiana, or the north part of Brazil, beyond the river Amazons, towards that of the river Orinoco, commonly called the Great River, and began to consult with me what course he should take, for the ship was leaky and very much disabled, and he was going directly back to the coast of Brazil.

I was positively against that, and looking over the charts of the sea-coast of America with him, we concluded there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the Carribee Islands, and therefore resolved to stand away for Barbadoes; which, by keeping off to sea, to avoid the indraft of the bay or gulf of Mexico, we might easily perform, as we hoped, in about fifteen days' sail, whereas we could not possibly make our voyage to the coast of Africa without some assistance, both to our ship and ourselves.

With this design we changed our course, and steered away N.W. by W., in order to reach some of our English islands, where I hoped for relief; but our voyage was otherwise determined, for being in the latitude of 12 degrees 18 minutes, a second storm came upon us, which carried us away with the same impetuosity westward, and drove us so out of the very way of all human commerce, that had all our lives been saved, as to the sea, we were rather in danger of being devoured by savages than ever returning to our own country.

In this distress, the wind still blowing very hard, one of our men, early in the morning, cried out, Land! and we had no sooner run out of the cabin to look out, in hopes of seeing whereabouts in the world we were, but the ship struck upon a sand, and in a moment, her motion being so stopped, the sea broke over in such a manner that we expected we should all have perished immediately, and we were immediately driven into our close quarters, to shelter us from the very foam and spray of the sea.

It is not easy for any one, who has not been in the like condition, to describe or conceive the consternation of men in such circumstances; we knew nothing where we were, or upon what land it was we were driven, whether an island or the main, whether inhabited or not inhabited; and as the rage of the wind was still great, though rather less than at first, we could not so much as hope to have the ship hold many minutes without breaking in pieces, unless the winds by a kind of miracle should immediately turn about. In a word, we sat looking upon one another, and expecting death every moment, and every man acting accordingly, as preparing for another world, for there was little or nothing more for us to do in this; that which was our present comfort, and all the comfort we had, was, that contrary to our expectation, the ship did not break yet, and that the master said the wind began to abate.

Now, though we thought that the wind did a little abate, yet the ship having thus struck upon the sand, and sticking too fast for us to expect her getting off, we were in a dreadful condition indeed, and had nothing to do but to think of saving our lives as well as we could; we had a boat at our stern just before the storm, but she was first staved by dashing against the ship's rudder, and in the next place she broke away, and either sunk, or was driven off to sea, so there was no hope from her; we had another boat on board, but how to get her off into the sea was a doubtful thing; however, there was no room to debate, for we fancied the ship would break in pieces every minute, and some told us she was actually broken already.

In this distress, the mate of our vessel lays hold of the boat, and with the help of the rest of the men, they got her slung over the ship's side, and getting all into her, let go, and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy and the wild sea; for though the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea went dreadfully high upon the shore, and might be well called *den wild zee*, as the Dutch call the sea in a storm.

And now our case was very dismal indeed; for we all saw plainly, that the sea went so high that the boat could not live, and that we should be inevitably drowned. As to making sail, we had none, nor, if we had, could we have done anything with it; so we worked at the oar towards the land, though with heavy hearts, like men going to execution; for we all knew, that when the boat came nearer the shore, she would be dashed in a thousand pieces by the breach of the sea. However, we committed our souls to God in the most earnest manner, and the wind driving us towards the shore, we hastened our destruction with our own hands, pulling as well as we could towards land.

What the shore was, whether rock or sand, whether steep or shoal, we knew not; the only hope that could rationally give us the least shadow of expectation, was, if we might happen into some bay or gulf, or the mouth of some river, where by great chance we might have run our boat in, or got under the lee of the land, and perhaps made smooth water. But there was nothing of this appeared; but as we made nearer and nearer the shore, the land looked more frightful than the sea.

After we had rowed, or rather driven about a league and a half, as we reckoned it, a raging wave, mountain-like, came rolling astern of us, and plainly bade us expect the *coup de grace*. In a word, it took us with such a fury, that it overset the boat at once; and separating us as well from the boat as from one another, gave us not time hardly to say, O God! for we were all swallowed up in a moment.

Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt when I sunk into the water; for though I swam very well, yet I could not deliver myself from the waves so as to draw breath, till that wave having driven me, or rather carried me a vast way on towards the shore, and having spent itself, went back and left me upon the land almost dry, but half dead with the water I took in. I had so much presence of mind as well as breath left, that seeing myself nearer the main land than I expected, I got upon my feet, and endeavoured to make on towards the land as fast as I could, before another wave should return and take me up again. But I soon found it was impossible to avoid it; for I saw the sea come after me as high as a great hill, and as furious as an enemy which I had no means or strength to contend with; my business was to hold my breath, and raise myself upon the water, if I could; and so by swimming to preserve my breathing, and pilot myself towards the shore, if possible; my greatest concern now being,

that the sea, as it would carry me a great way towards the shore when it came on, might not carry me back again with it when it gave back towards the sea.

The wave that came upon me again, buried me at once 20 or 30 feet deep in its own body; and I could feel myself carried with a mighty force and swiftness towards the shore a very great way; but I held my breath, and assisted myself to swim still forward with all my might. I was ready to burst with holding my breath, when, as I felt myself rising up, so to my immediate relief, I found my head and hands shoot out above the surface of the water; and though it was not two seconds of time that I could keep myself so, yet it relieved me greatly, gave me breath and new courage. I was covered again with water a good while, but not so long but I held it out; and finding the water had spent itself, and began to return, I struck forward against the return of the waves, and felt ground again with my feet. I stood still a few moments to recover breath, and till the water went from me, and then took to my heels, and ran with what strength I had further towards the shore. But neither would this deliver me from the fury of the sea, which came pouring in after me again, and twice more I was lifted up by the waves, and carried forwards as before, the shore being very flat.

The last time of these two had well near been fatal to me; for the sea having hurried me along as before, landed me, or rather dashed me against a piece of a rock, and that with such force, that it left me senseless, and indeed helpless as to my own deliverance; for the blow taking my side and breast, beat the breath as it were quite out of my body; and had it returned again immediately, I must have been strangled in the water; but I recovered a little before the return of the waves, and seeing I should be covered again with the water, I resolved to hold fast by a piece of the rock, and so to hold my breath, if possible, till the wave went back. Now as the waves were not so high as at first, being near land, I held my hold till the wave abated, and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore, that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away, and the next run I took, I got to the mainland, where, to my great comfort, I clambered up the cliffs of the shore, and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of the reach of the water.

I was now landed and safe on shore, and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved in a case wherein there were, some minutes before, scarcely any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express to the life what the ecstasies and transports of the soul are, when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the very grave; and I do not wonder now at that custom, viz. that when a malefactor, who has the halter about his neck, is tied up, and just going to be turned off, and has a reprieve brought to him: I say, I do not wonder that they bring a surgeon with it, to let him blood that very moment they tell him of it, that the surprise may not drive the animal spirits from the heart, and overwhelm him:

'For sudden joys, like griefs, confound at first.'

I walked about on the shore lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapped up in the contemplation of my deliverance, making a thousand gestures and motions which I cannot describe, reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned, and that there should not be one soul saved but myself; for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows.

I cast my eyes to the stranded vessel, when the breach and froth of the sea being so big, I could hardly see it, it lay so far off, and considered, Lord! how was it possible I could get on shore?

After I had solaced my mind with the comfortable part of my condition, I began to look round me to see what kind of place I was in, and what was next to be done, and I soon found my comforts abate, and that in a word I had a dreadful deliverance: for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor anything either to eat or drink to comfort me, neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devoured by wild beasts; and that which was particularly afflicting to me was, that I had no weapon either to hunt and kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs: in a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box; this was all my provision, and this threw me into terrible agonies of mind, that for a while I ran about like a madman; night coming upon me, I began with a heavy heart to consider what would be my lot if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing at night they always come abroad for their prey.

All the remedy that offered to my thoughts at that time was, to get up into a thick bushy tree, like a fir, but thorny, which grew near me, and where I resolved to sit all night, and consider the next day what death I should die, for as yet I saw no prospect of life; I walked about a furlong from the shore, to see if I could find any fresh water to drink, which I did, to my great joy; and having drunk, and put a little tobacco in my mouth to prevent hunger, I went to the tree, and getting up into it, endeavoured to place myself so as that if I should sleep, I might not fall; and having cut me a short stick, like a truncheon for my defence, I took up my lodging, and having been excessively fatigued, I fell fast asleep, and slept as comfortably as, I believe, few could have done in my condition, and found myself the most refreshed with it that I think I ever was on such an occasion.

When I waked it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before: but that which surprised me most was, that the ship was lifted off in the night from the sand where she lay, by the swelling of the tide, and was driven up almost as far as the rock which I first mentioned, where I had been so bruised by the dashing me against it; this being within about a mile from the shore where I was, and the ship seeming to stand upright still, I wished myself on board, that at least I might save some necessary things for my use.

When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I looked about me again, and the first thing I found was the boat, which lay as the wind and the sea had tossed her up upon the land, about two miles on my right hand; I walked as far as I could upon the shore to have got to her, but found a neck, or inlet, of water between me and the boat, which was about half a mile broad; so I came back for the present, being more intent upon getting at the ship,

where I hoped to find something for my present subsistence.

A little after noon I found the sea very calm, and the tide ebbed so far out that I could come within a quarter of a mile of the ship; and here I found a fresh renewing of my grief, for I saw evidently, that if we had kept on board, we had been all safe, that is to say, we had all got safe on shore, and I had not been so miserable as to be left entirely destitute of all comfort and company, as I now was; this forced tears from my eyes again, but as there was little relief in that, I resolved, if possible, to get to the ship; so I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took the water; but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board, for as she lay aground, and high out of the water, there was nothing within my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I spied a small piece of a rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hang down by the fore-chains so low as that with great difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that rope, got into the forecastle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold, but that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand, or rather earth, that her stern lay lifted up upon the bank, and her head low almost to the water; by this means all her quarter was free, and all that was in that part was dry; for you may be sure my first work was to search and to see what was spoiled and what was free; and first, I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water, and being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread-room, and filled my pockets with biscuit, and ate it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose; I also found some rum in the great cabin, of which I took a large dram, and which I had indeed need enough of to spirit me for what was before me: now I wanted nothing but a boat to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had, and this extremity roused my application; we had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare topmast or two in the ship; I resolved to fall to work with these, and fling as many of them overboard as I could manage for their weight, tying every one with a rope, that they might not drive away; when this was done, I went down the ship's side, and pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast together at both ends, as well as I could, in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them crossways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light; so I went to work, and with the carpenter's saw I cut a spare topmast into three lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labour and pains; but hope of furnishing myself with necessaries, encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight; my next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea; but I was not long considering this. I first laid all the planks or boards upon it that I could get, and having considered well what I most wanted, I first got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft; the first of these I filled with provisions, viz. bread, rice, three Dutch cheeses, five pieces of dried goats' flesh, which we lived much upon, and a little remainder of European corn which had been laid by for some fowls which we brought to sea with us, but the fowls were killed; there had been some barley and wheat together, but, to my great disappointment, I found afterwards that the rats had eaten or spoiled it all; as for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters, and, in all, about five or six gallons of rack; these I stowed by themselves, there being no need to put them into the chest, nor any room for them. While I was doing this, I found the tide began to flow, though very calm, and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore upon the sand, swim away; as for my breeches, which were only linen, and open-kneed, I swam on board in them and my stockings. However, this put me upon rummaging for clothes, of which I found enough, but took no more than I wanted for present use, for I had other things which my eye was more upon, as, first, tools to work with on shore; and it was after long searching that I found out the carpenter's chest, which was indeed a very useful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ship-loading of gold would have been at that time; I got it down to my raft, even whole as it was, without losing time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contained.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms; there were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols; these I secured first, with some powder-horns and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, but knew not where our gunner had stowed them, but with much search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken water; those two I got to my raft, with the arms; and now I thought myself pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with them, having neither sail, oar, or rudder, and the least capful of wind would have overset all my navigation.

I had three encouragements, 1. a smooth, calm sea, 2. the tide rising, and setting in to the shore, 3. what little wind there was blew me towards the land; and thus, having found two or three broken oars belonging to the boat, and besides the tools which were in the chest, I found two saws, an axe, and a hammer, and with this cargo I put to sea. For a mile, or thereabouts, my raft went very well, only that I found it drive a little distant from the place where I had landed before, by which I perceived that there was some indraft of the water, and consequently I hoped to find some creek or river there, which I might make use of as a port to get to land with my cargo.

As I imagined, so it was, there appeared before me a little opening of the land, and I found a strong current of the tide set into it, so I guided my raft as well as I could to keep in the middle of the stream: but here I had like to have suffered a second shipwreck, which, if I had, I think verily would have broke my heart, for knowing nothing of the coast, my raft ran aground at one end of it upon a shoal, and not being aground at the other end, it wanted but a little that all my cargo had slipped off towards that end that was afloat, and so fallen into the water: I did my utmost, by setting my back against the chests, to keep them in their places,

but could not thrust off the raft with all my strength, neither durst I stir from the posture I was in, but holding up the chests with all my might, stood in that manner near half an hour, in which time the rising of the water brought me a little more upon a level, and a little after, the water still rising, my raft floated again, and I thrust her off with the oar I had into the channel; and then, driving up higher, I at length found myself in the mouth of a little river, with land on both sides, and a strong current or tide running up; I looked on both sides for a proper place to get to shore, for I was not willing to be driven too high up the river, hoping in time to see some ship at sea, and therefore resolved to place myself as near the coast as I could.

At length I spied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pain and difficulty, I guided my raft, and at last got so near, as that, reaching ground with my oar, I could thrust her directly in; but here I had like to have dipped all my cargo in the sea again; for that shore lying pretty steep, that is to say sloping, there was no place to land, but where one end of my float, if it ran on shore, would lie so high, and the other sink lower as before, that it would endanger my cargo again. All that I could do was to wait till the tide was at the highest, keeping the raft with my oar like an anchor to hold the side of it fast to the shore, near a flat piece of ground which I expected the water would flow over; and so it did: as soon as I found water enough, for my raft drew about a foot of water, I thrust her on upon that flat piece of ground, and there fastened or moored her by sticking my two broken oars into the ground; one on one side, near one end, and one on the other side, near the other end; and thus I lay till the water ebbed away, and left my raft and all my cargo safe on shore.

My next work was to view the country, and seek a proper place for my habitation, and where to stow my goods, to secure them from whatever might happen; where I was I yet knew not, whether on the continent, or on an island, whether inhabited or not inhabited, whether in danger of wild beasts or not. There was a hill not above a mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seemed to overtop some other hills which lay as in a ridge from it, northward; I took out one of the fowling-pieces and one of the pistols, and a horn of powder, and thus armed I travelled for discovery up to the top of that hill, where, after I had with great labour and difficulty got to the top, I saw my fate, to my great affliction, viz. that I was in an island environed every way with the sea, no land to be seen except some rocks, which lay a great way off, and two small islands, less than this, which lay about three leagues to the west.

I found also that the island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of whom, however, I saw none; yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds, neither when I killed them could I tell what was fit for food, and what not. At my coming back, I shot at a great bird which I saw sitting upon a tree on the side of a great wood; I believe it was the first gun that had been fired there since the creation of the world; I had no sooner fired, but from all the parts of the wood there arose an innumerable number of fowls of many sorts, making a confused screaming and crying, every one according to his usual note; but not one of them of any kind that I knew. As for the creature I killed, I took it to be a kind of hawk, its colour and beak resembling it, but had no talons or claws more than common; its flesh was carrion, and fit for nothing.

Contented with this discovery, I came back to my raft, and fell to work to bring my cargo on shore, which took me up the rest of that day; and what to do with myself at night I knew not, nor indeed where to rest; for I was afraid to lie down on the ground, not knowing but some wild beast might devour me, though, as I afterwards found, there was really no need for those fears.

However, as well as I could, I barricaded myself round with the chests and boards that I had brought on shore, and made a kind of hut for that night's lodging; as for food, I yet saw not which way to supply myself, except that I had seen two or three creatures like hares run out of the wood where I shot the fowl.

I now began to consider that I might yet get a great many things out of the ship, which would be useful to me, and particularly some of the rigging and sails, and such other things as might come to land, and I resolved to make another voyage on board the vessel, if possible; and as I knew that the first storm that blew must necessarily break her all in pieces, I resolved to set all other things apart till I got everything out of the ship that I could get; then I called a council, that is to say, in my thoughts, whether I should take back the raft, but this appeared impracticable; so I resolved to go as before when the tide was down, and I did so, only that I stripped before I went from my hut, having nothing on but a chequered shirt, and a pair of linen drawers, and a pair of pumps on my feet.

I got on board the ship as before, and prepared a second raft, and having had experience of the first, I neither made this so unwieldy, nor loaded it so hard, but yet I brought away several things very useful to me; as first, in the carpenter's stores I found two or three bags of nails and spikes, a great screw-jack, a dozen or two of hatchets, and above all, that most useful thing called a grindstone; all these I secured together, with several things belonging to the gunner, particularly two or three iron crows, and two barrels of musket bullets, seven muskets, and another fowling-piece, with some small quantity of powder more; a large bag full of small shot, and a great roll of sheet lead; but this last was so heavy I could not hoist it up to get it over the ship's side.

Besides these things, I took all the men's clothes that I could find, and a spare foretopsail, a hammock, and some bedding; and with this I loaded my second raft, and brought them all safe on shore to my very great comfort.

I was under some apprehensions during my absence from the land, that at least my provisions might be devoured on shore; but when I came back, I found no sign of any visitor, only there sat a creature like a wild cat upon one of the chests, which, when I came towards it, ran away a little distance, and then stood still; she sat very composed and unconcerned, and looked full in my face, as if she had a mind to be acquainted with me; I presented my gun at her, but as she did not understand it she was perfectly unconcerned at it, nor did she offer to stir away; upon which I tossed her a bit of biscuit, though, by the way, I was not very free of it, for my store was not great: however, I spared her a bit, I say, and she went to it, smelled of it, and ate it, and looked (as pleased) for more,

but I thanked her, and could spare no more; so she marched off.

Having got my second cargo on shore, though I was fain to open the barrels of powder and bring them by parcels, for they were too heavy, being large casks, I went to work to make me a little tent with the sail and some poles which I cut for that purpose; and into this tent I brought everything that I knew would spoil, either with rain or sun, and I piled all the empty chests and casks up in a circle round the tent, to fortify it from any sudden attempt either from man or beast.

When I had done this, I blocked up the door of the tent with some boards within, and an empty chest set up on end without, and spreading one of the beds upon the ground, laying my two pistols just at my head, and my gun at length by me, I went to bed for the first time, and slept very quietly all night, for I was very weary and heavy; for the night before I had slept little, and had laboured very hard all day, as well to fetch all those things from the ship, as to get them on shore.

I had the biggest magazine of all kinds now that ever were laid up, I believe, for one man; but I was not satisfied still; for while the ship sat upright in that posture, I thought I ought to get everything out of her that I could; so every day, at low water, I went on board, and brought away something or other; but particularly the third time I went, I brought away as much of the rigging as I could, as also all the small ropes and rope-twine I could get, with a piece of spare canvas, which was to mend the sails upon occasion, the barrel of wet gunpowder: in a word, I brought away all the sails first and last, only that I was fain to cut them in pieces, and bring as much at a time as I could; for they were no more useful to be sails, but as mere canvas only.

But that which comforted me more still, was that at last of all, after I had made five or six such voyages as these, and thought I had nothing more to expect from the ship that was worth my meddling with, I say, after all this, I found a great hogshead of bread, and three large runlets of rum or spirits, and a box of sugar, and a barrel of fine flour; this was surprising to me, because I had given over expecting any more provisions, except what was spoiled by the water: I soon emptied the hogshead of that bread, and wrapped it up parcel by parcel, in pieces of the sails, which I cut out; and, in a word, I got all this safe on shore also.

The next day I made another voyage; and now having plundered the ship of what was portable and fit to hand out, I began with the cables; and cutting the great cable into pieces, such as I could move, I got two cables and a hawser on shore, with all the iron work I could get; and having cut down the spritsail-yard, and the mizen-yard, and everything I could to make a large raft, I loaded it with all those heavy goods, and came away. But my good luck began now to leave me; for this raft was so unwieldy and so overloaden, that after I was entered the little cove, where I had landed the rest of my goods, not being able to guide it so handily as I did the other, it overset, and threw me and all my cargo into the water; as for myself, it was no great harm, for I was near the shore; but as to my cargo, it was great part of it lost, especially the iron, which I expected would have been of great use to me. However, when the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore, and some of the iron, though with infinite labour; for I was fain to dip for it into the water, a work which fatigued me very much. After this I went every day on board, and brought away what I could get.

I had been now thirteen days on shore, and had been eleven times on board the ship; in which time I had brought away all that one pair of hands could well be supposed capable to bring, though I believe verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship piece by piece; but preparing the twelfth time to go on board, I found the wind began to rise; however, at low water, I went on board, and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually as that nothing could more be found, yet I discovered a locker with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large scissors, with some ten or a dozen of good knives and forks; in another I found about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some Brazil, some pieces of eight, some gold, some silver.

I smiled to myself at the sight of this money. 'O drug!' said I aloud, 'what art thou good for? Thou art not worth to me, no, not the taking off of the ground: one of those knives is worth all this heap; I have no manner of use for thee, e'en remain where thou art, and go to the bottom as a creature whose life is not worth saving.' However, upon second thoughts, I took it away, and wrapping all this in a piece of canvas, I began to think of making another raft; but while I was preparing this, I found the sky overcast, and the wind began to rise, and in a quarter of an hour it blew a fresh gale from the shore; it presently occurred to me that it was in vain to pretend to make a raft with the wind off shore, and that it was my business to be gone before the tide of flood began, otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all: accordingly I let myself down into the water, and swam cross the channel, which lay between the ship and the sands, and even that with difficulty enough, partly with the weight of the things I had about me, and partly the roughness of the water, for the wind rose very hastily, and before it was quite high water it blew a storm.

But I was gotten home to my little tent, where I lay with all my wealth about me very secure. It blew very hard all that night, and in the morning, when I looked out, behold no more ship was to be seen; I was a little surprised, but recovered myself with this satisfactory reflection, viz. that I had lost no time, nor abated no diligence to get everything out of her that could be useful to me, and that indeed there was little left in her that I was able to bring away, if I had had more time.

I now gave over any more thoughts of the ship, or of anything out of her, except what might drive on shore from her wreck, as indeed, divers pieces of her afterwards did; but those things were of small use to me.

My thoughts were now wholly employed about securing myself against either savages, if any should appear, or wild beasts, if any were in the island; and I had many thoughts of the method how to do this, and what kind of dwelling to make, whether I should make me a cave in the earth, or a tent upon the earth: and, in short, I resolved upon both, the manner and description of which it may not be improper to give an account of.

I soon found the place I was in was not for my settlement, particularly because it was upon a low moorish ground near the sea, and I believed would not be wholesome, and more par-

Secondly, because there was no fresh water near it, so I resolved to find a more healthy and more convenient spot of ground.

I considered several things in my situation, which I found would be proper for me. 1st, Health and fresh water, I just now mentioned. 2dly, Shelter from the heat of the sun. 3dly, Security from ravenous creatures, whether men or beasts. 4thly, A view to the sea, that if God sent any ship in sight, I might not lose any advantage for my deliverance, of which I was not willing to banish all my expectation yet.

In search of a place proper for this, I found a little plain on the side of a rising hill, whose front towards this little plain was steep as a house-side, so that nothing could come down upon me from the top; on the side of this rock, there was a hollow place worn a little way in, like the entrance or door of a cave, but there was not really any cave or way into the rock at all.

On the flat of the green, just before this hollow place, I resolved to pitch my tent. This plain was not above a hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, and lay like a green before my door, and at the end of it descended irregularly every way down into the low grounds by the sea-side. It was on the N.N.W. side of the hill, so that it was sheltered from the heat every day, till it came to a W. and by S. sun, or thereabouts, which in those countries is near the setting.

Before I set up my tent, I drew a half-circle before the hollow place, which took in about ten yards in its semi-diameter from the rock, and twenty yards in its diameter, from its beginning and ending.

In this half-circle I pitched two rows of strong stakes, driving them into the ground till they stood very firm like piles, the biggest end being out of the ground about five feet and a half, and sharpened on the top; the two rows did not stand above six inches from one another.

Then I took the pieces of cable which I had cut in the ship, and laid them in rows, one upon another, within the circle, between these two rows of stakes, up to the top, placing other stakes in the inside, leaning against them, about two feet and a half high, like a spur to a post; and this fence was so strong, that neither man nor beast could get into it or over it. This cost me a great deal of time and labour, especially to cut the piles in the woods, bring them to the place, and drive them into the earth.

The entrance into this place I made to be not by a door, but by a short ladder to go over the top, which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me; and so I was completely fenced in and fortified, as I thought, from all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which otherwise I could not have done, though, as it appeared afterward, there was no need of all this caution from the enemies that I apprehended danger from.

Into this fence or fortress, with infinite labour, I carried all my riches, all my provisions, ammunition, and stores, of which you have the account above; and I made me a large tent, which, to preserve me from the rains that in one part of the year are very violent there, I made double, viz. one smaller tent within, and one larger tent above it, and covered the uppermost with a large tarpaulin, which I had saved among the sails.

And now I lay no more for a while in the bed which I had brought on shore, but in a hammock, which was hung in a very good one, and belonged to the mate of the ship.

Into this tent I brought all my provisions, and everything that would spoil by the wet; and having thus enclosed all my goods, I made up the entrance, which till now I had left open, and so passed and repassed, as I said, by a short ladder.

When I had done this, I began to work my way into the rock, and bringing all the earth and stones that I dug down out through my tent, I laid them up within my fence in the nature of a terrace, that so it raised the ground within about a foot and a half; and thus I made me a cave just behind my tent, which served me like a cellar to my house.

It cost me much labour and many days before all these things were brought to perfection, and therefore I must go back to some other things which took up some of my thoughts. At the same time it happened, after I had laid my scheme for the setting up my tent, and making the cave, that a storm of rain falling from a thick dark cloud, a sudden flash of lightning happened, and after that a great clap of thunder, as is naturally the effect of it; I was not so much surprised with the lightning as I was with a thought which darted into my mind, as swift as the lightning itself: O my powder! My very heart sunk within me when I thought that at one blast all my powder might be destroyed; on which, not my defence only, but the providing me food, as I thought, entirely depended; I was nothing near so anxious about my own danger, though, had the powder taken fire, I had never known who had hurt me.

Such impression did this make upon me, that after the storm was over, I laid aside all my works, my building and fortifying, and applied myself to make bags and boxes to separate the powder, and keep it a little and a little in a parcel, in hope, that whatever might come, it might not all take fire at once, and to keep it so apart that it should not be possible to make one part fire another. I finished this work in about a fortnight, and I think my powder, which in all was about 240 lbs. weight, was divided in not less than a hundred parcels; as to the barrel that had been wet, I did not apprehend any danger from that, so I placed it in my new cave, which in my fancy I called my kitchen, and the rest I hid up and down in holes among the rocks, so that no wet might come to it, marking very carefully where I laid it.

In the interval of time while this was doing, I went out once at least every day with my gun, as well to divert myself, as to see if I could kill anything fit for food, and, as near as I could, to acquaint myself with what the island produced. The first time I went out I presently discovered that there were goats in the island, which was a great satisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this misfortune to me, viz. that they were so shy, so subtle, and so swift of foot, that it was the difficultest thing in the world to come at them. But I was not discouraged at this, not doubting but I might now and then shoot one, as it soon happened, for after I had found their haunts a little, I laid wait in this manner for them: I observed if they saw me in the valleys, though they were upon the rocks, they would run away as in a terrible fright; but if they were feeding in the valleys, and I was upon the rocks, they took no notice of me, from whence I concluded, that by the position of their optics, their sight was so directed downward, that they did not readily see objects that were above them; so afterward I took this method, I always climbed the rocks first to get above them, and

then had frequently a fair mark. The first shot I made among these creatures, I killed a she-goat which had a little kid by her which she gave suck to, which grieved me heartily; but when the old one fell, the kid stood stock still by her, till I came and took her up; and not only so, but when I carried the old one with me upon my shoulders, the kid followed me quite to my enclosure; upon which I laid down the dam, and took the kid in my arms, and carried it over my pale, in hopes to have bred it up tame, but it would not eat, so I was forced to kill it, and eat it myself; these two supplied me with flesh a great while, for I ate sparingly, and saved my provisions (my bread especially) as much as possibly I could.

Having now fixed my habitation, I found it absolutely necessary to provide a place to make a fire in, and fuel to burn; and what I did for that, as also how I enlarged my cave, and what conveniences I made, I shall give a full account of it in its place. But I must first give some little account of myself, and of my thoughts about living, which it may well be supposed were not a few.

I had a dismal prospect of my condition, for as I was not cast away upon that island without being driven, as is said, by a violent storm quite out of the course of our intended voyage, and a great way, viz. some hundreds of leagues, out of the ordinary course of the trade of mankind, I had great reason to consider it as a determination of Heaven, that in this desolate place, and in this desolate manner, I should end my life; the tears would run plentifully down my face when I made these reflections, and sometimes I would expostulate with myself why providence should thus completely ruin its creatures, and render them so absolutely miserable, so without help abandoned, so entirely depressed, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for such a life.

But something always returned swift upon me to check these thoughts, and to reprove me; and particularly, one day walking with my gun in my hand by the sea-side, I was very pensive upon the subject of my present condition, when reason, as it were, expostulated with me the other way, thus: 'Well, you are in a desolate condition, 'tis true; but, pray remember, where are the rest of you? Did not you come eleven of you into the boat, where are the ten? Why were not they saved, and you lost? Why were you singled out? Is it better to be here or there?' And then I pointed to the sea. All evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, and with what worse attends them.

Then it occurred to me again, how well I was furnished for my subsistence, and what would have been my case if it had not happened, which was a hundred thousand to one, that the ship floated from the place where she first struck, and was driven so near to the shore that I had time to get all these things out of her: what would have been my case, if I had been to have lived in the condition in which I at first came on shore, without necessaries of life, or necessaries to supply and procure them? Particularly, said I aloud (though to myself), what should I have done without a gun, without ammunition, without any tools to make anything, or to work with, without clothes, bedding, a tent, or any manner of covering? and that now I had all these to a sufficient quantity, and was in a fair way to provide myself in such a manner as to live without my gun when my ammunition was spent; so that I had a tolerable view of subsisting, without any want, as long as I lived; for I considered from the beginning how I would provide for the accidents that might happen, and for the time that was to come, even not only after my ammunition should be spent, but even after my health or strength should decay.

I confess I had not entertained any notion of my ammunition being destroyed at one blast, I mean my powder being blown up by lightning, and this made the thoughts of it so surprising to me, when it lightened and thundered, as I observed just now.

And now being to enter into a melancholy relation of a scene of silent life, such perhaps as was never heard of in the world before, I shall take it from its beginning, and continue it in its order. It was, by my account, the 30th of September, when, in the manner as above said, I first set foot upon this horrid island, when the sun being, to us, in its autumnal equinox, was almost just over my head; for I reckoned myself, by observation, to be in the latitude of 9 degrees 22 minutes north of the line.

After I had been there about ten or twelve days, it came into my thoughts that I should lose my reckoning of time for want of books and pen and ink, and should even forget the Sabbath days from the working days; but, to prevent this, I cut it with my knife upon a large post, in capital letters, and making it into a great cross, I set it up on the shore where I first landed, viz. 'I came on shore here on the 30th of September 1659.' Upon the sides of this square post, I cut every day a notch with my knife, and every seventh notch was as long again as the rest, and every first day of the month as long again as that long one, and thus I kept my calendar, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning of time.

In the next place we are to observe, that among the many things which I brought out of the ship in the several voyages, which, as above mentioned, I made to it, I got several things of less value, but not all less useful to me, which I omitted setting down before; as, in particular, pens, ink, and paper, several parcels in the captain's, mate's, gunner's, and carpenter's keeping, three or four compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspectives, charts, and books of navigation, all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no; also I found three very good Bibles, which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things; some Portuguese books also, and among them two or three popish prayer-books, and several other books, all which I carefully secured. And I must not forget, that we had in the ship a dog and two cats, of whose eminent history I may have occasion to say something in its place; for I carried both the cats with me; and as for the dog, he jumped out of the ship of himself, and swam on shore to me the day after I went on shore with my first cargo, and was a trusty servant to me for many years; I wanted nothing that he could fetch me, nor any company that he could make up to me, I only wanted to have him talk to me, but that would not do. As I observed before, I found pens, ink, and paper, and I husbanded them to the utmost; and I shall show that while my ink lasted, I kept things very exact; but after that was gone, I could not, for I could not make any ink, by any means that I could devise.

And this put me in mind that I wanted many things, notwithstanding all that I had amassed together; and of these, this of ink was one, as

also spade, pickaxe, and shovel, to dig or remove the earth; needles, pins, and thread; as for linen, I soon learned to want that without much difficulty.

This want of tools made every work I did go on heavily, and it was near a whole year before I had entirely finished my little pale or surrounded habitation. The piles or stakes, which were as heavy as I could well lift, were a long time in cutting and preparing in the woods, and more by far in bringing home; so that I spent sometimes two days in cutting and bringing home one of those posts, and a third day in driving it into the ground; for which purpose I got a heavy piece of wood at first, but at last bethought myself of one of the iron crows, which however, though I found it, yet it made driving those posts or piles very laborious and tedious work.

But what need I have been concerned at the tediousness of anything I had to do, seeing I had time enough to do it in? nor had I any other employment, if that had been over, at least that I could foresee, except the ranging the island to seek for food, which I did more or less every day.

I now began to consider seriously my condition, and the circumstances I was reduced to, and I drew up the state of my affairs in writing, not so much to leave them to any that were to come after me, for I was like to have but few heirs, as to deliver my thoughts from daily poring upon them, and afflicting my mind; and as my reason began now to master my despondency, I began to comfort myself as well as I could, and to set the good against the evil, that I might have something to distinguish my case from worse; and I stated it very impartially, like debtor and creditor, the comforts I enjoyed against the miseries I suffered, thus:

EVIL.	GOOD.
I am cast upon a horrible, desolate island, void of all hope of recovery.	But I am alive, and not drowned, as all my ship's company was.
I am singled out and separated, as it were, from all the world to be miserable.	But I am singled out too from all the ship's crew, to be spared from death; and He that miraculously saved me from death, can deliver me from this condition.
I am divided from mankind, a solitaire, one banished from human society.	But I am not starved, and perishing on a barren place, affording no sustenance.
I have not clothes to cover me.	But I am in a hot climate, where, if I had clothes, I could hardly wear them.
I am without any defence, or means to resist any violence of man or beast.	But I am cast on an island where I see no wild beasts to hurt me, as I saw on the coast of Africa: and what if I had been shipwrecked there?
I have no soul to speak to, or relieve me.	But God wonderfully sent the ship in near enough to the shore, that I have got out so many necessary things, as will either supply my wants, or enable me to supply myself even as long as I live.

Upon the whole, here was an undoubted testimony, that there was scarce any condition in the world so miserable, but there was something negative or something positive to be thankful for in it; and let this stand as a direction from the experience of the most miserable of all conditions in this world, that we may always find in it something to comfort ourselves from, and to set in the description of good and evil, on the credit side of the account.

Having now brought my mind a little to relish my condition, and given over looking out to sea, to see if I could spy a ship; I say, giving over these things, I began to apply myself to accommodate my way of living, and to make things as easy to me as I could.

I have already described my habitation, which was a tent under the side of a rock, surrounded with a strong pale of posts and cables; but I might now rather call it a wall, for I raised a kind of wall up against it of turfs, about two feet thick on the outside; and after some time, I think it was a year and a half, I raised rafters from it, leaning to the rock, and thatched or covered it with boughs of trees, and such things as I could get, to keep out the rain, which I found at some times of the year very violent.

I have already observed how I brought all my goods into this pale, and into the cave which I had made behind me. But I must observe, too, that at first this was a confused heap of goods, which, as they lay in no order, so they took up all my place; I had no room to turn myself; so I set myself to enlarge my cave and work farther into the earth; for it was a loose sandy rock, which yielded easily to the labour I bestowed on it: and so, when I found I was pretty safe as to beasts of prey, I worked sideways to the right hand into the rock, and then turning to the right again, worked quite out, and made me a door to come out on the outside of my pale or fortification.

This gave me not only egress and regress, as it were a back way to my tent and to my stonehouse, but gave me room to stow my goods.

And now I began to apply myself to make such necessary things as I found I most wanted, as particularly a chair and a table; for without these I was not able to enjoy the few comforts I had in the world; I could not write or eat, or do several things with so much pleasure without a table.

So I went to work; and here I must needs observe, that as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, so by stating and squaring everything by reason, and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be in time master of every mechanic art. I had never handled a tool in my life, and yet in time, by labour, application, and contrivance, I found at last that I wanted nothing but I could have made, especially if I had had tools; however, I made abundance of things, even without tools, and some with no more tools than an adze and a hatchet, which perhaps were never made that way before, and that with infinite labour. For example, if I wanted a board, I had no other way but to cut down a tree, set it on an edge before me, and hew it flat on either side with my axe, till I had brought it to be

thin as a plank, and then dub it smooth with my adze. It is true, by this method I could make but one board of a whole tree; but this I had no remedy for but patience, any more than I had for a prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me up to make a plank or board: but my time or labour was little worth, and so it was as well employed one way as another.

However, I made me a table and a chair, as I observed above, in the first place, and this I did out of the short pieces of boards that I brought on my raft from the ship. But when I had wrought out some boards, as above, I made large shelves of the breadth of a foot and a half, one over another, all along one side of my cave, to lay all my tools, nails, and iron work, and, in a word, to separate everything at large in their places, that I might come easily at them. I knocked pieces into the wall of the rock to hang my guns, and all things that would hang up.

So that had my cave been to be seen, it looked like a general magazine of all necessary things, and I had everything so ready at my hand, that it was a great pleasure to me to see all my goods in such order, and especially to find my stock of all necessaries so great.

And now it was when I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for indeed at first, I was in too much hurry, and not only hurry as to labour, but in too much discomposure of mind, and my journal would have been full of many dull things. For example, I must have said thus; *Sept.* the 30th. After I got to shore, and had escaped drowning, instead of being thankful to God for my deliverance, having first vomited, with the great quantity of salt water which was gotten into my stomach, and recovering myself a little, I ran about the shore, wringing my hands and beating my head and face, exclaiming at my misery, and crying out, I was undone, undone, till tired and faint, I was forced to lie down on the ground to repose; but durst not sleep, for fear of being devoured.

Some days after this, and after I had been on board the ship and got all that I could out of her, yet I could not forbear getting up to the top of a little mountain, and looking out to see in hopes of seeing a ship, then fancy at a vast distance I spied a sail, please myself with the hopes of it, and then after looking steadily, till I was almost blind, lose it quite, and sit down and weep like a child, and thus increase my misery by my folly.

But having gotten over these things in some measure, and having settled my household stuff and habitation, made me a table and a chair, and all as handsome about me as I could, I began to keep my journal, of which I shall here give you the copy (though in it will be told all these particulars over again) as long as it lasted; for having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.

THE JOURNAL.

September 30th, 1659. I poor miserable Robinson Crusoe, being shipwrecked, during a dreadful storm, in the offing, came on shore on this dismal unfortunate island, which I called the ISLAND OF DESPAIR, all the rest of the ship's company being drowned, and myself almost dead.

All the rest of that day I spent in afflicting myself at the dismal circumstances I was brought to, viz. I had neither food, house, clothes, weapon, or place to fly to, and in despair of any relief, saw nothing but death before me, either that I should be devoured by wild beasts, murdered by savages, or starved to death for want of food. At the approach of night I slept in a tree, for fear of wild creatures, but slept soundly though it rained all night.

October 1. In the morning I saw, to my great surprise, the ship had floated with the high tide, and was driven on shore again much nearer the island; which, as it was some comfort on one hand, for seeing her sit upright, and not broken to pieces, I hoped, if the wind abated, I might get on board, and get some food and necessaries out of her for my relief; so on the other hand, it renewed my grief at the loss of my comrades, who, I imagined, if we had all stayed on board, might have saved the ship, or at least, that they would not have been all drowned, as they were; and that, had the men been saved, we might perhaps have built us a boat out of the ruins of the ship, to have carried us to some other part of the world. I spent great part of this day in perplexing myself on these things; but at length, seeing the ship almost dry, I went upon the sand as near as I could, and then swam on board. This day also it continued raining, though with no wind at all.

From the 1st of October to the 24th. All these days entirely spent in many several voyages to get all I could out of the ship, which I brought on shore every tide of flood, upon rafts. Much rain also in these days, though with some intervals of fair weather: but, it seems, this was the rainy season.

Oct. 20. I overset my raft and all the goods I had got upon it, but being in shoal water, and the things being chiefly heavy, I recovered many of them when the tide was out.

Oct. 25. It rained all night and all day, with some gusts of wind, during which time the ship broke in pieces, the wind blowing a little harder than before, and was no more to be seen, except the wreck of her, and that only at low water. I spent this day in covering and securing the goods which I had saved, that the rain might not spoil them.

Oct. 26. I walked about the shore almost all day to find out a place to fix my habitation, concerned greatly to secure myself from an attack in the night, either from wild beasts or men. Towards night I fixed upon a proper place under a rock, and marked out a semicircle for my encampment, which I resolved to strengthen with a work, wall, or fortification, made of double piles lined within with cables, and without with turf.

From the 26th to the 30th, I worked very hard in carrying all my goods to my new habitation, though some part of the time it rained exceeding hard.

The 31st, in the morning I went out into the island with my gun to see for some food, and discover the country; when I killed a she-goat, and her kid followed me home, which I afterwards killed also, because it would not feed.

November 1. I set up my tent under a rock, and lay there for the first night; making it as large as I could, with stakes driven in to swing my hammock upon.

Nov. 2. I set up all my chests and boards, and the pieces of timber which made my rafts, and with them formed a fence round me, a little within the place I had marked out for my fortification.

Nov. 3. I went out with my gun and killed two fowls like ducks, which were very good food. In the afternoon went to work to make me a table.

Nov. 4. This morning I began to order my times of work, of going out with my gun, time of sleep, and time of diversion; viz. every morning I walked out with my gun for two or three hours, if it did not rain, then employed myself to work till about eleven o'clock, then ate what I had to live on, and from twelve to two I lay down to sleep, the weather being excessive hot, and then in the evening to work again. The working part of this day and of the next were wholly employed in making my table, for I was yet but a very sorry workman, though time and necessity made me a complete natural mechanic soon after, as I believe they would any one else.

Nov. 5. This day went abroad with my gun and dog, and killed a wild cat; her skin pretty soft, but her flesh good for nothing: every creature I killed I took off the skins and preserved them. Coming back by the seashore, I saw many sorts of seafowl which I did not understand; but was surprised, and almost frighted with two or three seals, which while I was gazing at, not well knowing what they were, got into the sea, and escaped me for that time.

Nov. 6. After my morning walk, I went to work with my table again, and finished it, though not to my liking; nor was it long before I learned to mend it.

Nov. 7. Now it began to be settled fair weather. The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and part of the 12th, (for the 11th was Sunday), I took wholly up to make me a chair, and with much ado brought it to a tolerable shape, but never to please me; and, even in the making, I pulled it in pieces several times. *Note.* I soon neglected my keeping Sundays, for, omitting any mark for them on my post, I forgot which was which.

Nov. 13. This day it rained, which refreshed me exceedingly, and cooled the earth; but it was accompanied with terrible thunder and lightning, which frighted me dreadfully, for fear of my powder. As soon as it was over, I resolved to separate my stock of powder into as many little parcels as possible, that it might not be in danger.

Nov. 14, 15, 16. These three days I spent in making little square chests or boxes, which might hold about a pound, or two pounds at most, of powder; and so putting the powder in, I stowed it in places as secure and as remote from one another as possible. On one of these three days I killed a large bird that was good to eat; but I knew not what to call it.

Nov. 17. This day I began to dig behind my tent into the rock, to make room for my farther conveniency. *Note.* Three things I wanted exceedingly for this work, viz., a pickaxe, a shovel, and a wheelbarrow or basket; so I desisted from my work, and began to consider how to supply that want, and make me some tools. As for a pickaxe, I made use of the iron crows, which were proper enough, though heavy; but the next thing was a shovel or spade; this was so absolutely necessary, that, indeed, I could do nothing effectually without it; but what kind of one to make I knew not.

Nov. 18. The next day in searching the woods, I found a tree of that wood, or like it, which, in the Brazils, they call the Iron Tree, for its exceeding hardness; of this, with great labour, and almost spoiling my axe, I cut a piece, and brought it home too with difficulty enough, for it was exceeding heavy.

The excessive hardness of the wood, and having no other way, made me a long while upon this machine; for I worked it effectually, by little and little, into the form of a shovel or spade; the handle exactly shaped like ours in England, only that the broad part having no iron shod upon it at bottom, it would not last me so long; however, it served well enough for the uses which I had occasion to put it to; but never was a shovel, I believe, made after that fashion, or so long a making.

I was still deficient, for I wanted a basket, or a wheelbarrow. A basket I could not make by any means, having no such things as twigs that would bend to make wicker ware, at least none yet found out; and as to a wheelbarrow, I fancied I could make all but the wheel, but that I had no notion of, neither did I know how to go about it; besides, I had no possible way to make the iron gudgeons for the spindle or axis of the wheel to run in, so I gave it over; and so for carrying away the earth which I dug out of the cave, I made me a thing like a hod, which the labourers carry mortar in when they serve the bricklayers.

This was not so difficult to me as the making the shovel; and yet this, and the shovel, and the attempt which I made in vain to make a wheelbarrow, took me up no less than four days; I mean, always excepting my morning walk with my gun, which I seldom failed, and very seldom failed also bringing home something fit to eat.

Nov. 23. My other work having now stood still, because of my making these tools, when they were finished I went on, and working every day, as my strength and time allowed, I spent eighteen days entirely in widening and deepening my cave, that it might hold my goods commodiously.

Note. During all this time, I worked to make this room or cave spacious enough to accommodate me as a warehouse, or magazine, a kitchen, a dining-room, and a cellar. As for my lodging, I kept to the tent, except that sometimes, in the wet season of the year, it rained so hard that I could not keep myself dry, which caused me afterwards to cover all my place within my pale with long poles in the form of rafters, leaning against the rock, and load them with flags and large leaves of trees, like a thatch.

December 10. I began now to think my cave or vault finished, when on a sudden (it seems I had made it too large) a great quantity of earth fell down from the top and one side, so much, that in short, it frighted me, and not without reason too; for if I had been under it, I had never wanted a grave-digger. Upon this disaster, I had a great deal of work to do over again; for I had the loose earth to carry out, and, which was of more importance, I had the ceiling to prop up, so that I might be sure no more would come down.

Dec. 11. This day I went to work with it accordingly, and got two shores or posts pitched upright to the top, with two pieces of boards across over each post; this I finished the next day; and setting more posts up with boards, in about a week more I had the roof secured; and the posts, standing in rows, served me for partitions to part off my house.

Dec. 17. From this day to the twentieth, I placed shelves, and knocked up nails on the posts, to hang everything up that could be hung up; and now I began to be in some order within doors.

Dec. 20. Now I carried everything into the cave, and began to furnish my house, and set

up some pieces of boards, like a dresser, to order my victuals upon; but boards began to be very scarce with me; also I made me another table.

Dec. 24. Much rain all night and all day; no stirring out.

Dec. 25. Rain all day.

Dec. 26. No rain, and the earth much cooler than before, and pleasanter.

Dec. 27. Killed a young goat, and lamed another, so that I catched it, and led it home in a string; when I had it home, I bound and splintered up its leg, which was broke. *N.B.* I took such care of it that it lived, and the leg grew well, and as strong as ever; but by my nursing it so long, it grew tame and fed upon the little green at my door, and would not go away. This was the first time that I entertained a thought of breeding up some tame creatures, that I might have food when my powder and shot was all spent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. Great heats, and no breeze; so that there was no stirring abroad, except in the evening, for food; this time I spent in putting all my things in order within doors.

January 1. Very hot still; but I went abroad early and late with my gun, and lay still in the middle of the day. This evening, going farther into the valleys which lay towards the centre of the island, I found there was plenty of goats, though exceeding shy and hard to come at; however, I resolved to try if I could not bring my dog to hunt them down.

Jan. 2. Accordingly, the next day I went out with my dog, and set him upon the goats; but I was mistaken, for they all faced about upon the dog; and he knew his danger too well, for he would not come near them.

Jan. 3. I began my fence or wall; which, being still jealous of my being attacked by somebody, I resolved to make very thick and strong.

N.B.—This wall being described before, I purposely omit what was said in the journal: it is sufficient to observe that I was no less time than from the 3d of January to the 14th of April, working, finishing, and perfecting this wall, though it was no more than about 24 yards in length, being a half circle, from one place in the rock to another place, about eight yards from it, the door of the cave being in the centre, behind it.

All this time I worked very hard, the rains hindering me many days, nay, sometimes weeks together; but I thought I should never be perfectly secure till this wall was finished; and it is scarce credible what inexpressible labour everything was done with, especially the bringing piles out of the woods, and driving them into the ground; for I made them much bigger than I need to have done.

When this wall was finished, and the outside double fenced, with a turf wall raised up close to it, I persuaded myself that if any people were to come on shore there, they would not perceive anything like a habitation; and it was very well I did so, as may be observed hereafter, upon a very remarkable occasion.

During this time, I made my rounds in the woods for game every day when the rain admitted me, and made frequent discoveries in these walks of something or other to my advantage; particularly I found a kind of wild pigeons, who built not as wood-pigeons, in a tree, but rather as house-pigeons, in the holes of the rocks; and taking some young ones, I endeavoured to breed them up tame, and did so; but when they grew older, they flew all away, which, perhaps, was, at first, for want of feeding them, for I had nothing to give them; however, I frequently found their nests, and got their young ones, which were very good meat.

And now, in the managing my household affairs, I found myself wanting in many things, which I thought at first it was impossible for me to make, as indeed, as to some of them, it was; for instance, I could never make a cask to be hooped. I had a small runlet or two, as I observed before, but I could never arrive to the capacity of making one by them, though I spent many weeks about it; I could neither put in the heads, or joint the staves so true to one another as to make them hold water; so I gave that also over.

In the next place, I was at a great loss for candle; so that as soon as ever it was dark, which was generally by seven o'clock, I was obliged to go to bed. I remembered the lump of bees-wax with which I made candles in my African adventure, but I had none of that now; the only remedy I had was, that when I had killed a goat, I saved the tallow, and with a little dish made of clay, which I baked in the sun, to which I added a wick of some oakum, I made me a lamp; and this gave me a light, though not a clear steady light like a candle. In the middle of all my labours it happened, that rummaging my things, I found a little bag, which, as I hinted before, had been filled with corn for the feeding of poultry; not for this voyage, but before, as I suppose, when the ship came from Lisbon. What little remainder of corn had been in the bag was all devoured with the rats, and I saw nothing in the bag but husks and dust; and being willing to have the bag for some other use, I think it was to put powder in, when I divided it for fear of the lightning, or some such use, I shook the husks of corn out of it, on one side of my fortification, under the rock.

It was a little before the great rains just now mentioned, that I threw this stuff away, taking no notice of anything, and not so much as remembering that I had thrown anything there; when, about a month after, or thereabout, I saw some few stalks of something green, shooting out of the ground, which I fancied might be some plant I had not seen; but I was surprised and perfectly astonished, when, after a little longer time, I saw about ten or twelve ears come out, which were perfect green barley, of the same kind as our European, nay, as our English barley.

It is impossible to express the astonishment and confusion of my thoughts on this occasion. I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all; indeed, I had very few notions of religion in my head, or had entertained any sense of any things that had befallen me, otherwise than as a chance, or as we lightly say, what pleases God; without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence in these things, or his order in governing events in the world; but after I saw barley grow there, in a climate which I know was not proper for corn, and especially that I knew not how it came there, it startled me strangely; and I began to suggest, that God had miraculously caused this grain to grow without any help of seed sown, and that it was so directed purely for my sustenance, on that wild miserable place.

This touched my heart a little, and brought tears out of my eyes, and I began to bless myself that such a prodigy of nature should happen upon my account; and this was the more strange to me, because I saw near it still, all along by the side of the rock, some other straggling stalks, which proved to be stalks of rice, and which I

knew, because I had seen it grow in Africa, when I was ashore there.

I not only thought these the pure productions of Providence for my support, but not doubting but that there was more in the place, I went all over that part of the island where I had been before, peering in every corner, and under every rock, for to see more of it, but I could not find any. At last it occurred to my thoughts that I had shook a bag of chicken's meat in that place, and then the wonder began to cease; and, I must confess, my religious thankfulness to God's providence began to abate too, upon the discovering that all this was nothing but what was common; though I ought to have been as thankful for so strange and unforeseen a providence, as if it had been miraculous; for it was really the work of Providence as to me, that should order or appoint that 10 or 12 grains of corn should remain unspoiled (when the rats had destroyed all the rest), as if it had been dropped from heaven; as also that I should throw it out in that particular place, where, it being in the shade of a high rock, it sprang up immediately; whereas, if I had thrown it anywhere else at that time, it had been burned up and destroyed.

I carefully saved the ears of this corn, you may be sure, in their season, which was about the end of June; and, laying up every corn, I resolved to sow them all again, hoping in time to have some quantity sufficient to supply me with bread. But it was not till the 4th year that I could allow myself the least grain of this corn to eat, and even then but sparingly, as I shall say afterwards in its order; for I lost all that I sowed the first season by not observing the proper time; for I sowed just before the dry season, so that it never came up at all, at least not as it would have done: of which in its place.

Besides this barley, there were, as above, 20 or 30 stalks of rice, which I preserved with the same care, and whose use was of the same kind, or to the same purpose, viz. to make me bread, or rather food; for I found ways to cook it up without baking, though I did that also after some time. But to return to my Journal.

I worked excessive hard these three or four months, to get my wall done; and the 14th of April I closed it up, contriving to get into it, not by a door, but over the wall, by a ladder, that there might be no sign in the outside of my habitation.

April 16. I finished the ladder, so I went up with the ladder to the top, and then pulled it up after me, and let it down in the inside: this was a complete enclosure to me; for within I had room enough, and nothing could come at me from without, unless it could first mount my wall.

The very next day after this wall was finished, I had almost all my labour overthrown at once, and myself killed; the case was thus: As I was busy in the inside of it, behind my tent, just in the entrance into my cave, I was terribly frighted with a most dreadful surprising thing indeed; for all on a sudden, I found the earth come crumbling down from the roof of my cave, and from the edge of the hill over my head, and two of the posts I had set up in the cave cracked in a frightful manner. I was heartily scared, but thought nothing of what was really the cause, only thinking that the top of my cave was falling in, as some of it had done before; and for fear I should be buried in it, I ran forward to my ladder, and not thinking myself safe there neither, I got over my wall for fear of the pieces of the hill which I expected might roll down upon me. I was no sooner stepped down upon the firm ground, but I plainly saw it was a terrible earthquake; for the ground I stood on shook three times at about eight minutes' distance, with three such shocks as would have overturned the strongest building that could be supposed to have stood on the earth; and a great piece of the top of a rock, which stood about half a mile from me, next the sea, fell down with such a terrible noise as I never heard in all my life. I perceived also the very sea was put into violent motion by it; and I believe the shocks were stronger under the water than on the island.

I was so amazed with the thing itself, having never felt the like, or discoursed with any one that had, that I was like one dead or stupified; and the motion of the earth made my stomach sick, like one that was tossed at sea; but the noise of the falling of the rock awaked me, as it were, and rousing me from the stupified condition I was in, filled me with horror, and I thought of nothing then but the hill falling upon my tent and all my household goods, and burying all at once; and this sunk my very soul within me a second time.

After the third shock was over, and I felt no more for some time, I began to take courage; and yet I had not heart enough to go over my wall again, for fear of being buried alive, but sat still upon the ground greatly cast down, and disconsolate, not knowing what to do. All this while I had not the least serious religious thought, nothing but the common *Lord, have mercy upon me*; and when it was over, that went away too.

While I sat thus, I found the air overcast, and grow cloudy, as if it would rain; soon after that the wind rose by little and little, so that in less than half an hour it blew a most dreadful hurricane: the sea was all on a sudden covered over with foam and froth, the shore was covered with the breach of the water, the trees were torn up by the roots, and a terrible storm it was; and this held about three hours, and then began to abate, and in two hours more it was stark calm, and began to rain very hard.

All this while I sat upon the ground very much terrified and dejected, when, on a sudden, it came into my thoughts, that these winds and rain being the consequence of the earthquake, the earthquake itself was spent and over, and I might venture into my cave again. With this thought my spirits began to revive, and the rain also helping to persuade me, I went in, and sat down in my tent; but the rain was so violent, that my tent was ready to be beaten down with it, and I was forced to go into my cave, though very much afraid and uneasy, for fear it should fall on my head.

This violent rain forced me to a new work, viz. to cut a hole through my new fortification, like a sink, to let the water go out, which would else have drowned my cave. After I had been in my cave some time, and found still no more shocks of the earthquake follow, I began to be more composed. And now, to support my spirits, which indeed wanted it very much, I went to my little store, and took a small sup of rum, which, however, I did then and always very sparingly, knowing I could have no more when that was gone.

It continued raining all that night and great part of the next day, so that I could not stir abroad; but my mind being more composed, I began to think of what I had best do, concluding, that if the island was subject to these earthquakes, there would be no living for me in a cave, but I must consider of building me some little hut in an open place, which I might sur-

round with a wall, as I had done here, and so make myself secure from wild beasts or men; but concluded, if I stayed where I was, I should certainly, one time or other, be buried alive.

With these thoughts, I resolved to remove my tent from the place where it stood, which was just under the hanging precipice of the hill, and which, if it should be shaken again, would certainly fall upon my tent; and I spent the two next days, being the 19th and 20th of April, in contriving where and how to remove my habitation.

The fear of being swallowed up alive, made me that I never slept in quiet; and yet the apprehension of lying abroad, without any fence, was almost equal to it; but still when I looked about and saw how everything was put in order, how pleasantly concealed I was, and how safe from danger, it made me very loath to remove.

In the meantime it occurred to me that it would require a vast deal of time for me to do this, and that I must be contented to run the venture where I was, till I had formed a camp for myself and had secured it so as to remove to it; so with this resolution I composed myself for a time, and resolved that I would go to work with all speed to build me a wall with piles and cables, &c., in a circle as before, and set my tent up in it when it was finished, but that I would venture to stay where I was till it was finished, and fit to remove to. This was the 21st.

April 22. The next morning I began to consider of means to put this resolve in execution, but I was at a great loss about my tools; I had three large axes, and abundance of hatchets (for we carried the hatchets for traffic with the Indians), but with much chopping and cutting knotty hard wood, they were all full of notches, and dull, and though I had a grindstone, I could not turn it and grind my tools too. This cost me as much thought as a statesman would have bestowed upon a grand point of politics, or a judge upon the life and death of a man. At length I contrived a wheel with a string, to turn it with my foot, that I might have both my hands at liberty. *Note.* I had never seen any such thing in England, or at least not to take notice how it was done, though since I have observed it is very common there; besides that, my grindstone was very large and heavy. This machine cost me a full week's work to bring it to perfection.

April 28, 29. These two whole days I took up in grinding my tools, my machine for turning my grindstone performing very well.

April 30. Having perceived my bread had been low a great while, now I took a survey of it, and reduced myself to one biscuit-cake a day, which made my heart very heavy.

May 1. In the morning, looking towards the seaside, the tide being low, I saw something lie on the shore bigger than ordinary, and it looked like a cask; when I came to it, I found a small barrel, and two or three pieces of the wreck of the ship, which were driven on shore by the late hurricane; and looking towards the wreck itself, I thought it seemed to lie higher out of the water than it used to do. I examined the barrel which was driven on shore, and soon found it was a barrel of gunpowder, but it had taken water, and the powder was caked as hard as a stone; however, I rolled it farther on shore for the present, and went on upon the sands, as near as I could to the wreck of the ship, to look for more.

When I came down to the ship, I found it strangely removed; the forecastle, which lay before buried in the sand, was heaved up at least six feet; and the stern, which was broke to pieces and parted from the rest by the force of the sea, soon after I had left rummaging her, was tossed, as it were, up, and cast on one side, and the sand was thrown so high on that side next her stern, that whereas there was a great place of water before, so that I could not come within a quarter of a mile of the wreck without swimming, I could now walk quite up to her when the tide was out; I was surprised with this at first, but soon concluded it must be done by the earthquake: and as by this violence the ship was more broken open than formerly, so many things came daily on shore, which the sea had loosened, and which the winds and water rolled by degrees to the land.

This wholly diverted my thoughts from the design of removing my habitation; and I busied myself mightily, that day especially, in searching whether I could make any way into the ship; but I found nothing was to be expected of that kind, for that all the inside of the ship was choked up with sand. However, as I had learned not to despair of anything, I resolved to pull everything to pieces that I could of the ship, concluding that everything I could get from her would be of some use or other to me.

May 3. I began with my saw, and cut a piece of a beam through, which I thought held some of the upper part or quarter-deck together; and when I had cut it through, I cleared away the sand as well as I could from the side which lay highest; but the tide coming in, I was obliged to give over for that time.

May 4. I went a fishing, but caught not one fish that I durst eat of, till I was wearied of my sport; when just going to leave off, I caught a young dolphin. I had made me a long line of some rope-yarn, but I had no hooks; yet I frequently caught fish enough, as much as I cared to eat; all which I dried in the sun, and ate them dry.

May 5. Worked on the wreck; cut another beam asunder, and brought three great fir planks off from the decks, which I tied together, and made swim on shore when the tide of flood came on.

May 6. Worked on the wreck; got several iron bolts out of her, and other pieces of iron work. Worked very hard, and came home very much tired, and had thoughts of giving it over.

May 7. Went to the wreck again, but with an intent not to work; but found the weight of the wreck had broke itself down, the beams being cut, that several pieces of the ship seemed to lie loose, and the inside of the hold lay so open that I could see into it; but almost full of water and sand.

May 8. Went to the wreck, and carried an iron crow to wrench up the deck, which lay now quite clear of the water or sand. I wrenched open two planks, and brought them on shore also with the tide; I left the iron crow in the wreck for next day.

May 9. Went to the wreck, and with the crow made way into the body of the wreck, and felt several casks, and loosened them with the crow, but could not break them up. I felt also the roll of English lead, and could stir it, but it was too heavy to remove.

May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Went every day to the wreck, and got a great deal of pieces of timber, and boards, or plank, and two or three hundredweight of iron.

May 15. I carried two hatchets, to try if I could not cut a piece off the roll of lead, by placing the edge of one hatchet, and driving it with the other; but as it lay about a foot and a

half in the water, I could not make any blow to drive the hatchet.

May 16. It had blowed hard in the night, and the wreck appeared more broken by the force of the water; but I stayed so long in the woods, to get pigeons for food, that the tide prevented me going to the wreck that day.

May 17. I saw some pieces of the wreck blown on shore, at a great distance, near two miles off me, but resolved to see what they were, and found it was a piece of the head, but too heavy for me to bring away.

May 24. Every day, to this day, I worked on the wreck, and with hard labour I loosened some things so much with the crow, that the first blowing tide several casks floated out, and two of the seamen's chests. But the wind blowing from the shore, nothing came to land that day but pieces of timber, and a hogshead which had some Brazil pork in it, but the salt water and the sand had spoiled it.

I continued this work every day to the 15th of June, except the time necessary to get food, which I always appointed, during this part of my employment, to be when the tide was up, that I might be ready when it was ebbed out; and by this time I had gotten timber, and plank, and iron-work enough to have built a good boat, if I had known how; and also I got, at several times, and in several places, near one hundredweight of the sheet-lead.

June 16. Going down to the seaside, I found a large tortoise, or turtle; this was the first I had seen, which, it seems, was only my misfortune, not any defect of the place, or scarcity; for had I happened to be on the other side of the island, I might have had hundreds of them every day, as I found afterwards; but perhaps had paid dear enough for them.

June 17. I spent in cooking the turtle. I found in her threescore eggs; and her flesh was to me, at that time, the most savoury and pleasant that ever I tasted in my life, having had no flesh, but of goats and fowls, since I landed in this horrid place.

June 18. Rained all day, and I stayed within. I thought, at this time, the rain felt cold, and I was something chilly, which I knew was not usual in that latitude.

June 19. Very ill, and shivering, as if the weather had been cold.

June 20. No rest all night; violent pains in my head, and feverish.

June 21. Very ill; frightened almost to death with the apprehensions of my sad condition, to be sick, and no help; prayed to God for the first time since the storm off of Hull; but scarce knew what I said, or why, my thoughts being all confused.

June 22. A little better; but under dreadful apprehensions of sickness.

June 23. Very bad again; cold and shivering, and then a violent headache.

June 24. Much better.

June 25. An ague very violent; the fit held me seven hours, cold fit, and hot, with faint sweats after it.

June 26. Better; and having no victuals to eat, took my gun, but found myself very weak; however, I killed a she-goat, and with much difficulty got it home, and broiled some of it, and ate; I would fain have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no pot.

June 27. The ague again so violent that I lay a-bed all day, and neither ate nor drank. I was ready to perish for thirst, but so weak, I had not strength to stand up, or to get myself any water to drink. Prayed to God again, but was light-headed, and when I was not, I was so ignorant that I knew not what to say; only I lay and cried, 'Lord, look upon me! Lord, pity me! Lord, have mercy upon me!' I suppose I did nothing else for two or three hours, till the fit wearing off, I fell asleep, and did not wake till far in the night. When I waked, I found myself much refreshed, but weak, and exceeding thirsty; however, as I had no water in my whole habitation, I was forced to lie till morning, and went to sleep again. In this second sleep I had this terrible dream.

I thought that I was sitting on the ground on the outside of the wall, where I sat when the storm blew after the earthquake, and that I saw a man descend from a great black cloud, in a bright flame of fire, and light upon the ground: he was all over as bright as a flame, so that I could but just bear to look towards him; his countenance was most inexpressibly dreadful, impossible for words to describe; when he stepped upon the ground with his feet, I thought the earth trembled, just as it had done before in the earthquake; and all the air looked, to my apprehension, as if it had been filled with flashes of fire.

He was no sooner landed upon the earth, but he moved forward towards me, with a long spear or weapon in his hand, to kill me; and when he came to a rising ground, at some distance, he spoke to me, or I heard a voice so terrible that it is impossible to express the terror of it; all that I can say I understood, was this, 'Seeing all these things have not brought thee to repentance, now thou shalt die;' at which words, I thought he lifted up the spear that was in his hand to kill me.

No one that shall ever read this account, will expect that I should be able to describe the horrors of my soul at this terrible vision; I mean, that even while it was a dream, I even dreamed of those horrors; nor is it any more possible to describe the impression that remained upon my mind when I awaked, and found it was but a dream.

I had, alas! no divine knowledge; what I had received by the good instruction of my father was then worn out, by an uninterrupted series, for 8 years, of seafaring wickedness, and a constant conversation with nothing but such as were like myself, wicked and profane to the last degree. I do not remember that I had, in all that time, one thought that so much as tended either to looking upwards toward God, or inwards towards a reflection upon my own ways; but a certain stupidity of soul, without desire of good, or conscience of evil, had entirely overwhelmed me; and I was all that the most hardened, unthinking, wicked creature among our common sailors can be supposed to be, not having the least sense, either of the fear of God in danger, or of thankfulness to God in deliverances.

In the relating what is already past of my story, this will be the more easily believed, when I shall add, that through all the variety of miseries that had to this day befallen me, I never had so much as one thought of its being the hand of God, or that it was a just punishment for my sin; my rebellious behaviour against my father, or my present sins, which were great; or so much as a punishment for the general course of my wicked life. When I was on the desperate expedition on the desert shores of Africa, I never had so much as one thought of what would become of me; or one wish to God to direct me whither I should go, or to keep me from the danger which

apparently surrounded me, as well from voracious creatures as cruel savages: but I was merely thoughtless of a God or a Providence; acted like a mere brute, from the principles of nature, and by the dictates of common sense only, and indeed hardly that.

When I was delivered and taken up at sea by the Portuguese captain, well used, and dealt justly and honourably with, as well as charitably, I had not the least thankfulness on my thoughts. When again I was shipwrecked, ruined, and in danger of drowning on this island, I was as far from remorse, or looking on it as a judgment; I only said to myself often, that I was an unfortunate dog, and born to be always miserable.

It is true, when I got on shore first here, and found all my ship's crew drowned, and myself spared, I was surprised with a kind of ecstasy, and some transports of soul, which, had the grace of God assisted, might have come up to true thankfulness; but it ended where it began, in a mere common flight of joy, or, as I may say, being glad I was alive, without the least reflection upon the distinguishing goodness of the hand which had preserved me, and had singled me out to be preserved when all the rest were destroyed; or any inquiry why Providence had been thus merciful to me; even just the same common sort of joy which seamen generally have, after they are got safe ashore from a shipwreck, which they drown all in the next bowl of punch, and forget almost as soon as it is over; and all the rest of my life was like it.

Even when I was, afterwards, on due consideration, made sensible of my condition, how I was cast on this dreadful place, out of the reach of human kind, out of all hope of relief, or prospect of redemption, as soon as I saw but a prospect of living, and that I should not starve and perish for hunger, all the sense of my affliction wore off, and I began to be very easy, applied myself to the works proper for my preservation and supply, and was far enough from being afflicted at my condition, as a judgment from Heaven, or as the hand of God against me; these were thoughts which very seldom entered into my head.

The growing up of the corn, as is hinted in my Journal, had at first some little influence upon me, and began to affect me with seriousness, as long as I thought it had something miraculous in it; but as soon as ever that part of the thought was removed, all the impression which was raised from it wore off also, as I have noted already.

Even the earthquake, though nothing could be more terrible in its nature, or more immediately directing to the invisible Power which alone directs such things, yet no sooner was the first fright over, but the impression it had made went off also. I had no more sense of God or his judgments, much less of the present affliction of my circumstances being from his hand, than if I had been in the most prosperous condition of life.

But now when I began to be sick, and a leisurely view of the miseries of death came to place itself before me, when my spirits began to sink under the burden of a strong distemper, and nature was exhausted with the violence of the fever, conscience, that had slept so long, began to awake, and I began to reproach myself with my past life, in which I had so evidently, by uncommon wickedness, provoked the justice of God to lay me under uncommon strokes, and to deal with me in so vindictive a manner.

These reflections oppressed me for the second or third day of my distemper, and in the violence, as well of the fever as of the dreadful reproaches of my conscience, extorted some words from me like praying to God, though I cannot say they were either a prayer attended with desires or with hopes; it was rather the voice of mere fright and distress. My thoughts were confused, the convictions great upon my mind, and the horror of dying in such a miserable condition raised vapours into my head with the mere apprehensions; and, in these hurries of my soul, I knew not what my tongue might express; but it was rather exclamation, such as, 'Lord! what a miserable creature am I! If I should be sick, I shall certainly die for want of help, and what will become of me?' Then the tears burst out of my eyes, and I could say no more for a good while.

In this interval, the good advice of my father came to my mind, and presently his prediction, which I mentioned at the beginning of this story, viz. that if I did take this foolish step God would not bless me, and I would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery. 'Now,' said I aloud, 'my dear father's words are come to pass: God's justice has overtaken me, and I have none to help or hear me. I rejected the voice of providence, which had mercifully put me in a posture or station of life wherein I might have been happy and easy, but I would neither see it myself or learn to know the blessing of it from my parents; I left them to mourn over my folly, and now I am left to mourn under the consequences of it; I refused their help and assistance, who would have lifted me into the world, and would have made everything easy to me, and now I have difficulties to struggle with too great for even nature itself to support, and no assistance, no help, no comfort, no advice.' Then I cried out, 'Lord, be my help, for I am in great distress.'

This was the first prayer, if I might call it so, that I had made for many years. But I return to my Journal.

June 28. Having been somewhat refreshed with the sleep I had had, and the fit being entirely off, I got up, and though the fright and terror of my dream was very great, yet I considered that the fit of the ague would return again the next day, and now was my time to get something to refresh and support myself when I should be ill; and the first thing I did, I filled a large square case-bottle with water, and set it upon my table, in reach of my bed; and to take off the chill or aguish disposition of the water, I put about a quarter of a pint of rum into it, and mixed them together; then I got me a piece of the goat's flesh, and broiled it on the coals, but could eat very little. I walked about, but was very weak, and withal very sad and heavy-hearted in the sense of my miserable condition, dreading the return of my distemper the next day. At night I made my supper of three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted in the ashes, and ate, as we call it, in the shell; and this was the first bit of meat I had ever asked God's blessing to, even, as I could remember, in my whole life.

After I had eaten I tried to walk, but found myself so weak that I could hardly carry the gun (for I never went out without that); so I went but a little way, and sat down upon the ground, looking out upon the sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth. As I sat here, some such thoughts as these occurred to me.

What is this earth and sea, of which I have seen so much? Whence is it produced? And what am I and all the other creatures, wild and tame, human and brutal? Whence are we? Surely we are all made by some secret power,

who formed the earth and sea, the air and sky; and who is that?

Then it followed most naturally, It is God that has made it all. Well, but then it came on strangely, if God has made all these things, He guides and governs them all, and all things that concern them; for the power that could make all things, must certainly have power to guide and direct them.

If so, nothing can happen in the great circuit of his works, either without his knowledge or appointment.

And if nothing happens without his knowledge, he knows that I am here, and am in this dreadful condition; and if nothing happens without his appointment, he has appointed all this to befall me.

Nothing occurred to my thoughts to contradict any of these conclusions; and therefore it rested upon me with the greater force, that it must needs be that God had appointed all this to befall me; that I was brought to this miserable circumstance by his direction, He having the sole power, not of me only, but of everything that happened in the world. Immediately it followed,

Why has God done this to me? What have I done to be thus used?

My conscience presently checked me in that inquiry, as if I had blasphemed, and methought it spoke to me like a voice: 'WRETCH! dost thou ask what thou hast done! Look back upon a dreadful misspent life, and ask thyself what thou hast *not* done? Ask, why is it that thou wert not long ago destroyed? Why wert thou not drowned in Yarmouth Roads? killed in the fight when the ship was taken by the Salee man of war? devoured by the wild beasts on the coast of Africa? or drowned *here*, when all the crew perished but thyself? Dost thou ask, what have I done?'

I was struck dumb with these reflections, as one astonished, and had not a word to say, no, not to answer to myself, but rose up pensive and sad, walked back to my retreat, and went over my wall, as if I had been going to bed; but my thoughts were sadly disturbed, and I had no inclination to sleep; so I sat down in my chair, and lighted my lamp, for it began to be dark. Now, as the apprehension of the return of my distemper terrified me very much, it occurred to my thought, that the Brazilians take no physic but their tobacco for almost all distempers; and I had a piece of a roll of tobacco in one of the chests, which was quite cured, and some also that was green and not quite cured.

I went, directed by Heaven, no doubt; for in this chest I found a cure both for soul and body. I opened the chest, and found what I looked for, viz. the tobacco; and as the few books I had saved lay there too, I took out one of the Bibles which I mentioned before, and which to this time I had not found leisure, or so much as inclination, to look into; I say I took it out, and brought both that and the tobacco with me to the table.

What use to make of the tobacco I knew not, as to my distemper, or whether it was good for it or no; but I tried several experiments with it, as if I was resolved it should hit one way or other. I first took a piece of a leaf, and chewed it in my mouth, which, indeed, at first almost stupified my brain, the tobacco being green and strong, and that I had not been much used to it; then I took some and steeped it an hour or two in some rum, and resolved to take a dose of it when I lay down; and lastly, I burnt some upon a pan of coals, and held my nose close over the smoke of it as long as I could bear it, as well for the heat as almost for suffocation.

In the interval of this operation, I took up the Bible and began to read; but my head was too much disturbed with the tobacco to bear reading, at least that time; only, having opened the book casually, the first words that occurred to me were these: 'Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.'

The words were very apt to my case, and made some impression upon my thoughts at the time of reading them, though not so much as they did afterwards; for as for being delivered, the word had no sound, as I may say, to me. The thing was so remote, so impossible, in my apprehension of things, that I began to say, as the children of Israel did when they were promised flesh to eat, 'Can God spread a table in the wilderness?' so I began to say, 'Can God himself deliver me from this place?' And as it was not for many years that any hopes appeared, this prevailed very often upon my thoughts; but, however, the words made a great impression upon me, and I mused upon them very often. It grew now late, and the tobacco had, as I said, dozed my head so much that I inclined to sleep; so I left my lamp burning in the cave, lest I should want anything in the night, and went to bed; but before I lay down, I did what I never had done in all my life, I kneeled down, and prayed to God to fulfil the promise to me, that if I called upon Him in the day of trouble, He would deliver me. After my broken and imperfect prayer was over, I drank the rum in which I had steeped the tobacco, which was so strong and rank of the tobacco that indeed I could scarce get it down; immediately upon this I went to bed. I found presently it flew up into my head violently; but I fell into a sound sleep, and waked no more till, by the sun, it must necessarily be near three o'clock in the afternoon the next day. Nay, to this hour I am partly of the opinion that I slept all the next day and night, and till almost three that day after; for otherwise I knew not how I should lose a day out of my reckoning in the days of the week, as it appeared some years after I had done; for if I had lost it by crossing and recrossing the line, I should have lost more than one day; but certainly I lost a day in my account, and never knew which way.

Be that, however, one way or the other, when I awaked I found myself exceedingly refreshed, and my spirits lively and cheerful; when I got up I was stronger than I was the day before, and my stomach better, for I was hungry; and, in short, I had no fit the next day, but continued much altered for the better. This was the 29th.

The 30th was my well day, of course, and I went abroad with my gun, but did not care to travel too far. I killed a seafowl or two, something like a brand goose, and brought them home, but was not very forward to eat them; so I ate some more of the turtle's eggs, which were very good. This evening I renewed the medicine, which I had supposed did me good the day before, viz. the tobacco steeped in rum; only I did not take so much as before, nor did I chew any of the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke: however, I was not so well the next day, which was the first of July, as I hoped I should have been; for I had a little spice of the cold fit, but it was not much.

July 2. I renewed the medicine all the three ways, and dosed myself with it as at first, and doubled the quantity which I drank.

July 3. I missed the fit for good and all, though I did not recover my full strength for some weeks after. While I was thus gathering strength, my thoughts ran exceedingly upon this Scripture, 'I will deliver thee;' and the impossibility of my deliverance lay much upon my mind, in bar of my ever expecting it: but as I was discouraging myself with such thoughts, it occurred to my mind that I poured so much upon my deliverance from the main affliction, that I disregarded the deliverance I had received; and I was, as it were, made to ask myself such questions as these, viz. Have I not been delivered, and wonderfully, too, from sickness? from the most distressed condition that could be and that was so frightful to me? and what notice had I taken of it? Had I done my part? God had delivered me, but I had not glorified Him; that is to say, I had not owned and been thankful for that as a deliverance, and how could I expect greater deliverance?

This touched my heart very much, and immediately I knelt down, and gave God thanks aloud for my recovery from my sickness.

July 4. In the morning I took the Bible, and beginning at the New Testament, I began seriously to read it, and imposed upon myself to read a while every morning and every night, not tying myself to the number of chapters, but as long as my thoughts should engage me. It was not long after I set seriously to this work, but I found my heart more deeply and sincerely affected with the wickedness of my past life; the impression of my dream revived, and the words, 'All these things have not brought thee to repentance,' ran seriously in my thought. I was earnestly begging of God to give me repentance, when it happened providentially the very day, that, reading the Scripture, I came to these words, 'He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and to give remission.' I threw down the book, and with my heart as well as my hands lifted up to heaven, in a kind of ecstasy of joy, I cried out aloud, 'Jesus, thou Son of David, Jesus, thou exalted Prince and Saviour, give me repentance!'

This was the first time that I could say, in the true sense of the words, that I prayed in all my life; for now I prayed with a sense of my condition, and with a true Scripture view of hope, founded on the encouragement of the word of God; and from this time, I may say, I began to have hope that God would hear me.

Now I began to construe the words mentioned above, 'Call on me, and I will deliver thee,' in a different sense from what I had ever done before; for then I had no notion of anything being called *deliverance*, but my being delivered from the captivity I was in; for though I was indeed at large in the place, yet the island was certainly a prison to me, and that in the worst sense in this world; but now I learned to take it in another sense. Now I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God but deliverance from the load of guilt that bore down all my comfort: as for my solitary life, it was nothing; I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it, or think of it; it was all of no consideration, in comparison to this. And I add this part here, to hint to whoever shall read it, that whenever they come to a true sense of things, they will find deliverance from sin a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction.

But leaving this part, I return to my journal.

My condition began now to be, though not less miserable as to my way of living, yet much easier to my mind; and my thoughts being directed, by a constant reading the Scripture and praying to God, to things of a higher nature, I had a great deal of comfort within, which, till now, I knew nothing of; also, as my health and strength returned, I bestirred myself to furnish myself with everything that I wanted, and make my way of living as regular as I could.

From the 4th of July to the 14th, I was chiefly employed in walking about with my gun in my hand, a little and a little at a time, as a man that was gathering up his strength after a fit of sickness: for it is hardly to be imagined how low I was, and to what weakness I was reduced. The application which I made use of was perfectly new, and perhaps what had never cured an ague before, neither can I recommend it to any one to practise, by this experiment; and though it did carry off the fit, yet it rather contributed to weakening me; for I had frequent convulsions in my nerves and limbs for some time.

I learnt from it also this in particular, that being abroad in the rainy season was the most pernicious thing to my health that could be, especially in those rains which came attended with storms and hurricanes of wind; for as the rain which came in the dry season was always most accompanied with such storms, so I found that rain was much more dangerous than the rain which fell in September and October.

I had now been in this unhappy island above 10 months: all possibility of deliverance from this condition seemed to be entirely taken from me; and I firmly believed that no human shape had ever set foot upon that place. Having now secured my habitation, as I thought, fully to my mind, I had a great desire to make a more perfect discovery of the island, and to see what other productions I might find, which I yet knew nothing of.

It was on the 15th of July that I began to take a more particular survey of the island itself. I went up the creek first, where, as I hinted, I brought my rafts on shore; I found, after I came about two miles up, that the tide did not flow any higher, and that it was no more than a little brook of running water, and very fresh and good; but this being the dry season, there was hardly any water in some parts of it, at least not enough to run in any stream so as it could be perceived.

On the bank of this brook I found many pleasant savannahs or meadows, plain, smooth, and covered with grass; and on the rising parts of them, next to the higher grounds, where the water, as it might be supposed, never overflowed, I found a great deal of tobacco, green, and growing to a great and very strong stalk; there were divers other plants, which I had no notion of, or understanding about, and might, perhaps, have virtues of their own, which I could not find out.

I searched for the cassava root, which the Indians in all that climate make their bread of, but I could find none. I saw large plants of aloes, but did not then understand them. I saw several sugar-canes, but wild, and, for want of cultivation, imperfect. I contented myself with these discoveries for this time, and came back, musing with myself what course I might take to know the virtue and goodness of any of the fruits or plants which I should discover; but could bring it to no conclusion; for, in short, I had made so little observation while I was in the Brazils, that I knew little of the plants in the field; at least, very little that might serve me to any purpose now in my distress.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the same

way again; and after going something farther than I had gone the day before, I found the brook and the savannahs begin to cease, and the country become more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits, and particularly I found melons upon the ground in great abundance, and grapes upon the trees; the vines had spread, indeed, over the trees, and the clusters of grapes were now just in their prime, very ripe and rich. This was a surprising discovery, and I was exceeding glad of them; but I was warned by my experience to eat sparingly of them, remembering that when I was ashore in Barbary, the eating of grapes killed several of our Englishmen, who were slaves there, by throwing them into fluxes and fevers: but I found an excellent use for these grapes, and that was to cure or dry them in the sun, and keep them as dried grapes or raisins are kept, which I thought would be, as indeed they were, as wholesome as agreeable to eat, when no grapes might be to be had.

I spent all that evening there, and went not back to my habitation, which, by the way, was the first night, as I might say, I had lain from home. In the night I took my first contrivance, and got up into a tree, where I slept well, and the next morning proceeded on my discovery, travelling near four miles, as I might judge by the length of the valley, keeping still due north, with a ridge of hills on the south and north side of me.

At the end of this march I came to an opening, where the country seemed to descend to the west, and a little spring of fresh water, which issued out of the side of the hill by me, ran the other way, that is, due east; and the country appeared so fresh, so green, so flourishing, everything being in a constant verdure or flourish of spring, that it looked like a planted garden.

I descended a little on the side of that delicious vale, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure (though mixed with other afflicting thoughts), to think that this was all my own, that I was king and lord of all this country indefeasibly, and had a right of possession; and if I could convey it, I might have it in inheritance as completely as any lord of a manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa trees, orange and lemon, and citron trees, but all wild, and very few bearing any fruit; at least not then. However, the green limes that I gathered were not only pleasant to eat, but very wholesome; and I mixed their juice afterwards with water, which made it very wholesome, and very cool and refreshing.

I found now I had business enough, to gather and carry home; and I resolved to lay up a store, as well of grapes as limes and lemons, to furnish myself for the wet season, which I knew was approaching.

In order to this, I gathered a great heap of grapes in one place, and a lesser heap in another place, and a great parcel of limes and lemons in another place; and taking a few of each with me, I travelled homeward, and resolved to come again, and bring a bag or sack, or what I could make, to carry the rest home.

Accordingly, having spent three days in this journey, I came home; so I must now call my tent and my cave; but before I got thither, the grapes were spoiled, the richness of the fruits, and the weight of the juice having broken and bruised them, they were good for little or nothing; as to the limes, they were good, but I could bring but a few.

The next day, being the 19th, I went back, having made me two small bags to bring home my harvest; but I was surprised, when coming to my heap of grapes, which were so rich and fine when I gathered them, I found them all spread about, trod to pieces, and dragged about, some here, some there, and abundance eaten and devoured; by this I concluded there were some wild creatures thereabouts which had done this; but what they were I knew not.

However, as I found there was no laying them up in heaps, and no carrying them away in a sack, but that one way they would be destroyed, and the other way they would be crushed with their own weight, I took another course; for I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them up upon the out branches of the trees, that they might cure and dry in the sun; and as for the limes and lemons, I carried as many back as I could well stand under.

When I came home from this journey, I contemplated with great pleasure the fruitfulness of that valley, and the pleasantness of the situation, the security from storms on that side, the water, and the wood; and concluded that I had pitched upon a place to fix my abode, which was by far the worst part of the country. Upon the whole, I began to consider of removing my habitation, and to look out for a place equally safe as where I was now situate, if possible, in that pleasant fruitful part of the island.

This thought ran long in my head, and I was exceeding fond of it for some time, the pleasantness of the place tempting me; but when I came to a nearer view of it, and to consider that I was now by the seaside, where it was at least possible that something might happen to my advantage, and by the same ill-fate that brought me hither, might bring some other unhappy wretches to the same place; and though it was scarce probable that any such thing should ever happen, yet to enclose myself among the hills and woods in the centre of the island, was to anticipate my bondage, and to render such an affair not only improbable, but impossible; and that therefore I ought not by any means to remove.

However, I was so enamoured of this place, that I spent much of my time there for the whole remaining part of the month of July; and though, upon second thoughts, I resolved as above, not to remove, yet I built me a little kind of a bower, and surrounded it at a distance with a strong fence, being a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked, and filled between with brushwood; and here I lay very secure, sometimes two or three nights together, always going over it with a ladder, as before; so that I fancied now I had my country and my sea-coast house: and this work took me up till the beginning of August.

I had but newly finished my fence, and began to enjoy my labour, but the rains came on, and made me stick close to my first habitation; for though I had made a tent like the other, with a piece of sail, and spread it very well, yet I had not the shelter of a hill to keep me from storms, nor a cave behind me to retreat into, when the rains were extraordinary.

About the beginning of August, as I said, I had finished my bower, and began to enjoy myself. The third of August, I found the grapes I had hung up were perfectly dried, and indeed were excellent good raisins of the sun; so I began to take them down from the trees, and it was very happy that I did so; for the rains which followed would have spoiled them, and I had lost the best part of my winter food; for I had above two hundred large bunches of them. No sooner had I taken them all down, and carried

most of them home to my cave, but it began to rain, and from hence, which was the fourteenth of August, it rained, more or less, every day till the middle of October; and sometimes so violently, that I could not stir out of my cave for several days.

In this season, I was much surprised with the increase of my family. I had been concerned for the loss of one of my cats, who ran away from me, or, as I thought, had been dead; and I heard no more tale or tidings of her, till, to my astonishment, she came home, about the end of August, with three kittens. This was the more strange to me, because, though I had killed a wild cat, as I called it, with my gun, yet I thought it was a quite differing kind from our European cats; yet the young cats were the same kind of house-breed like the old one; and both of my cats being females, I thought it very strange: but from these three cats, I afterwards came to be so pestered with cats that I was forced to kill them like vermin, or wild beasts, and to drive them from my house as much as possible.

From the fourteenth of August to the twenty-sixth, incessant rain, so that I could not stir, and was now very careful not to be much wet. In this confinement, I began to be straitened for food; but venturing out twice, I one day killed a goat, and the last day, which was the twenty-sixth, found a very large tortoise, which was a treat to me; and my food was regulated thus: I ate a bunch of raisins for my breakfast; a piece of the goat's flesh, or of the turtle, for my dinner, broiled; for, to my great misfortune, I had no vessel to boil or stew anything; and two or three of the turtle's eggs for my supper.

During this confinement in my cover by the rain, I worked daily two or three hours at enlarging my cave; and by degrees worked it on towards one side, till I came to the outside of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall; and so I came in and out this way. But I was not perfectly easy at lying so open; for as I had managed myself before, I was in a perfect enclosure, whereas now, I thought I lay exposed, and open for anything to come in upon me; and yet I could not perceive that there was any living thing to fear, the biggest creature that I had yet seen upon the island being a goat.

September the thirtieth, I was now come to the unhappy anniversary of my landing. I cast up the notches on my post, and found I had been on shore three hundred and sixty-five days. I kept this day as a solemn fast, setting it apart to religious exercise, prostrating myself on the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessing my sins to God, acknowledging his righteous judgments upon me, and praying to Him to have mercy on me, through Jesus Christ; and having not tasted the least refreshment for twelve hours, even till the going down of the sun, I then ate a biscuit-cake and a bunch of grapes, and went to bed, finishing the day as I began it.

I had all this time observed no Sabbath-day; for as at first I had no sense of religion upon my mind, I had, after some time, omited to distinguish the weeks, by making a longer notch than ordinary for the Sabbath-day, and so did not really know what any of the days were; but now having cast up the days, as above, I found I had been there a year; so I divided it into weeks, and set apart every seventh day for a Sabbath; though I found at the end of my account, I had lost a day or two in my reckoning.

A little after this, my ink began to fail me, and so I contented myself to use it more sparingly, and to write down only the most remarkable events of my life, without continuing a daily memorandum of other things.

The rainy season and the dry season began now to appear regular to me, and I learned to divide them so as to provide for them accordingly. But I bought all my experience before I had it; and this I am going to relate, was one of the most discouraging experiments that I had made at all. I have mentioned that I had saved the few ears of barley and rice, which I had so surprisingly found sprung up, as I thought, of themselves, and believe there were about thirty stalks of rice, and about twenty of barley; and now I thought it a proper time to sow it after the rains, the sun being in its southern position, going from me.

Accordingly I dug up a piece of ground, as well as I could, with my wooden spade, and dividing it into two parts, I sowed my grain; but as I was sowing, it casually occurred to my thoughts that I would not sow it all at first, because I did not know when was the proper time for it; so I sowed about two-thirds of the seed, leaving about a handful of each.

It was a great comfort to me afterwards that I did so, for not one grain of what I sowed this time came to anything; for the dry months following, the earth having had no rain after the seed was sown, it had no moisture to assist its growth, and never came up at all till the wet season had come again, and then it grew as if it had been but newly sown.

Finding my first seed did not grow, which I easily imagined was by the drought, I sought for a moister piece of ground to make another trial in; and I dug up a piece of ground near my new bower, and sowed the rest of my seed in February, a little before the vernal equinox; and this having the rainy months of March and April to water it, sprung up very pleasantly, and yielded a very good crop; but having part of the seed left only, and not daring to sow all that I had, I had but a small quantity at last, my whole crop not amounting to above half a peck of each kind.

But by this experiment I was made master of my business, and knew exactly when the proper season was to sow; and that I might expect two seed-times and two harvests every year.

While this corn was growing, I made a little discovery, which was of use to me afterwards. As soon as the rains were over, and the weather began to settle, which was about the month of November, I made a visit up the country to my bower, where, though I had not been for some months, yet I found all things just as I left them. The circle or double hedge that I had made was not only firm and entire, but the stakes which I had cut out of some trees that grew thereabouts were all shot out and grown with long branches, as much as a willow tree usually shoots the first year after lopping its head. I could not tell what tree to call it that these stakes were cut from. I was surprised, and yet very well pleased, to see the young trees grow; and I pruned them, and led them to grow as much alike as I could; and it is scarce credible how beautiful a figure they grew into in three years: so that, though the hedge made a circle of about twenty-five yards in diameter, yet the trees, for such I might now call them, soon covered it, and it was a complete shade, sufficient to lodge under all the dry season.

This made me resolve to cut some more stakes, and make me a hedge like this in a semicircle round my wall; I mean that of my first dwelling, which I did; and placing the trees or stakes

in a double row, at about eight yards distance from my first fence, they grew presently, and were at first a fine cover to my habitation, and afterwards served for a defence also, as I shall observe in its order.

I found now that the seasons of the year might generally be divided, not into summer and winter as in Europe; but into the rainy seasons and the dry seasons, which were generally thus:

Half February March Half April	Rainy, the sun being then on, or near the equinox.
Half April May June July Half August	Dry, the sun being then to the the north of the line.
Half August September Half October	Rainy, the sun being then come back.
Half October November December January Half February	Dry, the sun being then to the south of the line.

The rainy seasons sometimes held longer or shorter, as the winds happened to blow; but this was the general observation I made. After I had found, by experience, the ill consequences of being abroad in the rain, I took care to furnish myself with provisions beforehand, that I might not be obliged to go out; and I sat within doors as much as possible during the wet months.

In this time I found much employment, (and very suitable also to the time,) for I found great occasion of many things which I had no way to furnish myself with but by hard labour and constant application; particularly, I tried many ways to make myself a basket, but all the twigs I could get for the purpose proved so brittle that they would do nothing. It proved of excellent advantage to me now, that when I was a boy, I used to take great delight in standing at a basket-maker's in the town where my father lived, to see them make their wicker-ware; and being, as boys usually are, very officious to help, and a great observer of the manner how they worked those things, and sometimes lending a hand, I had by this means full knowledge of the methods of it, that I wanted nothing but the materials; when it came into my mind, that the twigs of that tree from whence I cut my stakes that grew, might possibly be as tough as the sallows, and willows, and osiers, in England; and I resolved to try.

Accordingly, the next day, I went to my country-house, as I called it, and cutting some of the smaller twigs, I found them to my purpose as much as I could desire; whereupon I came the next time prepared with a hatchet to cut down a quantity, which I soon found, for there was great plenty of them. These I set up to dry within my circle or hedge, and when they were fit for use, I carried them to my cave; and here, during the next season, I employed myself in making, as well as I could, a great many baskets, both to carry earth, or to carry or lay up anything as I had occasion; and though I did not finish them very handsomely, yet I made them sufficiently serviceable for my purpose; and thus, afterwards, I took care never to be without them; and as my wicker-ware decayed, I made more, especially strong deep baskets, to place my corn in, instead of sacks, when I should come to have any quantity of it.

Having mastered this difficulty, and employed a world of time about it, I bestirred myself to see, if possible, how to supply two wants. I had no vessels to hold anything that was liquid, except two runlets, which were almost full of rum, and some glass bottles, some of the common size, and others which were case bottles square, for the holding of waters, spirits, &c. I had not so much as a pot to boil anything, except a great kettle, which I saved out of the ship, and which was too big for such use as I desired it, viz. to make broth, and stew a bit of meat by itself. The second thing I would fain have had, was a tobacco-pipe; but it was impossible for me to make one; however, I found a contrivance for that too at last.

I employed myself in planting my second rows of stakes or piles, and in this wicker-working, all the summer or dry season; when another business took me up more time than it could be imagined I could spare.

I mentioned before, that I had a great mind to see the whole island, and that I had travelled up the brook, and so on to where I had built my bower, and where I had an opening quite to the sea, on the other side of the island. I now resolved to travel quite across to the seashore, on that side; so taking my gun, a hatchet, and my dog, and a larger quantity of powder and shot than usual, with two biscuit-cakes, and a great bunch of raisins in my pouch, for my store, I began my journey. When I had passed the vale where my bower stood, as above, I came within view of the sea, to the west, and it being a very clear day, I fairly descried land, whether an island or continent, I could not tell; but it lay very high, extending from the West to W.S.W. at a very great distance; by my guess, it could not be less than fifteen or twenty leagues off.

I could not tell what part of the world this might be, otherwise than that I knew it must be part of America, and, as I concluded, by all my observations, must be near the Spanish dominions; and perhaps was all inhabited by savages, where, if I should have landed, I had been in a worse condition than I was now; and therefore I acquiesced in the dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own and to believe ordered everything for the best; I say, I quieted my mind with this, and left afflicting myself with fruitless wishes of being there.

Besides, after some pause upon this affair, I considered that if this land was the Spanish coast, I should certainly, one time or other, see some vessel pass or repass one way or other; but if not, then it was the savage coast between the Spanish country and Brazils, which are indeed the worst of savages; for they are cannibals, or men-eaters, and fail not to murder and devour all human bodies that fall into their hands.

With these considerations, I walked very leisurely forward. I found that side of the island, where I now was, much pleasanter than mine, the open or savannah fields sweetly adorned with flowers and grass, and full of very fine woods. I saw abundance of parrots, and fain I would have caught one, if possible, to have kept it to be tame, and taught it to speak to me. I did, after taking some pains, catch a young parrot, for I knocked it down with a stick, and, having recovered it, I brought it home; but it was some years before I could make him speak; however, at last I taught him to call me by my name very familiarly. But the accident that followed, though it be a trifle, will be very diverting in its place.

I was exceedingly diverted with this journey. I found in the low grounds hares, as I thought them to be, and foxes, but they differed greatly

from all the other kinds I had met with; nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, though I killed several. But I had no need to be venturous; for I had no want of food, and of that which was very good too; especially these three sorts, viz. goats, pigeons, and turtle or tortoise; which, added to my grapes, Leadenhall-market could not have furnished a table better than I, in proportion to the company; and though my case was deplorable enough, yet I had great cause for thankfulness, and that I was not driven to any extremities for food; but rather plenty, even to dainties.

I never travelled in this journey above two miles outright in a day, or thereabouts; but I took so many turns and returns to see what discoveries I could make, that I came weary enough to the place where I resolved to sit down for all night; and then I either reposed myself in a tree, or surrounded myself with a row of stakes, set upright in the ground, either from one tree to another, or so as no wild creature could come at me without waking me.

As soon as I came to the seashore, I was surprised to see that I had taken up my lot on the worst side of the island; for here indeed the shore was covered with innumerable turtles, whereas, on the other side, I had found but three in a year and a half. Here was also an infinite number of fowls of many kinds, some which I had seen, and some which I had not seen before, and many of them very good meat; but such as I knew not the names of, except those called penguins.

I could have shot as many as I pleased, but was very sparing of my powder and shot; and therefore had more mind to kill a she-goat, if I could, which I could better feed on; and though there were many goats here, more than on my side the island, yet it was with much more difficulty that I could come near them, the country being flat and even, and they saw me much sooner than when I was on the hill.

I confess this side of the country was much pleasanter than mine, but yet I had not the least inclination to remove; for as I was fixed in my habitation, it became natural to me, and I seemed all the while I was here to be as it were upon a journey, and from home. However, I travelled along the shore of the sea towards the east, I suppose about twelve miles; and then setting up a great pole upon the shore for a mark, I concluded I would go home again; and that the next journey I took should be on the other side of the island, east from my dwelling, and so round till I came to my post again: of which in its place.

I took another way to come back than that I went, thinking I could easily keep all the island so much in my view, that I could not miss finding my first dwelling by viewing the country; but I found myself mistaken; for being come about two or three miles, I found myself descended into a very large valley; but so surrounded with hills, and those hills covered with wood, that I could not see which was my way by any direction but that of the sun, nor even then, unless I knew very well the position of the sun at that time of the day.

It happened to my farther misfortune, that the weather proved hazy for three or four days while I was in this valley; and not being able to see the sun, I wandered about very uncomfortably, and at last was obliged to find out the seaside, look for my post, and come back the same way I went; and then by easy journeys I turned homeward, the weather being exceeding hot, and my gun, ammunition, hatchet, and other things very heavy.

In this journey, my dog surprised a young kid, and seized upon it, and I running to take hold of it, caught it, and saved it alive from the dog. I had a great mind to bring it home if I could; for I had often been musing whether it might not be possible to get a kid or two, and so raise a breed of tame goats, which might supply me when my powder and shot should be all spent.

I made a collar to this little creature, and with a string which I had made of some rope-yarn, which I always carried about me, I led him along, though with some difficulty, till I came to my bower, and there I enclosed him and left him; for I was very impatient to be at home, from whence I had been absent above a month.

I cannot express what a satisfaction it was to me to come into my old hutch, and lie down in my hammock bed: this little wandering journey, without settled place of abode, had been so unpleasant to me, that my own house, as I called it to myself, was a perfect settlement to me, compared to that; and it rendered everything about me so comfortable, that I resolved I would never go a great way from it again, while it should be my lot to stay on the island.

I reposed myself here a week, to rest and regale myself after my long journey; during which, most of the time was taken up in the weighty affair of making a cage for my Poll, who began now to be more domestic, and to be mighty well acquainted with me. Then I began to think of the poor kid which I had penned in within my little circle, and resolved to go and fetch it home, or give it some food; accordingly I went, and found it where I left it; for indeed it could not get out, but almost starved for want of food. I went and cut boughs of trees, and branches of such shrubs as I could find, and threw it over, and having fed it, I tied it as I did before, to lead it away; but it was so tame with being hungry, that I had no need to have tied it, for it followed me like a dog; and as I continually fed it, the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it became from that time one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.

The rainy season of the autumnal equinox was now come, and I kept the 30th of September in the same solemn manner as before, being the anniversary of my landing on the island, having now been here two years, and no more prospect of being delivered than the first day I came there. I spent the whole day in humble and thankful acknowledgments of the many wonderful mercies which my solitary condition was attended with, and without which it might have been infinitely more miserable. I gave humble and hearty thanks that God had been pleased to discover to me, even that it was possible I might be more happy in this solitary condition, than I should have been in a liberty of society, and in all the pleasures of the world; that He could fully make up to me the deficiencies of my solitary state, and the want of human society, by his presence, and the communications of his grace to my soul, supporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence here, and to hope for his eternal presence hereafter.

It was now that I began sensibly to feel how much more happy the life I now led was, with all its miserable circumstances, than the wicked, cursed, abominable life I led all the past part of my days; and now I changed both my sorrows and my joys; my very desires altered, my affections changed their gusts, and my delights were perfectly new from what they were at my first coming, or indeed for the two years past.

Before, as I walked about, either on my hunt-

ing, or for viewing the country, the anguish of my soul at my condition would break out upon me on a sudden, and my very heart would die within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deserts I was in; and how I was a prisoner, locked up with the eternal bars and bolts of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderness, without redemption. In the midst of the greatest composures of my mind, this would break out upon me like a storm, and make me wring my hands and weep like a child: sometimes it would take me in the middle of my work, and I would immediately sit down and sigh, and look upon the ground for an hour or two together; and this was still worse to me; for if I could burst out into tears, or vent myself by words, it would go off, and the grief having exhausted itself would abate.

But now I began to exercise myself with new thoughts; I daily read the word of God, and applied all the comforts of it to my present state. One morning, being very sad, I opened the Bible upon these words, 'I will never, never leave thee, nor forsake thee;' immediately it occurred that these words were to me; why else should they be directed in such a manner, just at the moment when I was mourning over my condition, as one forsaken of God and man? Well then, said I, if God does not forsake me, of what ill consequence can it be, or what matters it, though the world should all forsake me, seeing, on the other hand, if I had all the world, and should lose the favour and blessing of God, there would be no comparison in the loss.

From this moment I began to conclude in my mind, that it was possible for me to be more happy in this forsaken, solitary condition, than it was probable I should ever have been in any other particular state in the world; and with this thought I was going to give thanks to God for bringing me to this place.

I know not what it was, but something shocked my mind at that thought, and I durst not speak the words. 'How canst thou be such a hypocrite,' said I, even audibly, 'to pretend to be thankful for a condition, which, however thou mayest endeavour to be contented with, thou wouldest rather pray heartily to be delivered from?' So I stopped here; but though I could not say I thanked God for being here, yet I sincerely gave thanks to God for opening my eyes, by whatever afflicting providences, to see the former condition of my life, and to mourn for my wickedness, and repent. I never opened the Bible, or shut it, but my very soul within me blessed God for directing my friend in England, without any order of mine, to pack it up among my goods; and for assisting me afterwards to save it out of the wreck of the ship.

Thus, and in this disposition of mind, I began my third year; and though I have not given the reader the trouble of so particular an account of my works this year as the first, yet in general it may be observed, that I was very seldom idle; but having regularly divided my time, according to the several daily employments that were before me; such as, first, My duty to God, and the reading the Scriptures, which I constantly set apart some time for, thrice every day; secondly, The going abroad with my gun for food, which generally took me up three hours in every morning, when it did not rain; thirdly, The ordering, curing, preserving, and cooking what I had killed or catched for my supply; these took up great part of the day: also it is to be considered, that the middle of the day, when the sun was in the zenith, the violence of the heat was too great to stir out; so that about four hours in the evening was all the time I could be supposed to work in; with this exception, that sometimes I changed my hours of hunting and working, and went to work in the morning, and abroad with my gun in the afternoon.

To this short time allowed for labour, I desire may be added the exceeding laboriousness of my work; the many hours which, for want of tools, want of help, and want of skill, everything I did took up out of my time: for example, I was full two and forty days making me a board for a long shelf, which I wanted in my cave; whereas two sawyers, with their tools and a sawpit, would have cut six of them out of the same tree in half a day.

My case was this: it was to be a large tree that was to be cut down, because my board was to be a broad one. This tree I was three days a cutting down, and two more cutting off the boughs, and reducing it to a log or piece of timber. With inexpressible hacking and hewing, I reduced both the sides of it into chips, till it began to be light enough to move; then I turned it, and made one side of it smooth and flat as a board, from end to end; then turning that side downward, cut the other side, till I brought the plank to be about three inches thick, and smooth on both sides. Any one may judge the labour of my hands in such a piece of work; but labour and patience carried me through that, and many other things: I only observe this in particular, to show the reason why so much of my time went away with so little work, viz. that what might be a little to be done with help and tools, was a vast labour, and required a prodigious time to do alone, and by hand.

But notwithstanding this, with patience and labour I went through many things; and, indeed, everything that my circumstances made necessary to me to do, as will appear by what follows.

I was now in the months of November and December, expecting my crop of barley and rice. The ground I had manured or dug up for them was not great; for, as I observed, my seed of each was not above the quantity of half a peck, for I had lost one whole crop by sowing in the dry season; but now my crop promised very well, when on a sudden I found I was in danger of losing it all again by enemies of several sorts, which it was scarce possible to keep from it; as, first, the goats, and wild creatures which I called hares, who tasting the sweetness of the blade, lay in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and ate it so close, that it could get no time to shoot up into stalk.

This I saw no remedy for, but by making an enclosure about it with a hedge, which I did with a great deal of toil; and the more, because it required speed. However, as my arable land was but small, suited to my crop, I got it tolerably well fenced in about three weeks' time; and shooting some of the creatures in the daytime, I set my dog to guard it in the night, tying him up to a stake at the gate, where he would stand and bark all night long; so in a little time the enemies forsook the place, and the corn grew very strong and well, and began to ripen apace.

But as the beasts ruined me before, while my corn was in the blade, so the birds were as likely to ruin me now, when it was in the ear; for going along by the place to see how it throve, I saw my little crop surrounded with fowls, of I know not how many sorts, who stood, as it were, watching till I should be gone. I immediately let fly among them (for I always had my gun with me); I had no sooner shot, but there rose up a little cloud of

fowls, which I had not seen at all, from among the corn itself.

This touched me sensibly, for I foresaw that in a few days they would devour all my hopes; that I should be starved, and never be able to raise a crop at all, and what to do I could not tell: however, I resolved not to lose my corn, if possible, though I should watch it night and day. In the first place, I went among it, to see what damage was already done, and found they had spoiled a good deal of it, but that, as it was yet too green for them, the loss was not so great, but that the remainder was likely to be a good crop, if it could be saved.

I stayed by it to load my gun, and then coming away, I could easily see the thieves sitting upon all the trees about me, as if they only waited till I was gone away, and the event proved it to be so; for as I walked off, as if I was gone, I was no sooner out of their sight, but they dropped down, one by one, into the corn again. I was so provoked, that I could not have patience to stay till more came on, knowing that every grain they ate now was, as it might be said, a peck loaf to me in the consequence; but coming up to the hedge, I fired again, and killed three of them. This was what I wished for; so I took them up, and served them as we serve notorious thieves in England, viz. hanged them in chains, for a terror to others. It is impossible to imagine almost that this should have had such an effect as it had; for the fowls would not only not come at the corn, but, in short, they forsook all that part of the island, and I could never see a bird near the place as long as my scarecrows hung there.

This I was very glad of, you may be sure, and about the latter end of December, which was our second harvest of the year, I reaped my crop.

I was sadly put to it for a scythe or sickle to cut it down, and all I could do was to make one as well as I could, out of one of the broad swords or cutlasses, which I saved among the arms out of the ship. However, as my first crop was but small, I had no great difficulty to cut it down; in short, I reaped it my way, for I cut nothing off but the ears, and carried it away in a great basket which I had made, and so rubbed it out with my hands; and at the end of all my harvesting, I found that out of my half peck of seed, I had near two bushels of rice, and above two bushels and a half of barley; that is to say, by my guess, for I had no measure at that time.

However, this was a great encouragement to me; and I foresaw that, in time, it would please God to supply me with bread; and yet here I was perplexed again, for I neither knew how to grind, or make meal of my corn, or indeed how to clean it and part it; nor if made into meal, how to make bread of it; and if how to make it, yet I knew not how to bake it. These things being added to my desire of having a good quantity for store, and to secure a constant supply, I resolved not to taste any of this crop, but to preserve it all for seed against the next season, and, in the meantime, to employ all my study and hours of working to accomplish this great work of providing myself with corn and bread.

It might be truly said, that now I worked for my bread. It is a little wonderful, and what I believe few people have thought much upon, viz. the strange multitude of little things necessary in the providing, producing, curing, dressing, making, and finishing this one article of bread.

I that was reduced to a mere state of nature, found this to my daily discouragement, and was made more and more sensible of it every hour, even after I had got the first handful of seed-corn, which, as I have said, came up unexpectedly, and indeed to a surprise.

First, I had no plough to turn up the earth, no spade or shovel to dig it. Well, this I conquered, by making a wooden spade, as I observed before; but this did my work in but a wooden manner, and though it cost me a great many days to make it, yet, for want of iron, it not only wore out the sooner, but made my work the harder, and made it be performed much worse.

However, this I bore with, and was content to work it out with patience, and bear with the badness of the performance. When the corn was sown, I had no harrow, but was forced to go over it myself, and drag a great heavy bough of a tree over it, to scratch it, as it may be called, rather than rake or harrow it.

When it was growing and grown, I have observed already how many things I wanted, to fence it, secure it, mow or reap it, cure and carry it home, thrash, part it from the chaff, and save it. Then I wanted a mill to grind it, sieves to dress it, yeast and salt to make it into bread, and an oven to bake it; and yet all these things I did without, as shall be observed; and yet the corn was an inestimable comfort and advantage to me too. All this, as I said, made everything laborious and tedious to me, but that there was no help for; neither was my time so much loss to me, because, as I had divided it, a certain part of it was every day appointed to these works; and as I resolved to use none of the corn for bread till I had a greater quantity by me, I had the next six months to apply myself wholly, by labour and invention, to furnish myself with utensils proper for the performing all the operations necessary for the making the corn (when I had it) fit for my use.

But first I was to prepare more land, for I had now seed enough to sow above an acre of ground. Before I did this, I had a week's work at least to make me a spade, which, when it was done, was but a sorry one indeed, and very heavy, and required double labour to work with it; however, I went through that, and sowed my seed in two large flat pieces of ground, as near my house as I could find them to my mind, and fenced them in with a good hedge, the stakes of which were all cut off that wood which I had set before, and knew it would grow, so that, in one year's time, I knew I should have a quick or living hedge, that would want but little repair. This work was not so little as to take me up less than three months, because great part of that time was of the wet season, when I could not go abroad.

Within doors, that is, when it rained, and I could not go out, I found employment on the following occasions; always observing that all the while I was at work, I diverted myself with talking to my parrot, and teaching him to speak; and I quickly learned him to know his own name, and at last to speak it out pretty loud, POLL, which was the first word I ever heard spoken in the island by any mouth but my own. This, therefore, was not my work, but an assistant to my work; for now, as I said, I had a great employment upon my hands, as follows, viz. I had long studied, by some means or other, to make myself some earthen vessels, which indeed I wanted sorely, but knew not where to come at them: however, considering the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but if I could find out any such clay, I might botch up some such pot as might, being dried in the sun, be hard enough and strong enough to bear handling, and to hold anything that was dry, and required to be kept so; and as this was necessary on the preparing corn, meal, &c., which was the thing I was upon, I resolved

to make some as large as I could, and fit only to stand like jars, to hold what should be put into them.

It would make the reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many awkward ways I took to raise this paste, what odd, misshapen, ugly things I made, how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff enough to bear its own weight; how many cracked by the over violent heat of the sun, being set out too hastily; and how many fell in pieces with only removing, as well before as after they were dried; and in a word, how after having laboured hard to find the clay, to dig it, to temper it, to bring it home, and work it, I could not make above two large earthen ugly things, I cannot call them jars, in about two months' labour.

However, as the sun baked these two very dry and hard, I lifted them very gently up, and set them down again in two great wicker baskets, which I had made on purpose for them, that they might not break; and as between the pot and the basket there was a little room to spare, I stuffed it full of the rice and barley straw; and these two pots, being to stand always dry, I thought would hold my dry corn, and perhaps the meal, when the corn was bruised.

Though I miscarried so much in my design for large pots, yet I made several smaller things with better success; such as little round pots, flat dishes, pitchers, and pipkins, and anything my hand turned to, and the heat of the sun baked them strangely hard.

But all this would not answer my end, which was to get an earthen pot to hold what was liquid, and bear the fire, which none of these could do. It happened after some time, making a pretty large fire for cooking my meat, when I went to put it out after I had done with it, I found a broken piece of one of my earthenware vessels in the fire, burnt as hard as a stone, and red as a tile. I was agreeably surprised to see it, and said to myself, that certainly they might be made to burn whole, if they would burn broken.

This set me to study how to order my fire, so as to make it burn me some pots. I had no notion of a kiln, such as the potters burn in, or of glazing them with lead, though I had some lead to do it with; but I placed three large pipkins and two or three pots in a pile, one upon another, and placed my firewood all round it, with a great heap of embers under them; I plied the fire with fresh fuel round the outside, and upon the top, till I saw the pots in the inside red-hot quite through, and observed that they did not crack at all; when I saw them clear red, I let them stand in that heat about 5 or 6 hours, till I found one of them, though it did not crack, did melt or run, for the sand which was mixed with the clay melted by the violence of the heat, and would have run into glass if I had gone on; so I slacked my fire gradually, till the pots began to abate of the red colour, and watching them all night, that I might not let the fire abate too fast, in the morning I had three very good, I will not say handsome, pipkins, and two other earthen pots, as hard burnt as could be desired; and one of them perfectly glazed with the running of the sand.

After this experiment, I need not say that I wanted no sort of earthenware for my use; but I must needs say, as to the shapes of them, they were very indifferent, as any one may suppose, when I had no way of making them; but as the children make dirt pies, or as a woman would make pies that never learned to raise paste.

No joy at a thing of so mean a nature was ever equal to mine, when I found I had made an earthen pot that would bear the fire; and I had hardly patience to stay till they were cold, before I set one upon the fire again, with some water in it, to boil me some meat, which it did admirably well; and with a piece of a kid I made some very good broth, though I wanted oatmeal, and several other ingredients requisite to make it so good as I would have had it been.

My next concern was to get a stone mortar to stamp or beat some corn in; for as to the mill, there was no thought of arriving to that perfection of art, with one pair of hands. To supply this want I was at a great loss; for, of all trades in the world, I was as perfectly unqualified for a stone-cutter as for any whatever; neither had I any tools to go about it with. I spent many a day to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow, and make fit for a mortar, and could find none at all; except what was in the solid rock, and which I had no way to dig or cut out; nor indeed were the rocks in the island of hardness sufficient, but were all of a sandy crumbling stone, which neither would bear the weight of a heavy pestle, or would break the corn without filling it with sand; so, after a great deal of time lost in searching for a stone, I gave it over, and resolved to look out for a great block of hard wood, which I found indeed much easier; and getting one as big as I had strength to stir, I rounded it, and formed it in the outside with my axe and hatchet, and then, with the help of the fire, and infinite labour, made a hollow place in it, as the Indians in Brazil make their canoes. After this I made a great heavy pestle, or beater, of the wood, called ironwood, and this I prepared and laid by against I had my next crop of corn, when I proposed to myself to grind, or rather pound, my corn into meal, to make my bread.

My next difficulty was to make a sieve, or search, to dress my meal, and to part it from the bran and the husk, without which I did not see it possible I could have any bread. This was a most difficult thing, so much as but to think on; for, to be sure, I had nothing like the necessary thing to make it; I mean fine thin canvas, or stuff to search the meal through. And here I was at a full stop for many months; nor did I really know what to do; linen I had none left, but what was mere rags; I had goats' hair, but neither knew how to weave it or spin it; and had I known how, here were no tools to work it with; all the remedy that I found for this was, that at last I did remember I had among the seamen's clothes which were saved out of the ship, some neckcloths of calico or muslin; and with some pieces of these I made three small sieves, but proper enough for the work; and thus I made shift for some years; how I did afterwards, I shall show in its place.

The baking part was the next thing to be considered, and how I should make bread when I came to have corn; for, first, I had no yeast; as to that part, there was no supplying the want, so I did not concern myself much about it: but for an oven I was indeed in great pain. At length I found out an expedient for that also, which was this; I made some earthen vessels, very broad, but not deep; that is to say, about two feet diameter, and not above nine inches deep: these I burned in the fire, as I had done the other, and laid them by; and when I wanted to bake, I made a great fire upon my hearth, which I had paved with some square tiles, of my own making and burning also; but I should not call them square.

When the firewood was burned pretty much into

embers, or live coals, I drew them forward upon this hearth, so as to cover it all over, and there let them lie till the hearth was very hot; then sweeping away all the embers, I set down my loaf, or loaves, and whelming down the earthen pot upon them, drew the embers all round the outside of the pot, to keep in, and add to the heat; and thus, as well as in the best oven in the world, I baked my barley loaves, and became in little time a good pastry-cook into the bargain; for I made myself several cakes of the rice, and puddings; indeed I made no pies, neither had I anything to put into them supposing I had, except the flesh either of fowls or goats.

It need not be wondered at if all these things took me up most part of the third year of my abode here; for it is to be observed, that in the intervals of these things, I had my new harvest and husbandry to manage; for I reaped my corn in its season, and carried it home as well as I could, and laid it up in the ear, in my large baskets, till I had time to rub it out; for I had no floor to thrash it on, or instrument to thrash it with.

And now indeed my stock of corn increasing, I really wanted to build my barns bigger: I wanted a place to lay it up in; for the increase of the corn now yielded me so much, that I had of the barley about twenty bushels, and of the rice as much, or more; insomuch, that now I resolved to begin to use it freely; for my bread had been quite gone a great while; also I resolved to see what quantity would be sufficient for me a whole year, and to sow but once a year.

Upon the whole, I found that the forty bushels of barley and rice were much more than I could consume in a year; so I resolved to sow just the same quantity every year that I sowed the last, in hopes that such a quantity would fully provide me with bread, &c.

All the while these things were doing, you may be sure my thoughts ran many times upon the prospect of land which I had seen from the other side of the island, and I was not without some secret wishes that I was on shore there, fancying the seeing the main land, and in an inhabited country I might find some way or other to convey myself farther, and perhaps at last find some means of escape.

But all this while I made no allowance for the dangers of such a condition, and how I might fall into the hands of savages, and perhaps such as I might have reason to think far worse than the lions and tigers of Africa; that if I once came into their power, I should run a hazard of more than a thousand to one of being killed, and perhaps of being eaten; for I had heard that the people of the Caribbean coast were cannibals or man-eaters; and I knew, by the latitude, that I could not be far off from that shore. That suppose they were not cannibals, yet that they might kill me, as many Europeans who had fallen into their hands had been served, even when they had been ten or twenty together; much more I that was but one, and could make little or no defence. All these things, I say, which I ought to have considered well of, and did cast up in my thoughts afterwards, yet took up none of my apprehensions at first; but my head ran mightily upon the thought of getting over to the shore.

Now I wished for my boy Xury, and the long-boat with the shoulder-of-mutton sail, with which I sailed above a thousand miles on the coast of Africa; but this was in vain. Then I thought I would go and look at our ship's boat, which, as I have said, was blown up upon the shore a great way, in the storm, when we were first cast away. She lay almost where she did at first, but not quite; and was turned by the force of the waves and the winds almost bottom upward, against a high ridge of beachy rough sand; but no water about her as before.

If I had had hands to have refitted her, and to have launched her into the water, the boat would have done well enough, and I might have gone back into the Brazils with her easily enough; but I might have foreseen that I could no more turn her and set her upright upon her bottom, than I could remove the island: however, I went to the woods, and cut levers and rollers, and brought them to the boat, resolved to try what I could do, suggesting to myself, that if I could but turn her down, I might easily repair the damage she had received, and she would be a very good boat, and I might venture to sea in her very easily.

I spared no pains, indeed, in this piece of fruitless toil, and spent, I think, three or four weeks about it; at last, finding it impossible to heave it up with my little strength, I fell to digging away the sand, to undermine it, and so to make it fall down, setting pieces of wood to thrust and guide it right in the fall.

But when I had done this, I was unable to stir it up again, or to get under it, much less to move it forward towards the water; so I was forced to give it over; and yet, though I gave over the hopes of the boat, my desire to venture over the main increased, rather than decreased, as the means for it seemed impossible.

This at length put me upon thinking whether it was not possible to make myself a canoe, or *periagua*, such as the natives of those climates make, even without tools, or, as I might say, without hands, viz. of the trunk of a great tree. This I not only thought possible, but easy, and pleased myself extremely with the thoughts of making it, and with my having much more convenience for it than any of the Negroes or Indians; but not at all considering the particular inconveniences which I lay under more than the Indians did, viz. want of hands to move it into the water when it was made, a difficulty much harder for me to surmount than all the consequences of want of tools could be to them: for what was it to me, that when I had chosen a vast tree in the woods, I might with much trouble cut it down, if after I might be able with my tools to hew and dub the outside into the proper shape of a boat, and burn or cut out the inside to make it hollow, so as to make a boat of it, if, after all this, I must leave it just where I found it, and was not able to launch it into the water.

One would have thought I could not have had the least reflection upon my mind of my circumstances while I was making this boat, but I should have immediately thought how I should get it into the sea; but my thoughts were so intent upon my voyage over the sea in it, that I never once considered how I should get it off of the land; and it was really in its own nature more easy for me to guide it over forty-five miles of sea, than about forty-five fathoms of land, where it lay, to set it afloat in the water.

I went to work upon this boat the most like a fool that ever man did, who had any of his senses awake. I pleased myself with the design, without determining whether I was ever able to undertake it; not but that the difficulty of launching my boat came often into my head; but I put a stop to my own inquiries into it, by this foolish answer which I gave myself, 'Let's first make it, I'll warrant I'll find some way or other to get it along when it is done.'

This was a most preposterous method; but the eagerness of my fancy prevailed, and to work I went. I felled a cedar tree: I question much whether Solomon ever had such a one for the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. It was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two feet, after which it lessened for a while and then parted into branches. It was not without infinite labour that I felled this tree; I was twenty days hacking and hewing at it at the bottom, I was fourteen more getting the branches and limbs, and the vast spreading head of it cut off, which I hacked and hewed through with axe and hatchet, and inexpressible labour; after this, it cost me a month to shape it and dub it to a proportion, and to something like the bottom of a boat, that it might swim upright as it ought to do. It cost me near three months more to clear the inside, and work it so as to make an exact boat of it: this I did indeed, without fire, by mere mallet and chisel, and by the dint of hard labour, till I had brought it to be a very handsome *periagua*, and big enough to have carried six-and-twenty men, and consequently big enough to have carried me and all my cargo.

When I had gone through this work, I was extremely delighted with it. The boat was really much bigger than I ever saw a canoe or *periagua* that was made of one tree, in my life. Many a weary stroke it had cost, you may be sure; and there remained nothing but to get it into the water; and had I gotten it into the water, I make no question but I should have begun the maddest voyage, and the most unlikely to be performed, that ever was undertaken.

But all my devices to get it into the water failed me; though they cost me infinite labour too. It lay about one hundred yards from the water, and not more; but the first inconvenience was, it was up hill towards the creek. Well, to take away this discouragement, I resolved to dig into the surface of the earth, and so make a declivity; this I began, and it cost me a prodigious deal of pains; but who grudges pains that have their deliverance in view? But when this was worked through, and this difficulty managed, it was still much at one; for I could no more stir the canoe than I could the other boat.

Then I measured the distance of ground, and resolved to cut a dock or canal, to bring the water up to the canoe, seeing I could not bring the canoe down to the water. Well, I began this work, and when I began to enter into it, and calculate how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how the stuff to be thrown out, I found, that by the number of hands I had, being none but my own, it must have been ten or twelve years before I should have gone through with it; for the shore lay high, so that at the upper end it must have been at least twenty feet deep; so at length, though with great reluctancy, I gave this attempt over also.

This grieved me heartily; and now I saw, though too late, the folly of beginning a work before we count the cost, and before we judge rightly of our own strength to go through with it.

In the middle of this work, I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion, and with as much comfort as ever before; for by a constant study and serious application of the word of God, and by the assistance of his grace, I gained a different knowledge from what I had before; I entertained different notions of things. I looked now upon the world as a thing remote, which I had nothing to do with, no expectation from, and, indeed, no desires about: in a word, I had nothing indeed to do with it, nor was ever like to have; so I thought it looked, as we may perhaps look upon it hereafter, viz. as a place I had lived in, but was come out of it; and well might I say, as father Abraham to Dives, 'Between me and thee is a great gulf fixed.'

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here; I had neither the 'lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, nor the pride of life.' I had nothing to covet, for I had all that I was now capable of enjoying; I was lord of the whole manor; or, if I pleased, I might call myself king or emperor over the whole country which I had possession of. There were no rivals; I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me. I might have raised shiploadings of corn, but I had no use for it; so I let as little grow as I thought enough for my occasion. I had tortoise or turtles enough; but now and then one was as much as I could put to any use. I had timber enough to have built a fleet of ships. I had grapes enough to have made wine, or to have cured into raisins, to have loaded that fleet when they had been built.

But all I could make use of, was, all that was valuable. I had enough to eat and to supply my wants, and what was all the rest to me? If I killed more flesh than I could eat, the dog must eat it, or the vermin. If I sowed more corn than I could eat, it must be spoiled. The trees that I cut down were lying to rot on the ground; I could make no more use of them than for fuel, and that I had no occasion for but to dress my food.

In a word, the nature and experience of things dictated to me, upon just reflection, that all the good things of this world are no farther good to us than they are for our use; and that whatever we may heap up indeed to give others, we enjoy just as much as we can use, and no more. The most covetous griping miser in the world would have been cured of the vice of covetousness, if he had been in my case; for I possessed infinitely more than I knew what to do with. I had no room for desire, except it was of things which I had not, and they were but trifles, though indeed of great use to me. I had, as I hinted before, a parcel of money, as well gold as silver, about thirty-six pounds sterling: alas! there the nasty, sorry, useless stuff lay; I had no manner of business for it; and I often thought within myself, that I would have given a handful of it for a gross of tobacco-pipes, or for a hand-mill to grind my corn; nay, I would have given it all for sixpenny worth of turnip and carrot seed out of England, or for a handful of peas and beans, and a bottle of ink. As it was, I had not the least advantage by it, or benefit from it; but there it lay in a drawer, and grew mouldy with the damp of the cave in the wet season; and if I had had the drawer full of diamonds, it had been the same case; and they had been of no manner of value to me, because of no use.

I had now brought my state of life to be much easier in itself than it was at first, and much easier to my mind, as well as to my body. I frequently sat down to meat with thankfulness, and admired the hand of God's providence, which had thus spread my table in the wilderness. I learned to look more upon the bright side of my condition, and less upon the dark side, and to consider what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted; and this gave me sometimes such secret comforts, that I cannot express them; and which

I take notice of here, to put those discontented people in mind of it, who cannot enjoy comfortably what God has given them, because they see and covet something that He has not given them: all our discontents about what we want appeared to me to spring from the want of thankfulness for what we have.

Another reflection was of great use to me, and doubtless would be so to any one that should fall into such distress as mine was; and this was, to compare my present condition with what I at first expected it should be; nay, with what it would certainly have been, if the good providence of God had not wonderfully ordered the ship to be cast up near to the shore, where I not only could come at her, but could bring what I got out of her to the shore, for my relief and comfort; without which, I had wanted for tools to work, weapons for defence, or gunpowder and shot for getting my food.

I spent whole hours, I may say whole days, in representing to myself, in the most lively colours, how I must have acted if I had got nothing out of the ship; how I could not have so much as got any food except fish and turtles; and that as it was long before I found any of them, I must have perished first; that I should have lived, if I had not perished, like a mere savage; that if I had killed a goat or a fowl, by any contrivance, I had no way to flay or open them, or part the flesh from the skin and the bowels, or to cut it up; but must gnaw it with my teeth, and pull it with my claws like a beast.

These reflections made me very sensible of the goodness of Providence to me, and very thankful for my present condition, with all its hardships and misfortunes; and this part also I cannot but recommend to the reflection of those who are apt, in their misery, to say, Is any affliction like mine! Let them consider, how much worse the cases of some people are, and their case might have been, if Providence had thought fit.

I had another reflection, which assisted me also to comfort my mind with hopes; and this was, comparing my present condition with what I had deserved, and had therefore reason to expect from the hand of Providence. I had lived a dreadful life, perfectly destitute of the knowledge and fear of God. I had been well instructed by father and mother; neither had they been wanting to me, in their early endeavours to infuse a religious awe of God into my mind, a sense of my duty, and of what the nature and end of my being required of me. But, alas! falling early into the seafaring life, which, of all lives, is the most destitute of the fear of God, though his terrors are always before them; I say, falling early into the seafaring life, and into seafaring company, all that little sense of religion which I had entertained was laughed out of me by my messmates, by a hardened despising of dangers, and the views of death, which grew habitual to me, by my long absence from all manner of opportunities to converse with anything but what was like myself, or to hear anything that was good, or tending towards it.

So void was I of everything that was good, or of the least sense of what I was, or was to be, that in the greatest deliverances I enjoyed, such as my escape from Salee, my being taken up by the Portuguese master of the ship, my being planted so well in the Brazils, my receiving the cargo from England, and the like, I never had once the word, Thank God, so much as on my mind, or in my mouth; nor in the greatest distress had I so much as a thought to pray to Him, or so much as to say, Lord, have mercy upon me; no, nor to mention the name of God, unless it was to swear by, and blaspheme it.

I had terrible reflections upon my mind for many months, as I have already observed, on the account of my wicked and hardened life past; and when I looked about me, and considered what particular providences had attended me since my coming into this place, and how God had dealt bountifully with me; had not only punished me less than my iniquity had deserved, but had so plentifully provided for me; this gave me great hopes that my repentance was accepted, and that God had yet mercy in store for me.

With these reflections I worked my mind up, not only to resignation to the will of God in the present disposition of my circumstances, but even to a sincere thankfulness for my condition; and that I, who was yet a living man, ought not to complain, seeing I had not the due punishment of my sins; that I enjoyed so many mercies which I had no reason to have expected in that place; that I ought never more to repine at my condition, but to rejoice, and to give daily thanks for that daily bread, which nothing but a crowd of wonders could have brought. That I ought to consider I had been fed even by miracle, even as great as that of feeding Elijah by ravens, nay, by a long series of miracles; and that I could hardly have named a place in the unhabitable part of the world where I could have been cast more to my advantage; a place where, as I had no society, which was my affliction on one hand, so I found no ravenous beasts, no furious wolves or tigers, to threaten my life, no venomous creatures, or poisonous, which I might feed on to my hurt, no savages, to murder and devour me.

In a word, as my life was a life of sorrow one way, so it was a life of mercy another; and I wanted nothing to make it a life of comfort, but to be able to make my sense of God's goodness to me, and care over me in this condition, be my daily consolation; and after I did make a just improvement of these things, I went away, and was no more sad.

I had now been here so long, that many things which I brought on shore for my help were either quite gone, or very much wasted and near spent.

My ink, as I observed, had been gone for some time, all but a very little, which I eked out with water, a little and a little, till it was so pale, it scarce left any appearance of black upon the paper: as long as it lasted, I made use of it to minute down the days of the month on which any remarkable thing happened to me, and first by casting up times past: I remember that there was a strange concurrence of days in the various providences which befell me; and which, if I had been superstitiously inclined to observe days as fatal or fortunate, I might have had reason to have looked upon with a great deal of curiosity.

First, I had observed, that the same day that I broke away from my father and my friends, and ran away to Hull, in order to go to sea, the same day afterwards I was taken by the Sallee man of war, and made a slave.

The same day of the year that I escaped out of the wreck of that ship in Yarmouth Roads, that same day-year afterwards, I made my escape from Sallee in the boat.

The same day of the year I was born on, viz. the 30th of September, that same day I had my life so miraculously saved 26 years after, when I was cast on shore in this island; so that my wicked life and my solitary life began both on a day.

The next thing to my ink's being wasted, was that of my bread, I mean the biscuit which I

brought out of the ship; this I had husbanded to the last degree, allowing myself but one cake of bread a day for above a year, and yet I was quite without bread for near a year before I got any corn of my own; and great reason I had to be thankful that I had any at all, the getting it being, as has been already observed, next to miraculous.

My clothes began to decay too mightily: as to linen, I had none for a good while, except some chequered shirts which I found in the chests of the other seamen, and which I carefully preserved, because many times I could bear no other clothes on but a shirt; and it was a very great help to me that I had, among all the men's clothes of the ship, almost three dozen of shirts. There were also several thick watchcoats of the seamen's which were left indeed, but they were too hot to wear; and though it is true that the weather was so violent hot that there was no need of clothes, yet I could not go quite naked; no, though I had been inclined to it, which I was not, nor could I abide the thought of it, though I was all alone.

The reason why I could not go quite naked was, I could not bear the heat of the sun so well when quite naked as with some clothes on; nay, the very heat frequently blistered my skin; whereas, with a shirt on, the air itself made some motion, and whistling under that shirt, was twofold cooler than without it. No more could I ever bring myself to go out in the heat of the sun without a cap or a hat; the heat of the sun beating with such violence as it does in that place, would give me the headache presently, by darting so directly on my head, without a cap or hat on, so that I could not bear it; whereas, if I put on my hat, it would presently go away.

Upon those views, I began to consider about putting the few rags I had, which I called clothes, into some order. I had worn out all the waistcoats I had, and my business was now to try if I could not make jackets out of the great watchcoats which I had by me, and with such other materials as I had; so I set to work a tailoring, or rather indeed a botching, for I made most piteous work of it. However, I made shift to make two or three new waistcoats, which I hoped would serve me a great while; as for breeches, or drawers, I made but a very sorry shift indeed, till afterwards.

I have mentioned that I saved the skins of all the creatures that I killed, I mean four-footed ones, and I had hung them up, stretched out with sticks in the sun, by which means some of them were so dry and hard that they were fit for little, but others, it seems, were very useful. The first thing I made of these was a great cap for my head, with the hair on the outside, to shoot off the rain; and this I performed so well, that after this I made me a suit of clothes wholly of these skins, that is to say, a waistcoat, and breeches, open at the knees, and both loose; for they were rather wanting to keep me cool than to keep warm. I must not omit to acknowledge that they were wretchedly made; for if I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse tailor. However, they were such as I made very good shift with; and when I was abroad, if it happened to rain, the hair of my waistcoat and cap being outermost, I was kept very dry.

After this, I spent a great deal of time and pains to make me an umbrella; I was indeed in great want of one, and had a great mind to make one; I had seen them made in the Brazils, where they were very useful in the great heats which are there; and I felt the heats every jot as great here, and greater too, being nearer the equinox; besides, as I was obliged to be much abroad, it was a most useful thing to me, as well for the rains as the heats. I took a world of pains at it, and was a great while before I could make anything likely to hold; nay, after I thought I had hit the way, I spoiled two or three before I made one to my mind; but at last I made one that answered indifferently well; the main difficulty I found was to make it to let down. I could make it spread, but if it did not let down too, and draw in, it was not portable for me any way but just over my head, which would not do. However, at last, as I said, I made one to answer, and covered it with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a pent-house, and kept off the sun so effectually, that I could walk out in the hottest of the weather with greater advantage than I could before in the coolest; and when I had no need of it, could close it and carry it under my arm.

Thus I lived mighty comfortably, my mind being entirely composed by resigning to the will of God, and throwing myself wholly upon the disposal of his providence. This made my life better than sociable; for when I began to regret the want of conversation, I would ask myself, whether thus conversing mutually with my own thoughts, and, as I hope I may say, with even God himself, by ejaculations, was not better than the utmost enjoyment of human society in the world?

I cannot say that after this, for five years, any extraordinary thing happened to me, but I lived on in the same course, in the same posture and place, just as before: the chief things I was employed in, besides my yearly labour of planting my barley and rice, and curing my raisins, of both which I always kept up just enough to have sufficient stock of one year's provision beforehand: I say, besides this yearly labour, and my daily labour of going out with my gun, I had one labour, to make me a canoe, which at last I finished; so that by digging a canal to it of six feet wide, and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile. As for the first, which was so vastly big, as I made it without considering beforehand, as I ought to do, how I should be able to launch it; so, never being able to bring it to the water, or bring the water to it, I was obliged to let it lie where it was, as a memorandum to teach me to be wiser next time: indeed, the next time, though I could not get a tree proper for it, and in a place where I could not get the water to it at any less distance than, as I have said, near half a mile, yet as I saw it was practicable at last, I never gave it over; and though I was near two years about it, yet I never grudged my labour, in hopes of having a boat to go off to sea at last.

However, though my little *periagua* was finished, yet the size of it was not at all answerable to the design which I had in view when I made the first; I mean, of venturing over to the *terra firma*, where it was above forty miles broad; accordingly, the smallness of my boat assisted to put an end to that design, and now I thought no more of it: but as I had a boat, my next design was to make a tour round the island; for as I had been on the other side in one place, crossing, as I have already described it, over the land, so the discoveries I made in that little journey made me very eager to see other parts of the coast; and now I had a boat, I thought of nothing but sailing round the island.

For this purpose, that I might do everything with discretion and consideration, I fitted up a

little mast to my boat, and made a sail to it out of some of the pieces of the ship's sail, which lay in store, and of which I had a great stock by me.

Having fitted my mast and sail, and tried the boat, I found she would sail very well: then I made little lockers, or boxes, at either end of my boat, to put provisions, necessaries, and ammunition, &c., into, to be kept dry, either from rain or the spray of the sea; and a little long hollow place I cut in the inside of the boat, where I could lay my gun, making a flap to hang down over it, to keep it dry.

I fixed my umbrella also in a step at the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and keep the heat of the sun off me, like an awning; and thus I every now and then took a little voyage upon the sea, but never went far out, nor far from the little creek; but at last, being eager to view the circumference of my little kingdom, I resolved upon my tour, and accordingly I victualled my ship for the voyage, putting in two dozen of my loaves (cakes I should rather call them) of barley bread, an earthen pot full of parched rice, a food I ate a great deal of, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, and powder and shot for killing more, and two large watchcoats, of those which, as I mentioned before, I had saved out of the seamen's chests; these I took, one to lie upon, and the other to cover me in the night.

It was the sixth of November, in the sixth year of my reign, or my captivity, which you please, that I set out on this voyage, and I found it much longer than I expected; for though the island itself was not very large, yet when I came to the east side of it, I found a great ledge of rocks lie out above two leagues into the sea, some above water, some under it; and beyond that a shoal of sand, lying dry half a league more; so that I was obliged to go a great way out to sea to double the point.

When first I discovered them, I was going to give over my enterprise, and come back again, not knowing how far it might oblige me to go out to sea, and, above all, doubting how I should get back again; so I came to an anchor; for I had made me a kind of anchor with a piece of a broken grappling which I got out of the ship.

Having secured my boat, I took my gun and went on shore, climbing up upon a hill, which seemed to overlook that point, where I saw the full extent of it, and resolved to venture.

In my viewing the sea from that hill where I stood, I perceived a strong, and indeed a most furious current, which ran to the east, and even came close to the point; and I took the more notice of it, because I saw there might be some danger that when I came into it, I might be carried out to sea by the strength of it, and not be able to make the island again; and, indeed, had I not gotten first upon this hill, I believe it would have been so; for there was the same current on the other side the island, only that it set off at a farther distance; and I saw there was a strong eddy under the shore: so I had nothing to do but to get in out of the first current, and I should presently be in an eddy.

I lay here, however, two days; because the wind blowing pretty fresh at E.S.E., and that being just contrary to the said current, made a great breach of the sea upon the point; so that it was not safe for me to keep too close to the shore for the breach, nor to go too far off because of the stream.

The third day, in the morning, the wind having abated over-night, the sea was calm, and I ventured; but I am a warning-piece again to all rash and ignorant pilots; for no sooner was I come to the point, when even I was not my boat's length from the shore, but I found myself in a great depth of water, and a current like the sluice of a mill: it carried my boat along with it with such violence, that all I could do could not keep her so much as on the edge of it; but I found it hurried me farther and farther out from the eddy, which was on my left hand. There was no wind stirring to help me, and all I could do with my paddlers signified nothing; and now I began to give myself over for lost; for as the current was on both sides of the island, I knew in a few leagues' distance they must join again, and then I was irrecoverably gone; nor did I see any possibility of avoiding it; so that I had no prospect before me but of perishing, not by the sea, for that was calm enough, but of starving for hunger. I had indeed found a tortoise on the shore, as big almost as I could lift, and had tossed it into the boat; and I had a great jar of fresh water, that is to say, one of my earthen pots; but what was all this to being driven into the vast ocean, where, to be sure, there was no shore, no main land or island, for a thousand leagues at least?

And now I saw how easy it was for the providence of God to make the most miserable condition mankind could be in, worse. Now I looked back upon my desolate, solitary island as the most pleasant place in the world, and all the happiness my heart could wish for was to be but there again. I stretched out my hands to it, with eager wishes: 'O happy desert,' said I, 'I shall never see thee more! O miserable creature!' said I, 'whither am I going?' Then I reproached myself with my unthankful temper, and how I had repined at my solitary condition; and now what would I give to be on shore there again. Thus we never see the true state of our condition till it is illustrated to us by its contraries, nor know how to value what we enjoy, but by the want of it. It is scarce possible to imagine the consternation I was now in, being driven from my beloved island (for so it appeared to me now to be) into the wide ocean, almost two leagues, and in the utmost despair of ever recovering it again. However, I worked hard, till indeed my strength was almost exhausted, and kept my boat as much to the northward, that is, towards the side of the current which the eddy lay on, as possibly I could; when about noon, as the sun passed the meridian, I thought I felt a little breeze of wind in my face, springing up from the S.S.E. This cheered my heart a little, and especially when, in about half an hour more, it blew a pretty small gentle gale. By this time I was got at a frightful distance from the island, and had the least cloudy or hazy weather intervened, I had been undone another way too, for I had no compass on board, and should never have known how to have steered towards the island, if I had but once lost sight of it; but the weather continuing clear, I applied myself to get up my mast again, and spread my sail, standing away to the north as much as possible, to get out of the current.

Just as I had set my mast and sail, and the boat began to stretch away, I saw even by the clearness of the water some alteration of the current was near; for where the current was so strong, the water was foul; but perceiving the water clear, I found the current abate, and presently I found to the east, at about half a mile, a breach of the sea upon some rocks; these rocks I found caused the current to part again, and as the main stress of it ran away more southerly, leaving the rocks to the north-east, so the other

returned by the repulse of the rocks, and made a strong eddy, which ran back again to the north-west, with a very sharp stream.

They who know what it is to have a reprieve brought to them upon the ladder, or to be rescued from thieves just going to murder them, or who have been in such like extremities, may guess what my present surprise of joy was, and how gladly I put my boat into the stream of this eddy, and the wind also freshening, how gladly I spread my sail to it, running cheerfully before the wind, and with a strong tide or eddy under foot.

This eddy carried me about a league in my way back again, directly towards the island, but about two leagues more to the northward than the current which carried me away at first; so that when I came near the island, I found myself open to the northern shore of it, that is to say, the other end of the island opposite to that which I went out from.

When I had made something more than a league of way by the help of this current or eddy, I found it was spent and served me no farther. However, I found that being between the two great currents, viz. that on the south side, which had hurried me away, and that on the north, which lay about a league on the other side; I say, between these two, in the wake of the island, I found the water at least still, and running no way; and having still a breeze of wind fair for me, I kept on steering directly for the island, though not making such fresh way as I did before.

About four o'clock in the evening, being then within about a league of the island, I found the point of the rocks which occasioned this disaster, stretching out, as is described before, to the southward, and casting off the current more southwardly, had, of course, made another eddy to the north, and this I found very strong, but not directly setting the way my course lay, which was due west, but almost full north. However, having a fresh gale, I stretched across this eddy, slanting north-west, and, in about an hour, came within about a mile of the shore, where, it being smooth water, I soon got to land.

When I was on shore, I fell on my knees, and gave God thanks for my deliverance, resolving to lay aside all thoughts of my deliverance by my boat; and refreshing myself with such things as I had, I brought my boat close to the shore, in a little cove that I had spied under some trees, and laid me down to sleep, being quite spent with the labour and fatigue of the voyage.

I was now at a great loss which way to get home with my boat: I had run so much hazard, and knew too much of the case, to think of attempting it by the way I went out; and what might be at the other side (I mean the west side) I knew not, nor had I any mind to run any more ventures; so I only resolved in the morning to make my way westward along the shore, and to see if there was no creek where I might lay up my frigate in safety, so as to have her again if I wanted her. In about three miles, or thereabout, coasting the shore, I came to a very good inlet or bay, about a mile over, which narrowed till it came to a very little rivulet or brook, where I found a very convenient harbour for my boat, and where she lay as if she had been in a little dock made on purpose for her. Here I put in, and having stowed my boat very safe, I went on shore, to look about me, and see where I was.

I soon found I had but a little passed by the place where I had been before, when I travelled on foot to that shore; so taking nothing out of my boat but my gun and umbrella, for it was exceeding hot, I began my march. The way was comfortable enough after such a voyage as I had been upon, and I reached my old bower in the evening, where I found everything standing as I left it; for I always kept it in good order, being, as I said before, my country house.

I got over the fence, and laid me down in the shade to rest my limbs, for I was very weary, and fell asleep; but judge you, if you can, that read my story, what a surprise I must be in, when I was waked out of my sleep by a voice, calling me by my name several times, 'Robin, Robin, Robin Crusoe, poor Robin Crusoe! Where are you, Robin Crusoe? Where are you? Where have you been?'

I was so dead asleep at first, being fatigued with rowing, or paddling, as it is called, the first part of the day, and with walking the latter part, that I did not wake thoroughly; but dozing between sleeping and waking, thought I dreamed that somebody spoke to me; but as the voice continued to repeat 'Robin Crusoe, Robin Crusoe,' at last I began to wake more perfectly, and was at first dreadfully frightened, and started up in the utmost consternation: but no sooner were my eyes open, but I saw my Poll sitting on the top of the hedge, and immediately knew that it was he that spoke to me; for just in such bemoaning language I had used to talk to him, and teach him; and he had learned it so perfectly, that he would sit upon my finger, and lay his bill close to my face, and cry, 'Poor Robin Crusoe, where are you? Where have you been? How came you here?' and such things as I had taught him.

However, even though I knew it was the parrot, and that indeed it could be nobody else, it was a good while before I could compose myself. First, I was amazed how the creature got thither, and then how he should just keep about the place, and nowhere else: but as I was well satisfied it could be nobody but honest Poll, I got it over; and holding out my hand, and calling him by his name, Poll, the sociable creature came to me, and sat upon my thumb, as he used to do, and continued talking to me, Poor Robin Crusoe! and how did I come here? and where had I been? just as if he had been overjoyed to see me again; and so I carried him home along with me.

I had now had enough of rambling to sea for some time, and had enough to do for many days to sit still, and reflect upon the danger I had been in. I would have been very glad to have had my boat again on my side of the island; but I knew not how it was practicable to get it about; as to the east side of the island, which I had gone round, I knew well enough there was no venturing that way; my very heart would shrink, and my very blood run chill, but to think of it; and as to the other side of the island, I did not know how it might be there; but supposing the current ran with the same force against the shore at the east as it passed by it on the other, I might run the same risk of being driven down the stream, and carried by the island, as I had been before of being carried away from it; so, with these thoughts, I contented myself to be without any boat, though it had been the product of so many months' labour to make it, and of so many more to get it into the sea.

In this government of my temper I remained near a year, lived a very sedate, retired life, as you may well suppose; and my thoughts being very much composed as to my condition, and fully comforted in resigning myself to the dispo-

sitions of Providence, I thought I lived really very happily in all things, except that of society.

I improved myself in this time in all the mechanic exercises which my necessities put me upon applying myself to, and I believe could, upon occasion, have made a very good carpenter, especially considering how few tools I had.

Besides this, I arrived at an unexpected perfection in my earthenware, and contrived well enough to make them with a wheel, which I found infinitely easier and better; because I made things round and shapeable, which before were filthy things indeed to look on. But I think I was never more vain of my own performance, or more joyful for anything I found out, than for my being able to make a tobacco-pipe; and though it was a very ugly clumsy thing when it was done, and only burned red, like other earthenware, yet as it was hard and firm, and would draw the smoke, I was exceedingly comforted with it; for I had been always used to smoke, and there were pipes in the ship, but I forgot them at first, not knowing that there was tobacco in the island; and afterwards, when I searched the ship again, I could not come at any pipes at all.

In my wickerware also I improved much, and made abundance of necessary baskets, as well as my invention showed me, though not very handsome, yet they were such as were very handy and convenient for my laying things up in, or fetching things home in. For example, if I killed a goat abroad, I could hang it up in a tree, flay it and dress it, and cut it in pieces, and bring it home in a basket; and the like by a turtle; I would cut it up, take out the eggs, and a piece or two of the flesh, which was enough for me, and bring them home in a basket, and leave the rest behind me. Also large deep baskets were my receivers of my corn, which I always rubbed out as soon as it was dry, and cured, and kept it in great baskets.

I began now to perceive my powder abated considerably, and this was a want which it was impossible for me to supply, and I began seriously to consider what I must do when I should have no more powder, that is to say, how I should do to kill any goat. I had, as is observed, in the third year of my being here, kept a young kid, and bred her up tame, and I was in hopes of getting a he-goat, but I could not by any means bring it to pass, till my kid grew an old goat; and I could never find in my heart to kill her, till she died at last of mere age.

But being now in the eleventh year of my residence, and as I have said, my ammunition growing low, I set myself to study some art to trap and snare the goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive, and particularly, I wanted a she-goat great with young.

To this purpose, I made snares to hamper them, and I do believe they were more than once taken in them, but my tackle was not good, for I had no wire, and I always found them broken, and my bait devoured.

At length I resolved to try a pitfall; so I dug several large pits in the earth, in places where I had observed the goats used to feed, and over those pits I placed hurdles, of my own making too, with a great weight upon them; and several times I put ears of barley and dry rice, without setting the trap, and I could easily perceive that the goats had gone in and eaten up the corn, for I could see the marks of their feet. At length I set three traps in one night, and going the next morning, I found them all standing, and yet the bait eaten and gone. This was very discouraging; however, I altered my traps, and, not to trouble you with particulars, going one morning to see my traps, I found in one of them a large old he-goat, and in one of the others three kids, a male and two females.

As to the old one, I knew not what to do with him, he was so fierce, I durst not go into the pit to him; that is to say, to go about to bring him away alive, which was what I wanted. I could have killed him, but that was not my business, nor would it answer my end; so I e'en let him out, and he ran away, as if he had been frightened out of his wits. But I had forgot then, what I learned afterwards, that hunger will tame a lion. If I had let him stay there three or four days without food, and then have carried him some water to drink, and then a little corn, he would have been as tame as one of the kids, for they are mighty sagacious, tractable creatures, when they are well used.

However, for the present I let him go, knowing no better at that time; then I went to the three kids, and taking them one by one, I tied them with strings together, and with some difficulty brought them all home.

It was a good while before they would feed, but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame. And now I found that if I expected to supply myself with goat flesh when I had no powder or shot left, breeding some up tame was my only way, when, perhaps, I might have them about my house like a flock of sheep.

But then it presently occurred to me, that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up; and the only way for this was, to have some enclosed piece of ground, well fenced, either with hedge or pale, to keep them in so effectually, that those within might not break out, or those without break in.

This was a great undertaking for one pair of hands; yet as I saw there was an absolute necessity for doing it, my first piece of work was to find out a proper piece of ground, viz. where there was likely to be herbage for them to eat, water for them to drink, and cover to keep them from the sun.

Those who understand such enclosures will think I had very little contrivance, when I pitched upon a place very proper for all these, being a plain open piece of meadow land, or savannah, (as our people call it in the western colonies,) which had two or three little drills of fresh water in it, and at one end was very woody; I say, they will smile at my forecast, when I shall tell them I began my enclosing this piece of ground in such a manner, that my hedge or pale must have been at least two miles about. Nor was the madness of it so great as to the compass, for if it was ten miles about, I was like to have time enough to do it in; but I did not consider that my goats would be as wild in so much compass as if they had had the whole island, and I should have so much room to chase them in, that I should never catch them.

My hedge was begun and carried on, I believe about fifty yards, when this thought occurred to me; so I presently stopped short, and, for the first beginning, I resolved to enclose a piece of about 150 yards in length, and 100 yards in breadth, which, as it would maintain as many as I should have in any reasonable time, so, as my stock increased, I could add more ground to my enclosure.

This was acting with some prudence, and I went to work with courage. I was about three

months hedging in the first piece, and, till I had done it, I tethered the three kids in the best part of it, and used them to feed as near me as possible, to make them familiar; and very often I would go and carry them some ears of barley, or a handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand: so that after my enclosure was finished, and I let them loose, they would follow me up and down, bleating after me for a handful of corn.

This answered my end, and in about a year and half I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all; and in two years more, I had three and forty, beside several that I took and killed for my food. And after that I enclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with little pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted, and gates out of one piece of ground into another.

But this was not all, for now I not only had goat's flesh to feed on when I pleased, but milk too, a thing which, indeed, in my beginning, I did not so much as think of, and which, when it came into my thoughts, was really an agreeable surprise. For now I set up my dairy, and had sometimes a gallon or two of milk in a day. And as Nature, who gives supplies of food to every creature, dictates even naturally how to make use of it, so I, that had never milked a cow, much less a goat, or seen butter or cheese made, very readily and handily, though after a great many essays and miscarriages, made me both butter and cheese at last, and never wanted it afterwards.

How mercifully can our Creator treat his creatures, even in those conditions in which they seemed to be overwhelmed in destruction! How can He sweeten the bitterest providences, and give us cause to praise Him for dungeons and prisons! What a table was here spread for me in a wilderness, where I saw nothing at first, but to perish for hunger!

It would have made a stoic smile to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner; there was my majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island; I had the lives of all my subjects at my absolute command; I could hang, draw, give liberty, and take it away, and no rebels among all my subjects.

Then to see how like a king I dined too, all alone, attended by my servants: Poll, as if he had been my favourite, was the only person permitted to talk to me. My dog, who was now grown very old and crazy, and had found no species to multiply his kind upon, sat always at my right hand; and two cats, one on one side the table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a bit from my hand, as a mark of special favour.

But these were not the two cats which I brought on shore at first, for they were both of them dead, and had been interred near my habitation by my own hand; but one of them having multiplied by I know not what kind of creature, these were two which I had preserved tame, whereas the rest ran wild in the woods, and became indeed troublesome to me at last; for they would often come into my house, and plunder me too, till at last I was obliged to shoot them, and did kill a great many; at length they left me with this attendance, and in this plentiful manner I lived; neither could I be said to want anything but society, and of that in some time after this, I was like to have too much.

I was something impatient, as I have observed, to have the use of my boat, though very loath to run any more hazards; and therefore sometimes I sat contriving ways to get her about the island, and at other times I sat myself down contented enough without her. But I had a strange uneasiness in my mind to go down to the point of the island, where, as I have said, in my last ramble, I went up the hill to see how the shore lay, and how the current set, that I might see what I had to do: this inclination increased upon me every day, and at length I resolved to travel thither by land, following the edge of the shore. I did so; but had any one in England been to meet such a man as I was, it must either have frighted them, or raised a great deal of laughter; and as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could not but smile at the notion of my travelling through Yorkshire, with such an equipage, and in such a dress: be pleased to take a sketch of my figure, as follows.

I had a great high shapeless cap, made of a goat's skin, with a flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the sun from me as to shoot the rain off from running into my neck; nothing being so hurtful in these climates as the rain upon the flesh under the clothes.

I had a short jacket of goat-skin, the skirts coming down to about the middle of the thighs; and a pair of open-kneed breeches of the same; the breeches were made of the skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that, like pantaloons, it reached to the middle of my legs; stockings and shoes I had none, but had made me a pair of somethings, I scarce know what to call them, like buskins, to flap over my legs, and lace on either side like spatterdashes; but of a most barbarous shape, as indeed were all the rest of my clothes.

I had on a broad belt of goat's skin dried, which I drew together with two thongs of the same, instead of buckles, and in a kind of a frog on either side of this, instead of a sword and dagger, hung a little saw and a hatchet, one on one side, and one on the other. I had another belt, not so broad, and fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, both made of goat's skin too; in one of which hung my powder, in the other my shot. At my back I carried my basket, on my shoulder my gun, and over my head a great clumsy ugly goat-skin umbrella, but which, after all, was the most necessary thing I had about me, next to my gun. As for my face, the colour of it was really not so mulatto-like as one might expect from a man not at all careful of it, and living within nine or ten degrees of the equinox. My beard I had once suffered to grow till it was about a quarter of a yard long; but as I had both scissors and razors sufficient, I had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper lip, which I had trimmed into a large pair of Mahometan whiskers, such as I had seen worn by some Turks, whom I saw at Sallee; for the Moors did not wear such, though the Turks did: of these mustachios or whiskers, I will not say they were long enough to hang my hat upon them, but they were of a length and shape monstrous enough, and such as, in England, would have passed for frightful.

But all this is by the bye; for as to my figure, I had so few to observe me that it was of no manner of consequence; so I say no more to that part. In this kind of figure I went my new journey, and was out five or six days. I travelled first along the seashore, directly to the place where I first brought my boat to an anchor, to get up upon the rocks; and having no boat now to take care of, I went over the land a nearer way, to the same height that I was upon

before; when looking forward to the point of the rocks which lay out, and which I was obliged to double with my boat, as is said above, I was surprised to see the sea all smooth and quiet, no rippling, no motion, no current, any more there than in other places.

I was at a strange loss to understand this, and resolved to spend some time in the observing it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it; but I was presently convinced how it was, viz. that the tide of ebb, setting from the west, and joining with the current of waters from some great river on the shore, must be the occasion of this current; and that according as the wind blew more forcibly from the west, or from the north, this current came near, or went farther from the shore; for waiting thereabouts till evening, I went up to the rock again, and then the tide of ebb being made, I plainly saw the current again as before, only that it ran farther off, being near half a league from the shore; whereas, in my case, it set close upon the shore, and hurried me and my canoe along with it, which at another time it would not have done.

This observation convinced me, that I had nothing to do but to observe the ebbing and the flowing of the tide, and I might very easily bring my boat about the island again: but when I began to think of putting it in practice, I had such a terror upon my spirits at the remembrance of the danger I had been in, that I could not think of it again with any patience; but on the contrary, I took up another resolution, which was more safe, though more laborious; and this was, that I would build, or rather make me another *periagua* or canoe; and so have one for one side of the island, and one for the other.

You are to understand, that now I had, as I may call it, two plantations in the island; one my little fortification or tent, with the wall about it, under the rock, with the cave behind me, which by this time I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door out beyond my wall or fortification, that is to say, beyond where my wall joined to the rock, was all filled up with the large earthen pots, of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my stores of provision, especially my corn, some in the ear, cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hand.

As for my wall, made, as before, with long stakes or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were by this time grown so big, and spread so very much, that there was not the least appearance to any one's view, of any habitation behind them.

Near this dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the land, and upon lower ground, lay my two pieces of corn ground, which I kept duly cultivated and sowed, and which duly yielded me their harvest in its season; and whenever I had occasion for more corn, I had more land adjoining as fit as that.

Besides this, I had my country seat, and I had now a tolerable plantation there also; for first, I had my little bower, as I called it, which I kept in repair; that is to say, I kept the hedge which circled it in constantly lifted up to its usual height, the ladder standing always in the inside; I kept the trees, which at first were no more than my stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall; I kept them always so cut, that they might spread and grow thick and wild, and make the more agreeable shade, which they did effectually to my mind. In the middle of this I had my tent always standing, being a piece of a sail spread over poles set up for that purpose, and which never wanted any repair or renewing; and under this I had made me a squab or couch, with the skins of the creatures I had killed, and with other soft things, and a blanket laid on them, such as belonged to our sea bedding, which I had saved, and a great watch-coat to cover me; and here, whenever I had occasion to be absent from my chief seat, I took up my country habitation.

Adjoining to this I had my enclosures for my cattle, that is to say, my goats; and as I had taken an inconceivable deal of pains to fence and enclose this ground, I was so uneasy to see it kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off, till, with infinite labour, I had stuck the outside of the hedge so full of small stakes, and so near to one another, that it was rather a pale than a hedge, and there was scarce room to put a hand through between them; which afterwards, when those stakes grew, as they all did in the next rainy season, made the enclosure strong like a wall, indeed stronger than any wall.

This will testify for me that I was not idle, and that I spared no pains to bring to pass whatever appeared necessary for my comfortable support; for I considered the keeping up a breed of tame creatures thus at my hand would be a living magazine of flesh, milk, butter, and cheese for me, as long as I lived in the place, if it were to be forty years; and that keeping them in my reach, depended entirely upon my perfecting my enclosures to such a degree, that I might be sure of keeping them together; which by this method, indeed, I so effectually secured, that when these little stakes began to grow, I had planted them so very thick, I was forced to pull some of them up again.

In this place also I had my grapes growing, which I principally depended on for my winter store of raisins, and which I never failed to preserve very carefully, as the best and most agreeable dainty of my whole diet; and indeed, they were not only agreeable, but physical, wholesome, nourishing, and refreshing, to the last degree.

As this was also about half-way between my other habitation and the place where I had laid up my boat, I generally stayed, and lay here in my way thither; for I used frequently to visit my boat, and I kept all things about or belonging to her in very good order; sometimes I went out in her to divert myself, but no more hazardous voyages would I go, nor scarce ever above a stone's cast or two from the shore, I was so apprehensive of being hurried out of my knowledge again by the currents, or winds, or any other accident. But now I come to a new scene of my life.

It happened one day about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand. I stood like one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition; I listened, I looked round me, I could hear nothing, nor see anything; I went up to a rising ground, to look farther; I went up the shore and down the shore, but it was all one, I could see no other impression but that one; I went to it again to see if there were any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy; but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the very print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part of a foot; how it came thither I knew not, nor could I in the least imagine. But, after innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused and out of myself, I came home to my

fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree, looking behind me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man; nor is it possible to describe how many various shapes affrighted imagination represented things to me in; how many wild ideas were found every moment in my fancy, and what strange unaccountable whimsies came into my thoughts by the way.

When I came to my castle, for so I think I called it ever after this, I fled into it like one pursued; whether I went over by the ladder, as first contrived, or went in at the hole in the rock, which I had called a door, I cannot remember; no, nor could I remember the next morning; for never frightened hare fled to cover, or fox to earth, with more terror of mind than I to this retreat.

I slept none that night; the farther I was from the occasion of my fright, the greater my apprehensions were; which is something contrary to the nature of such things, and especially to the usual practice of all creatures in fear: but I was so embarrassed with my own frightful ideas of the thing, that I formed nothing but dismal imaginations to myself, even though I was now a great way off it. Sometimes I fancied it must be the Devil, and reason joined in with me upon this supposition; for how should any other thing in human shape come into the place? Where was the vessel that brought them? What marks were there of any other footsteps? And how was it possible a man should come there? But then to think that Satan should take human shape upon him in such a place, where there could be no manner of occasion for it, but to leave the print of his foot behind him, and that even for no purpose too, for he could not be sure I should see it; this was an amusement the other way; I considered that the Devil might have found out abundance of other ways to have terrified me than this of the single print of a foot; that as I lived quite on the other side of the island, he would never have been so simple as to leave a mark in a place where it was ten thousand to one whether I should ever see it or not, and in the sand too, which the first surge of the sea, upon a high wind, would have defaced entirely: all this seemed inconsistent with the thing itself, and with all the notions we usually entertain of the subtlety of the Devil.

Abundance of such things as these assisted to argue me out of all apprehensions of its being the Devil: and I presently concluded then, that it must be some more dangerous creature, viz. that it must be some of the savages of the main land over against me, who had wandered out to sea in their canoes, and, either driven by the currents or by contrary winds, had made the island; and had been on shore, but were gone away again to sea, being as loath, perhaps, to have stayed in this desolate island as I would have been to have had them.

While these reflections were rolling upon my mind, I was very thankful in my thoughts that I was so happy as not to be thereabouts at that time, or that they did not see my boat, by which they would have concluded that some inhabitants had been in the place, and perhaps have searched farther for me: then terrible thoughts racked my imagination about their having found my boat, and that there were people here; and that if so, I should certainly have them come again in greater numbers, and devour me; that if it should happen so that they should not find me, yet they would find my enclosure, destroy all my corn, and carry away all my flock of tame goats, and I should perish at last for mere want.

Thus my fear banished all my religious hope; all that former confidence in God, which was founded upon such wonderful experience as I had had of his goodness, now vanished, as if He that had fed me by miracle hitherto, could not preserve by his power, the provision which He had made for me by his goodness: I reproached myself with my easiness, that would not sow any more corn one year than would just serve me till the next season, as if no accident could intervene to prevent my enjoying the crop that was upon the ground; and this I thought so just a reproof, that I resolved for the future to have two or three years' corn beforehand, so that whatever might come, I might not perish for want of bread.

How strange a chequer-work of Providence is the life of man! and by what secret differing springs are the affections hurried about, as differing circumstances present! To-day we love what to-morrow we hate; to-day we seek what to-morrow we shun; to-day we desire what to-morrow we fear, nay, even tremble at the apprehensions of: this was exemplified in me, at this time, in the most lively manner imaginable: for I whose only affliction was, that I seemed banished from human society, that I was alone, circumscribed by the boundless ocean, cut off from mankind, and condemned to what I called silent life; that I was as one whom Heaven thought not worthy to be numbered among the living, or to appear among the rest of his creatures; that to have seen one of my own species would have seemed to me a raising me from death to life, and the greatest blessing that Heaven itself, next to the supreme blessing of salvation, could bestow; I say, that I should now tremble at the very apprehensions of seeing a man, and was ready to sink into the ground at but the shadow or silent appearance of a man's having set his foot in the island.

Such is the uneven state of human life: and it afforded me a great many curious speculations afterwards, when I had a little recovered my first surprise. I considered that this was the station of life the infinitely wise and good providence of God had determined for me; that as I could not foresee what the ends of divine wisdom might be in all this, so I was not to dispute his sovereignty, who, as I was his creature, had an undoubted right, by creation, to govern and dispose of me absolutely as He thought fit; and who, as I was a creature that had offended Him, had likewise a judicial right to condemn me to what punishment He thought fit; and that it was my part to submit to bear his indignation, because I had sinned against Him.

I then reflected, that God, who was not only righteous but omnipotent, as He had thought fit thus to punish and afflict me, so He was able to deliver me; that if He did not think fit to do it, it was my unquestioned duty to resign myself absolutely and entirely to his will; and on the other hand, it was my duty also to hope in Him, pray to Him, and quietly to attend the dictates and directions of his daily providence.

These thoughts took me up many hours, days, nay, I may say, weeks and months; and one particular effect of my cogitations on this occasion I cannot omit, viz. one morning early, lying in my bed, and filled with thoughts about my danger from the appearances of savages, I found it discomposed me very much; upon which those words of the Scripture came into my thoughts, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.'

Upon this, rising cheerfully out of my bed, my heart was not only comforted, but I was guided and encouraged to pray earnestly to God for deliverance: when I had done praying, I took up my Bible, and opening it to read, the first words that presented to me, were, 'Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and He shall strengthen thy heart; wait, I say, on the Lord.' It is impossible to express the comfort this gave me. In answer, I thankfully laid down the book, and was no more sad, at least on that occasion.

In the middle of these cogitations, apprehensions, and reflections, it came into my thought one day, that all this might be a mere chimera of my own, and that this foot might be the print of my own foot, when I came on shore from my boat: this cheered me up a little too, and I began to persuade myself it was all a delusion; that it was nothing else but my own foot; and why might I not come that way from the boat, as well as I was going that way to the boat? Again, I considered also, that I could by no means tell, for certain, where I had trod, and where I had not; and that if at last this was only the print of my own foot, I had played the part of those fools, who strive to make stories of spectres and apparitions, and then are frighted at them more than anybody.

Now I began to take courage, and to peep abroad again; for I had not stirred out of my castle for three days and nights, so that I began to starve for provision; for I had little or nothing within doors but some barley cakes and water. Then I knew that my goats wanted to be milked too, which usually was my evening diversion; and the poor creatures were in great pain and inconvenience for want of it; and indeed, it almost spoiled some of them, and almost dried up their milk.

Heartening myself therefore with the belief that this was nothing but the print of one of my own feet, and so I might be truly said to start at my own shadow, I began to go abroad again, and went to my country house to milk my flock; but to see with what fear I went forward, how often I looked behind me, how I was ready every now and then to lay down my basket, and run for my life, it would have made any one have thought I was haunted with an evil conscience, or that I had been lately most terribly frighted, and so indeed I had.

However, as I went down thus two or three days, and having seen nothing, I began to be a little bolder, and to think there was really nothing in it but my own imagination: but I could not persuade myself fully of this till I should go down to the shore again, and see this print of a foot, and measure it by my own, and see if there was any similitude or fitness, that I might be assured it was my own foot: but when I came to the place, first, it appeared evidently to me, that when I laid up my boat, I could not possibly be on shore anywhere thereabout: secondly, when I came to measure the mark with my own foot, I found my foot not so large by a great deal. Both these things filled my head with new imaginations, and gave me the vapours again, to the highest degree; so that I shook with cold like one in an ague; and I went home again, filled with the belief that some man or men had been on shore there; or in short, that the island was inhabited, and I might be surprised before I was aware; and what course to take for my security I knew not.

O what ridiculous resolution men take when possessed with fear! It deprives them of the use of those means which reason offers for their relief. The first thing I proposed to myself was, to throw down my enclosures, and turn all my tame cattle wild into the woods, that the enemy might not find them, and then frequent the island in prospect of the same or the like booty: then to the simple thing of digging up my two corn-fields, that they might not find such a grain there, and still be prompted to frequent the island; then to demolish my bower and tent, that they might not see any vestiges of habitation, and be prompted to look farther, in order to find out the persons inhabiting.

These were the subject of the first night's cogitation, after I was come home again, while the apprehensions which had so overrun my mind were fresh upon me, and my head was full of vapours, as above. Thus fear of danger is ten thousand times more terrifying than danger itself when apparent to the eyes; and we find the burden of anxiety greater by much, than the evil which we are anxious about; and which was worse than all this, I had not that relief in this trouble from the resignation I used to practise, that I hoped to have. I looked, I thought, like Saul, who complained not only that the Philistines were upon him, but that God had forsaken him; for I did not now take due ways to compose my mind, by crying to God in my distress, and resting upon his providence, as I had done before, for my defence and deliverance; which if I had done, I had at least been more cheerfully supported under this new surprise, and perhaps carried through it with more resolution.

This confusion of my thoughts kept me waking all night; but in the morning I fell asleep, and having, by the amusement of my mind, been as it were tired, and my spirits exhausted, I slept very soundly, and waked much better composed than I had ever been before; and now I began to think sedately; and upon the utmost debate with myself, I concluded that this island, which was so exceeding pleasant, fruitful, and no farther from the main land than as I had seen, was not so entirely abandoned as I might imagine; that although there were no stated inhabitants who lived on the spot, yet that there might sometimes come boats off from the shore, who, either with design, or perhaps never but when they were driven by cross winds, might come to this place.

That I had lived here fifteen years now, and had not met with the least shadow or figure of any people yet; and that if at any time they should be driven here, it was probable they went away again as soon as ever they could, seeing they had never thought fit to fix there upon any occasion, to this time.

That the most I could suggest any danger from, was from any casual accidental landing of straggling people from the main, who, as it was likely, if they were driven hither, were here against their wills; so they made no stay here, but went off again with all possible speed, seldom staying one night on shore, lest they should not have the help of the tides and daylight back again; and that therefore I had nothing to do but to consider of some safe retreat, in case I should see any savages land upon the spot.

Now I began sorely to repent that I had dug my cave so large as to bring a door through again, which door, as I said, came out beyond where my fortification joined to the rock: upon maturely considering this therefore, I resolved to draw me a second fortification, in the same manner of a semicircle, at a distance from my wall, just where I had planted a double row of trees about twelve years before, of which I made mention: these trees having been planted so thick before, they wanted but a few piles to be

driven, between them, that they should be thicker and stronger, and my wall would be soon finished.

So that I had now a double wall, and my outer wall was thickened with pieces of timber, old cables, and everything I could think of, to make it strong; having in it seven little holes, about as big as I might put my arm out at. In the inside of this, I thickened my wall to about ten feet thick, with continual bringing earth out of my cave, and laying it at the foot of the wall, and walking upon it; and through the seven holes I contrived to plant the muskets, of which I took notice that I had got seven on shore out of the ship; these, I say, I planted like my cannon, and fitted them into frames that held them like a carriage, so that I could fire all the seven guns in two minutes' time: this wall I was many a weary month a finishing, and yet never thought myself safe till it was done.

When this was done, I stuck all the ground without my wall, for a great way every way, as full with stakes, or sticks of the osier-like wood, which I found so apt to grow, as they could well stand; insomuch, that I believe I might set in near twenty thousand of them, leaving a pretty large space between them and my wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and they might have no shelter from the young trees, if they attempted to approach my outer wall.

Thus, in two years' time, I had a thick grove, and in five or six years' time I had a wood before my dwelling, growing so monstrous thick and strong, that it was indeed perfectly impassable; and no men of what kind soever, would ever imagine that there was anything beyond it, much less a habitation. As for the way which I proposed to myself to go in and out, for I left no avenue, it was by setting two ladders, one to a part of the rock which was low, and then broke in, and left room to place another ladder upon that; so when the two ladders were taken down, no man living could come down to me without mischiefing himself; and if they had come down, they were still on the outside of my outer wall.

Thus I took all the measures human prudence could suggest for my own preservation; and it will be seen, at length, that they were not altogether without just reason, though I foresaw nothing at that time, more than my mere fear suggested to me.

While this was doing, I was not altogether careless of my other affairs; for I had a great concern upon me for my little herd of goats; they were not only a present supply to me upon every occasion, and began to be sufficient to me, without the expense of powder and shot, but also without the fatigue of hunting after the wild ones; and I was loath to lose the advantage of them, and to have them all to nurse up over again.

To this purpose, after long consideration, I could think of but two ways to preserve them; one was to find another convenient place to dig a cave under ground, and to drive them into it every night; and the other was to enclose two or three little bits of land, remote from one another and as much concealed as I could, where I might keep about half a dozen young goats in each place: so that if any disaster happened to the flock in general, I might be able to raise them again with little trouble and time: and this, though it would require a great deal of time and labour, I thought was the most rational design.

Accordingly, I spent some time to find out the most retired parts of the island; and I pitched upon one, which was as private indeed as my heart could wish for; it was a little damp piece of ground, in the middle of the hollow and thick woods, where, as is observed, I almost lost myself once before, endeavouring to come back that way from the eastern part of the island. Here I found a clear piece of land, near three acres, so surrounded with woods, that it was almost an enclosure by nature, at least it did not want near so much labour to make it so as the other pieces of ground I had worked so hard at.

I immediately went to work with this piece of ground, and in less than a month's time I had so fenced it round, that my flock, or herd, call it which you please, who were not so wild now as at first they might be supposed to be, were well enough secured in it. So, without any further delay, I removed ten young she-goats and two he-goats to this piece; and when they were there, I continued to perfect the fence till I had made it as secure as the other, which, however, I did at more leisure, and it took me up more time by a great deal.

All this labour I was at the expense of, purely from my apprehensions on the account of the print of a man's foot which I had seen; for as yet I never saw any human creature come near the island, and I had now lived two years under this uneasiness, which indeed made my life much less comfortable than it was before; as may well be imagined by any who know what it is to live in the constant snare of the fear of man: and this I must observe, with grief too, that the discomposure of my mind had too great impressions also upon the religious part of my thoughts; for the dread and terror of falling into the hands of savages and cannibals lay so upon my spirits, that I seldom found myself in a due temper for application to my Maker, at least not with the sedate calmness and resignation of soul which I was wont to do; I rather prayed to God as under great affliction and pressure of mind, surrounded with danger, and in expectation every night of being murdered and devoured before morning; and I must testify from my experience, that a temper of peace, thankfulness, love and affection, is much more the proper frame for prayer than that of terror and discomposure; and that under the dread of mischief impending, a man is no more fit for a comforting performance of the duty of praying to God, than he is for repentance on a sick bed: for these discomposures affect the mind as the others do the body; and the discomposure of the mind must necessarily be as great a disability as that of the body, and much greater, praying to God being properly an act of the mind, not of the body.

But to go on; after I had thus secured one part of my little living stock, I went about the whole island, searching for another private place to make such another deposit; when wandering more to the west point of the island than I had ever done yet, and looking out to sea, I thought I saw a boat upon the sea, at a great distance. I had found a perspective glass or two in one of the seamen's chests, which I saved out of our ship; but I had it not about me, and this was so remote, that I could not tell what to make of it, though I looked at it till my eyes were not able to hold to look any longer; whether it was a boat or not, I do not know; but as I descended from the hill I could see no more of it, so I gave it over; only I resolved to go no more out without a perspective glass in my pocket.

When I was come down the hill to the end of the island, where indeed I had never been before, I was presently convinced that the seeing the print of a man's foot was not such a strange

thing in the island as I imagined; and but that it was a special providence that I was cast upon the side of the island where the savages never came, I should easily have known that nothing was more frequent than for the canoes from the main, when they happened to be a little too far out at sea, to shoot over to that side of the island for harbour; likewise as they often met and fought in their canoes, the victors, having taken any prisoners, would bring them over to this shore, where, according to their dreadful customs, being all cannibals, they would kill and eat them; of which hereafter.

When I was come down the hill to the shore, as I said above, being the S.W. point of the island, I was perfectly confounded and amazed; nor is it possible for me to express the horror of my mind, at seeing the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human bodies; and particularly I observed a place where there had been a fire made, and a circle dug in the earth, like a cockpit, where it is supposed the savage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feastings upon the bodies of their fellow-creatures.

I was so astonished with the sight of these things, that I entertained no notions of any danger to myself from it for a long while; all my apprehensions were buried in the thoughts of such a pitch of inhuman, hellish brutality, and the horror of the degeneracy of human nature, which, though I had heard of often, yet I never had so near a view of before; in short, I turned away my face from the horrid spectacle; my stomach grew sick, and I was just at the point of fainting, when nature discharged the disorder from my stomach; and having vomited with uncommon violence, I was a little relieved, but could not bear to stay in the place a moment; so I gat me up the hill again with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

When I came a little out of that part of the island, I stood still awhile as amazed; and then recovering myself, I looked up with the utmost affection of my soul, and with a flood of tears in my eyes, gave God thanks, that had cast my first lot in a part of the world where I was distinguished from such dreadful creatures as these; and that, though I had esteemed my present condition very miserable, had yet given me so many comforts in it, that I had still more to give thanks for than to complain of; and this above all, that I had even in this miserable condition, been comforted with the knowledge of himself, and the hope of his blessing, which was a felicity more than sufficiently equivalent to all the misery which I had suffered, or could suffer.

In this frame of thankfulness, I went home to my castle, and began to be much easier now, as to the safety of my circumstances, than ever I was before; for I observed that these wretches never came to this island in search of what they could get; perhaps not seeking, not wanting, or not expecting anything here; and having often, no doubt, been up in the covered woody part of it, without finding anything to their purpose. I knew I had been here now almost eighteen years, and never saw the least footsteps of human creature there before; and I might be here eighteen more, as entirely concealed as I was now, if I did not discover myself to them, which I had no manner of occasion to do, it being my only business to keep myself entirely concealed where I was, unless I found a better sort of creatures than cannibals to make myself known to.

Yet I entertained such an abhorrence of the savage wretches that I have been speaking of, and of the wretched inhuman custom of their devouring and eating one another up, that I continued pensive and sad, and kept close within my own circle for almost two years after this: when I say my own circle, I mean by it my three plantations, viz. my castle, my country seat, which I called my bower, and my enclosure in the woods; nor did I look after this for any other use than as an enclosure for my goats; for the aversion which nature gave me to these hellish wretches was such, that I was fearful of seeing them as of seeing the Devil himself; nor did I so much as go to look after my boat in all this time, but began rather to think of making me another; for I could not think of ever making any more attempts to bring the other boat round the island to me, lest I should meet with some of these creatures at sea, in which if I had happened to have fallen into their hands, I knew what would have been my lot.

Time however, and the satisfaction I had that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to wear off my uneasiness about them; and I began to live just in the same composed manner as before; only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them; and particularly, I was more cautious of firing my gun, lest any of them being on the island should happen to hear of it; and it was therefore a very good providence to me that I had furnished myself with a tame breed of goats, that I had no need to hunt any more about the woods, or shoot at them; and if I did catch any of them after this, it was by traps and snares, as I had done before; so that for two years after this, I believe I never fired my gun once off, though I never went out without it; and, which was more, as I had saved three pistols out of the ship, I always carried them out with me, or at least two of them, sticking them in my goat-skin belt; also I furbished up one of the great cutlasses that I had out of the ship, and made me a belt to put it on also; so that I was now a most formidable fellow to look at when I went abroad, if you add to the former description of myself, the particular of two pistols, and a great broadsword hanging at my side in a belt, but without a scabbard.

Things going on thus, as I have said, for some time, I seemed, excepting these cautions, to be reduced to my former calm sedate way of living. All these things tended to showing me more and more how far my condition was from being miserable, compared to some others; nay, to many other particulars of life, which it might have pleased God to have made my lot. It put me upon reflecting how little repining there would be among mankind at any condition of life, if people would rather compare their condition with those that are worse, in order to be thankful, than be always comparing them with those which are better, to assist their murmurings and complainings.

As in my present condition there were not really many things which I wanted; so indeed I thought that the frights I had been in about these savage wretches, and the concern I had been in for my own preservation, had taken off the edge of my invention for my own conveniences; and I had dropped a good design, which I had once bent my thoughts too much upon; and that was, to try if I could not make some of my barley into malt, and then try to brew myself some beer. This was really a whimsical thought, and I reproved myself often for the simplicity of

it; for I presently saw there would be the want of several things necessary to the making my beer, that it would be impossible for me to supply: as first, casks to preserve it in, which was a thing that, as I have observed already, I could never compass; no, though I spent not many days, but weeks, nay months in attempting it, but to no purpose. In the next place, I had no hops to make it keep, no yeast to make it work, no copper or kettle to make it boil; and yet all these things notwithstanding, I verily believe, had not these things intervened, I mean the frights and terrors I was in about the savages, I had undertaken it, and perhaps brought it to pass too; for I seldom gave anything over without accomplishing it, when once I had it in my head to begin it.

But my invention now ran quite another way; for night and day I could think of nothing but how I might destroy some of these monsters in their cruel, bloody entertainment, and, if possible, save the victim they should bring hither to destroy. It would take up a larger volume than this whole work is intended to be, to set down all the contrivances I hatched, or rather brooded upon in my thought, for the destroying these creatures, or at least frighting them so as to prevent their coming hither any more; but all was abortive, nothing could be possible to take effect, unless I was to be there to do it myself; and what could one man do among them, when perhaps there might be twenty or thirty of them together, with their darts, or their bows and arrows, with which they could shoot as true to a mark, as I could with my gun?

Sometimes I contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put in five or six pounds of gunpowder, which when they kindled their fire, would consequently take fire, and blow up all that was near it; but as in the first place, I should be very loath to waste so much powder upon them, my store being now within the quantity of one barrel, so neither could I be sure of its going off at any certain time, when it might surprise them; and at best, that it would do little more than just blow the fire about their ears and fright them, but not sufficient to make them forsake the place; so I laid it aside, and then proposed that I would place myself in ambush in some convenient place, with my three guns all double-loaded, and, in the middle of their bloody ceremony, let fly at them, when I should be sure to kill or wound perhaps two or three at every shot; and then, falling in upon them with my three pistols, and my sword, I made no doubt but that if there were twenty I should kill them all. This fancy pleased my thoughts for some weeks, and I was so full of it, that I often dreamed of it, and sometimes that I was just going to let fly at them in my sleep.

I went so far with it in my imagination, that I employed myself several days to find out proper places to put myself in ambuscade, as I said, to watch for them; and I went frequently to the place itself, which was now grown more familiar to me; and especially while my mind was thus filled with thoughts of revenge, and of a bloody putting twenty or thirty of them to the sword, as I may call it, the horror I had at the place, and at the signals of the barbarous wretches devouring one another, abated my malice.

Well, at length I found a place in the side of the hill, where I was satisfied I might securely wait till I saw any of their boats coming, and might then, even before they would be ready to come on shore, convey myself unseen into some thickets of trees, in one of which there was a hollow large enough to conceal me entirely; and where I might sit and observe all their bloody doings; and take my full aim at their heads, when they were so close together, as that it would be next to impossible that I should miss my shot, or that I could fail wounding three or four of them at the first shot.

In this place then I resolved to fix my design, and accordingly I prepared two muskets and my ordinary fowling-piece. The two muskets I loaded with a brace of slugs each, and four or five smaller bullets, about the size of pistol-bullets; and the fowling-piece I loaded with near a handful of swan-shot, of the largest size; I also loaded my pistols with about four bullets each; and in this posture, well provided with ammunition for a second and third charge, I prepared myself for my expedition.

After I had thus laid the scheme of my design, and in my imagination put it in practice, I continually made my tour every morning up to the top of the hill, which was from my castle, as I called it, about three miles, or more, to see if I could observe any boats upon the sea, coming near the island, or standing over towards it; but I began to tire of this hard duty, after I had, for two or three months, constantly kept my watch, but came always back without any discovery; there having not, in all that time, been the least appearance, not only on or near the shore, but not on the whole ocean, so far as my eyes or glasses could reach every way.

As long as I kept my daily tour to the hill to look out, so long also I kept up the vigour of my design, and my spirits seemed to be all the while in a suitable form for so outrageous an execution as the killing twenty or thirty naked savages, for an offence which I had not at all entered into a discussion of in my thoughts, any further than my passions were at first fired by the horror I conceived at the unnatural custom of the people of that country, who it seems had been suffered by Providence, in his wise disposition of the world, to have no other guide than that of their own abominable and vitiated passions; and consequently were left, and perhaps had been so for some ages, to act such horrid things, and receive such dreadful customs, as nothing but nature entirely abandoned by Heaven, and acted by some hellish degeneracy, could have run them into. But now, when, as I have said, I began to be weary of the fruitless excursion, which I had made so long and so far every morning in vain, so my opinion of the action itself began to alter, and I began with cooler and calmer thoughts to consider what it was I was going to engage in; what authority or call I had to pretend to be judge and executioner upon these men as criminals, whom Heaven had thought fit, for so many ages to suffer unpunished, to go on, and to be as it were the executioners of his judgments one upon another. How far these people were offenders against me, and what right I had to engage in the quarrel of that blood which they shed promiscuously one upon another. I debated this very often with myself thus; How do I know what God himself judges in this particular case? It is certain these people do not commit this as a crime; it is not against their own consciences reproving, or their light reproaching them. They do not know it to be an offence, and then commit it in defiance of divine justice, as we do in almost all the sins we commit. They think it no more a crime to kill a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox; nor to eat human flesh, than we do to eat mutton.

When I considered this a little, it followed

necessarily that I was certainly in the wrong in it; that these people were not murderers in the sense that I had before condemned them in my thoughts; any more than those Christians were murderers who often put to death the prisoners taken in battle; or more frequently, upon many occasions, put whole troops of men to the sword, without giving quarter, though they threw down their arms and submitted.

In the next place it occurred to me, that albeit the usage they gave one another was thus brutish and inhuman, yet it was really nothing to me: these people had done me no injury. That if they attempted me, or I saw it necessary for my immediate preservation, to fall upon them, something might be said for it; but that I was yet out of their power, and they had really no knowledge of me, and consequently no design upon me; and therefore it could not be just for me to fall upon them. That this would justify the conduct of the Spaniards in all their barbarities practised in America, and where they destroyed millions of these people, who, however they were idolaters and barbarians, and had several bloody and barbarous rites in their customs, such as sacrificing human bodies to their idols, were yet, as to the Spaniards, very innocent people; and that the rooting them out of the country is spoken of with the utmost abhorrence and detestation by even the Spaniards themselves at this time, and by all other Christian nations of Europe, as a mere butchery, a bloody and unnatural piece of cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or man; and such, as for which the very name of a Spaniard is reckoned to be frightful and terrible to all people of humanity, or of Christian compassion; as if the kingdom of Spain were particularly eminent for the product of a race of men who were without principles of tenderness, or the common bowels of pity to the miserable, which is reckoned to be a mark of generous temper in the mind.

These considerations really put me to a pause, and to a kind of a full stop; and I began by little and little to be off my design, and to conclude I had taken wrong measures in my resolution to attack the savages; that it was not my business to meddle with them, unless they first attacked me, and this it was my business, if possible, to prevent; but that if I were discovered and attacked, then I knew my duty.

On the other hand, I argued with myself, that this really was the way not to deliver myself, but entirely to ruin and destroy myself; for unless I was sure to kill every one that not only should be on shore at that time, but that should ever come on shore afterwards, if but one of them escaped to tell their country-people what had happened, they would come over again by thousands to revenge the death of their fellows, and I should only bring upon myself a certain destruction, which at present I had no manner of occasion for.

Upon the whole I concluded, that neither in principles nor in policy I ought, one way or other, to concern myself in this affair. That my business was, by all possible means, to conceal myself from them, and not to leave the least signal to them to guess by that there were any living creatures upon the island; I mean of human shape.

Religion joined in with this prudential, and I was convinced now many ways, that I was perfectly out of my duty, when I was laying all my bloody schemes for the destruction of innocent creatures, I mean innocent as to me: as to the crimes they were guilty of towards one another, I had nothing to do with them; they were national, and I ought to leave them to the justice of God, who is the governor of nations, and knows how, by national punishments, to make a just retribution for national offences; and to bring public judgments upon those who offend in a public manner, by such ways as best pleases Him.

This appeared so clear to me now, that nothing was a greater satisfaction to me, than that I had not been suffered to do a thing which I now saw so much reason to believe would have been no less a sin than that of wilful murder, if I had committed it; and I gave most humble thanks on my knees to God, that had thus delivered me from blood-guiltiness; beseeching Him to grant me the protection of his providence, that I might not fall into the hands of the barbarians; or that I might not lay my hands upon them, unless I had a more clear call from Heaven to do it, in defence of my own life.

In this disposition I continued for near a year after this; and so far was I from desiring an occasion for falling upon these wretches, that in all that time, I never once went up the hill to see whether there were any of them in sight, or to know whether any of them had been on shore there or not, that I might not be tempted to renew any of my contrivances against them, or be provoked, by any advantage which might present itself, to fall upon them; only this I did, I went and removed my boat, which I had on the other side of the island, and carried it down to the east end of the whole island, where I ran it into a little cove which I found under some high rocks, and where I knew, by reason of the currents, the savages durst not, at least would not come with their boats, upon any account whatsoever.

With my boat I carried away everything that I had left there belonging to her, though not necessary for the bare going thither, viz. a mast and sail which I had made for her, and a thing like an anchor, but indeed which could not be called either anchor or grappling; however, it was the best I could make of its kind: all these I removed, that there might not be the least shadow of any discovery, or any appearance of any boat, or of any human habitation upon the island.

Besides this, I kept myself, as I said, more retired than ever, and seldom went from my cell, other than upon my constant employment, viz. to milk my she-goats, and manage my little flock in the wood; which, as it was quite on the other part of the island, was quite out of danger; for certain it is, that these savage people who sometimes haunted this island, never came with any thoughts of finding anything here, and consequently never wandered off from the coast; and I doubt not but they might have been several times on shore after my apprehensions of them had made me cautious, as well as before; and indeed, I looked back with some horror upon the thoughts of what my condition would have been if I had chopped upon them, and been discovered before that, when naked and unarmed, except with one gun, and that loaded often only with small shot, I walked everywhere peeping and peeping about the island to see what I could get; what a surprise should I have been in, if, when I discovered the print of a man's foot, I had instead of that, seen fifteen or twenty savages, and found them pursuing me, and by the swiftness of their running, no possibility of my escaping them.

The thoughts of this sometimes sunk my very soul within me, and distressed my mind so much, that I could not soon recover it, to think what I should have done, and how I not only should not have been able to resist them, but even should not have had presence of mind enough to do what I

might have done; much less what now, after so much consideration and preparation, I might be able to do: indeed, after serious thinking on these things, I should be very melancholy, and sometimes it would last a great while; but I resolved it at last all into thankfulness to that Providence which had delivered me from so many unseen dangers, and had kept me from those mischiefs which I could no way have been the agent in delivering myself from; because I had not the least notion of any such thing depending, or the least supposition of it being possible.

This renewed a contemplation which often had come to my thoughts in former time, when first I began to see the merciful dispositions of Heaven, in the dangers we run through in this life; how wonderfully we are delivered when we know nothing of it; how, when we are in (a quandary, as we call it) a doubt or hesitation, whether to go this way or that way, a secret hint shall direct us this way, when we intended to go that way; nay, when sense, or our own inclination, and perhaps business, has called to go the other way, yet a strange impression upon the mind, from we know not what springs, and by we know not what power, shall overrule us to go this way; and it shall afterwards appear, that had we gone that way which we should have gone, and even to our own imagination ought to have gone, we should have been ruined and lost. Upon these, and many like reflections, I afterwards made it a certain rule with me, that whenever I found those secret hints or pressings of my mind, to doing or not doing anything that presented, or to going this way or that way, I never failed to obey the secret dictate; though I knew no other reason for it than that such a pressure or such a hint hung upon my mind. I could give many examples of the success of this conduct in the course of my life, but more especially in the latter part of my inhabiting this unhappy island; besides many occasions which it is very likely I might have taken notice of, if I had seen with the same eyes then, that I saw with now: but it is never too late to be wise; and I cannot but advise all considering men, whose lives are attended with such extraordinary incidents as mine, or even though not so extraordinary, not to slight such secret intimations of Providence, let them come from what invisible intelligence they will, that I shall not discuss, and perhaps cannot account for; but certainly they are a proof of the converse of spirits, and the secret communication between those embodied and those unembodied; and such a proof as can never be withstood. Of which I shall have occasion to give some very remarkable instances in the remainder of my solitary residence in this dismal place.

I believe the reader of this will not think strange if I confess that these anxieties, these constant dangers I lived in, and the concern that was now upon me, put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances that I had laid for my future accommodations and conveniences. I had the care of my safety more now upon my hands than that of my food. I cared not to drive a nail, or chop a stick of wood now, for fear the noise I should make should be heard; much less would I fire a gun, for the same reason; and above all, I was intolerably uneasy at making any fire, lest the smoke, which is visible at a great distance in the day, should betray me; and for this reason I removed that part of my business which required fire, such as burning of pots and pipes, &c., into my new apartment in the woods, where, after I had been some time, I found, to my unspeakable consolation, a mere natural cave in the earth, which went in a vast way, and where, I dare say, no savage, had he been at the mouth of it, would be so hardy as to venture in, nor indeed, would any man else; but one who, like me, wanted nothing so much as a safe retreat.

The mouth of this hollow was at the bottom of a great rock, where by mere accident (I would say, if I did not see abundant reason to ascribe all such things now to Providence) I was cutting down some thick branches of trees to make charcoal; and, before I go on, I must observe the reason of my making this charcoal, which was thus:

I was afraid of making a smoke about my habitation, as I said before; and yet I could not live there without baking my bread, cooking my meat, &c., so I contrived to burn some wood here, as I had seen done in England, under turf, till it became chark or dry coal; and then putting the fire out, I preserved the coal to carry home, and perform the other services which fire was wanting for, without danger of smoke.

But this is by the by: while I was cutting down some wood here, I perceived that behind a very thick branch of low brushwood, or underwood, there was a kind of hollow place; I was curious to look into it, and getting with difficulty into the mouth of it, I found it was pretty large; that is to say, sufficient for me to stand upright in it, and perhaps another with me; but I must confess to you I made more haste out than I did in, when looking farther into the place, and which was perfectly dark, I saw two broad shining eyes of some creature, whether devil or man I knew not, which twinkled like two stars, the dim light from the cave's mouth shining directly in and making the reflection.

However, after some pause, I recovered myself, and began to call myself a thousand fools, and tell myself, that he that was afraid to see the Devil was not fit to live twenty years in an island all alone; and that I durst to believe there was nothing in this cave that was more frightful than myself. Upon this, plucking up my courage, I took up a great firebrand, and in I rushed again, with the stick flaming in my hand; I had not gone three steps in, but I was almost as much frighted as I was before; for I heard a very loud sigh, like that of a man in some pain, and it was followed by a broken noise, as if of words half expressed, and then a deep sigh again: I stepped back, and was indeed struck with such a surprise, that it put me into a cold sweat; and if I had had a hat on my head, I will not answer for it, that my hair might not have lifted it off. But still plucking up my spirits as well as I could, and encouraging myself a little with considering that the power and presence of God was everywhere, and was able to protect me; upon this I stepped forward again, and by the light of the firebrand, holding it up a little over my head, I saw lying on the ground a most monstrous frightful old he-goat, just making his will, as we say, and gasping for life, and dying indeed of mere old age.

I stirred him a little to see if I could get him out, and he essayed to get up, but was not able to raise himself; and I thought with myself, he might even lie there; for if he had frighted me so, he would certainly fright any of the savages, if any of them should be so hardy as to come in there while he had any life in him.

I was now recovered from my surprise, and began to look round me, when I found the cave was but very small, that is to say, it might be about twelve feet over, but in no manner of shape, either round nor square, no hands having ever been employed in making it but those of mere Nature: I observed also that there was a

place at the farther side of it that went in further, but was so low that it required me to creep upon my hands and knees to go into it, and whither it went I knew not; so having no candle, I gave it over for that time; but resolved to come again the next day, provided with candles and a tinder-box, which I had made of the lock of one of the muskets, with some wild-fire in the pan.

Accordingly, the next day I came provided with six large candles of my own making; for I made very good candles now of goat's tallow; and going into this low place, I was obliged to creep upon all fours, as I have said, almost ten yards; which, by the way, I thought was a venture bold enough, considering that I knew not how far it might go, nor what was beyond it. When I was got through the strait, I found the roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty feet; but never was such a glorious sight seen in the island, I dare say, as it was, to look round the sides and roof of this vault or cave; the wall reflected a hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles; what it was in the rock, whether diamonds, or any other precious stones, or gold, which I rather supposed it to be, I knew not.

The place I was in was a most delightful cavity or grotto of its kind, as could be expected, though perfectly dark; the floor was dry and level, and had a sort of small loose gravel upon it, so that there was no nauseous or venomous creature to be seen, neither was there any damp or wet on the sides or roof: the only difficulty in it was the entrance, which however, as it was a place of security, and such a retreat as I wanted, I thought that was a convenience; so that I was really rejoiced at the discovery, and resolved, without any delay, to bring some of those things which I was most anxious about, to this place; particularly, I resolved to bring hither my magazine of powder, and all my spare arms, viz. two fowling-pieces, for I had three in all; and three muskets, for of them I had eight in all; so I kept at my castle only five, which stood ready mounted, like pieces of cannon, on my outmost fence, and were ready also to take out upon any expedition.

Upon this occasion of removing my ammunition, I took occasion to open the barrel of powder which I took up out of the sea, and which had been wet; and I found that the water had penetrated about three or four inches into the powder on every side, which caking and growing hard, had preserved the inside like a kernel in a shell; so that I had near sixty pounds of very good powder in the centre of the cask, and this was a very agreeable discovery to me at that time; so I carried all away thither, never keeping above two or three pounds of powder with me in my castle, for fear of a surprise of any kind: I also carried thither all the lead I had left for bullets.

I fancied myself now like one of the ancient giants, which were said to live in caves and holes in the rocks, where none could come at them; for I persuaded myself, while I was here, if five hundred savages were to hunt me, they could never find me out; or if they did, they would not venture to attack me here.

The old goat who I found expiring, died in the mouth of the cave, the next day after I made this discovery; and I found it much easier to dig a great hole there, and throw him in and cover him with earth, than to drag him out; so I interred him there, to prevent offence to my nose.

I was now in my twenty-third year of residence in this island, and was so naturalized to the place, and to the manner of living, that could I have but enjoyed the certainty that no savages would come to the place to disturb me, I could have been content to have capitulated for spending the rest of my time there, even to the last moment, till I had laid me down and died, like the old goat in the cave. I had also arrived to some little diversions and amusements, which made the time pass more pleasantly with me a great deal than it did before; as first, I had taught my Poll, as I noted before, to speak; and he did it so familiarly, and talked so articulately and plain, that it was very pleasant to me; and he lived with me no less than six-and-twenty years: how long he might live afterwards I know not, though I know that they have a notion in the Brazils that they live a hundred years; perhaps poor Poll may be alive there still, calling after poor Robin Crusoe, to this day. I wish no Englishman the ill luck to come there and hear him; but if he did, he would certainly believe it was the devil. My dog was a very pleasant and loving companion to me for no less than sixteen years of my time, and then died of mere old age; as for my cats, they multiplied, as I have observed, to that degree, that I was obliged to shoot several of them at first, to keep them from devouring me and all I had; but at length, when the two old ones I brought with me were gone, and after some time continually driving them from me, and letting them have no provision with me, they all ran wild into the woods, except two or three favourites, which I kept tame, and whose young, when they had any, I always drowned; and these were part of my family. Besides these, I always kept two or three household kids about me, who I taught to feed out of my hand; and I had two more parrots, which talked pretty well, and would all call Robin Crusoe; but none like my first; nor indeed, did I take the pains with any of them that I had done with him. I had also several tame sea-fowls, whose names I knew not, that I caught upon the shore, and cut their wings; and the little stakes which I had planted before my castle wall being now grown up to a good thick grove, these fowls all lived among these low trees, and bred there, which was very agreeable to me; so that, as I said above, I began to be very well contented with the life I led, if it might have but been secured from the dread of the savages.

But it was otherwise directed; and it may not be amiss for all people who shall meet with my story, to make this just observation from it, viz. How frequently, in the course of our lives, the evil which in itself we seek most to shun, and which when we are fallen into it is the most dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very means or door of our deliverance, by which alone we can be raised again from the affliction we are fallen into. I could give many examples of this in the course of my unaccountable life; but in nothing was it more particularly remarkable, than in the circumstances of my last years of solitary residence in this island.

It was now the month of December, as I said above, in my twenty-third year; and this being the southern solstice, for winter I cannot call it, was the particular time of my harvest, and required my being pretty much abroad in the fields; when going out pretty early in the morning, even before it was thorough daylight, I was surprised with seeing a light of some fire upon the shore, at a distance from me, of about two miles towards the end of the island, where I had observed some savages had been as before; but not on the other side; but to my great affliction, it was on my side of the island.

I was indeed terribly surprised at the sight, and stopped short within my grove, not daring

to go out, lest I might be surprised; and yet I had no more peace within, from the apprehensions I had that if these savages, in rambling over the island, should find my corn standing or cut, or any of my works and improvements, they would immediately conclude that there were people in the place, and would then never give over till they had found me out. In this extremity I went back directly to my castle, pulled up the ladder after me, and made all things without look as wild and natural as I could.

Then I prepared myself within, putting myself in a posture of defence; I loaded all my cannon, as I called them; that is to say, my muskets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my pistols, and resolved to defend myself to the last gasp, not forgetting seriously to commend myself to the divine protection, and earnestly to pray to God to deliver me out of the hands of the barbarians; and in this posture I continued about two hours, but began to be mighty impatient for intelligence abroad, for I had no spies to send out.

After sitting a while longer, and musing what I should do in this case, I was not able to bear sitting in ignorance any longer; so setting up my ladder to the side of the hill, where there was a flat place, as I observed before, and then pulling the ladder up after me, I set it up again, and mounted to the top of the hill; and pulling out my perspective glass, which I had taken on purpose, I laid me down flat on my belly on the ground, and began to look for the place; I presently found there were no less than nine naked savages, sitting round a small fire they had made, not to warm them, for they had no need of that, the weather being extremely hot; but, as I supposed, to dress some of their barbarous diet of human flesh, which they had brought with them, whether alive or dead I could not know.

They had two canoes with them, which they had hauled up upon the shore; and as it was then tide of ebb, they seemed to me to wait for the return of the flood to go away again. It is not easy to imagine what confusion this sight put me into, especially seeing them come on my side of the island, and so near me too; but when I observed their coming must be always with the current of the ebb, I began afterwards to be more sedate in my mind, being satisfied that I might go abroad with safety all the time of the tide of flood, if they were not on shore before: and having made this observation, I went abroad about my harvest work with the more composure.

As I expected, so it proved; for as soon as the tide made to the westward, I saw them all take boat, and row (or paddle, as we call it) all away: I should have observed, that for an hour and more before they went off, they went to dancing, and I could easily discern their postures and gestures by my glasses: I could not perceive, by my nicest observation, but that they were stark naked, and had not the least covering upon them; but whether they were men or women, that I could not distinguish.

As soon as I saw them shipped and gone, I took two guns upon my shoulders, and two pistols at my girdle, and my great sword by my side, without a scabbard, and with all the speed I was able to make, I went away to the hill where I had discovered the first appearance of all; and as soon as I got thither, which was not less than two hours, (for I could not go apace, being so loaden with arms as I was,) I perceived there had been three canoes more of savages on that place; and looking out farther, I saw they were all at sea together, making over for the main.

This was a dreadful sight to me, especially when going down to the shore, I could see the marks of horror which the dismal work they had been about had left behind it, viz. the blood, the bones, and part of the flesh of human bodies, eaten and devoured by those wretches, with merriment and sport. I was so filled with indignation at the sight, that I began now to premeditate the destruction of the next that I saw there, let them be who or how many soever.

It seemed evident to me that the visits which they thus make to this island are not very frequent; for it was above fifteen months before any more of them came on shore there again; that is to say, I neither saw them, or any footsteps or signals of them, in all that time; for as to the rainy seasons, then they are sure not to come abroad, at least not so far; yet all this while I lived uncomfortably, by reason of the constant apprehensions I was in of their coming upon me by surprise; from whence I observe, that the expectation of evil is more bitter than the suffering, especially if there is no room to shake off that expectation, or those apprehensions.

During all this time I was in the murdering humour; and took up most of my hours, which should have been better employed, in contriving how to circumvent and fall upon them, the very next time I should see them; especially if they should be divided, as they were the last time, into two parties; nor did I consider at all, that if I killed one party, suppose ten or a dozen, I was still the next day, or week, or month, to kill another, and so another, even *ad infinitum*, till I should be at length no less a murderer than they were in being man-eaters; and perhaps much more so.

I spent my days now in great perplexity and anxiety of mind, expecting that I should one day or other fall into the hands of these merciless creatures; and if I did at any time venture abroad, it was not without looking round me with the greatest care and caution imaginable; and now I found, to my great comfort, how happy it was that I provided for a tame flock or herd of goats; for I durst not, upon any account, fire my gun, especially near that side of the island where they usually came, lest I should alarm the savages; and if they had fled from me now, I was sure to have them come back again, with perhaps two or three hundred canoes with them, in a few days, and then I knew what to expect.

However, I wore out a year and three months more, before I ever saw any more of the savages, and then I found them again, as I shall soon observe. It is true, they might have been there once or twice; but either they made no stay, or at least I did not hear them; but in the month of May, as near as I could calculate, and in my four-and-twentieth year, I had a very strange encounter with them, of which in its place.

The perturbation of my mind, during this fifteen or sixteen months' interval, was very great; I slept unquiet, dreamed always frightful dreams, and often started out of my sleep in the night: in the day, great troubles overwhelmed my mind, and in the night I dreamed often of killing the savages, and of the reasons why I might justify the doing of it: but to waive all this for a while, it was in the middle of May, on the sixteenth day, I think, as well as my poor wooden calendar would reckon; for I marked all upon the post still; I say, it was the sixteenth of May, that it blew a very great storm of wind

all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder, and a very foul night it was after it: I know not what was the particular occasion of it, but as I was reading in the Bible, and taken up with very serious thoughts about my present condition, I was surprised with the noise of a gun, as I thought, fired at sea.

This was to be sure a surprise of a quite different nature from any I had met with before; for the notions this put into my thoughts were quite of another kind. I started up in the greatest haste imaginable, and in a trice clapped my ladder to the middle place of the rock, and pulled it after me, and mounting it the second time, got to the top of the hill the very moment that a flash of fire bid me listen for a second gun, which accordingly, in about half a minute, I heard, and by the sound, knew that it was from that part of the sea where I was driven down the current in my boat.

I immediately considered that this must be some ship in distress, and that they had some comrade, or some other ship in company, and fired these guns for signals of distress, and to obtain help: I had this presence of mind, at that minute, to think that though I could not help them, it might be they might help me; so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a good handsome pile, I set it on fire upon the hill; the wood was dry, and blazed freely; and though the wind blew very hard, yet it burnt fairly out; that I was certain, if there was any such thing as a ship, they must needs see it, and no doubt they did; for as soon as ever my fire blazed up I heard another gun, and after that several others, all from the same quarter. I plied my fire all night long, till day broke; and when it was broad day, and the air cleared up, I saw something at a great distance at sea, full east of the island, whether a sail or a hull I could not distinguish, no not with my glasses, the distance was so great, and the weather was still something hazy also; at least it was so out at sea.

I looked frequently at it all that day, and soon perceived that it did not move; so I presently concluded that it was a ship at an anchor; and being eager, you may be sure, to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and ran towards the south side of the island, to the rocks where I had formerly been carried away with the current; and getting up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see, to my great sorrow, the wreck of a ship cast away in the night upon those concealed rocks which I found when I was out in my boat; and which rocks, as they checked the violence of the stream, and made a kind of counter-stream or eddy, were the occasion of my recovering from the most desperate, hopeless condition that ever I had been in in all my life.

Thus what is one man's safety is another man's destruction; for it seems these men, whoever they were, being out of their knowledge, and the rocks being wholly under water, had been driven upon them in the night, the wind blowing hard at E. and E.N.E. Had they seen the island, as I must necessarily suppose they did not, they must, as I thought, have endeavoured to have saved themselves on shore by the help of their boat; but their firing of guns for help, especially when they saw, as I imagined, my fire, filled me with many thoughts: First, I imagined that upon seeing my light, they might have put themselves into their boat, and endeavoured to make the shore; but that the sea going very high, they might have been cast away; other times I imagined that they might have lost their boat before, as might be the case many ways; as particularly, by the breaking of the sea upon their ship, which many times obliges men to stave, or take in pieces, their boat, and sometimes to throw it overboard with their own hands: other times I imagined they had some other ship or ships in company, who, upon the signals of distress they had made, had taken them up and carried them off; other whiles I fancied they were all gone off to sea in their boat, and being hurried away by the current that I had been formerly in, were carried out into the great ocean, where there was nothing but misery and perishing; and that perhaps they might by this time think of starving, and of being in a condition to eat one another.

As all these were but conjectures at best, so in the condition I was in, I could do no more than look on upon the misery of the poor men, and pity them, which had still this good effect on my side, that it gave me more and more cause to give thanks to God, who had so happily and comfortably provided for me in my desolate condition; and that of two ships' companies who were now cast away upon this part of the world, not one life should be spared but mine: I learned here again to observe, that it is very rare that the providence of God casts us into any condition of life so low, or any misery so great, but we may see something or other to be thankful for, and may see others in worse circumstances than our own.

Such certainly was the case of these men, of whom I could not so much as see room to suppose any of them were saved; nothing could make it rational so much as to wish or expect that they did not all perish there, except the possibility only of their being taken up by another ship in company; and this was but mere possibility indeed; for I saw not the least signal or appearance of any such thing.

I cannot explain, by any possible energy of words, what a strange longing or hankering of desires I felt in my soul upon this sight; breaking out sometimes thus; 'O that there had been but one or two; nay, or but one soul saved out of this ship, to have escaped to me, that I might but have had one companion, one fellow-creature to have spoken to me, and to have conversed with!' In all the time of my solitary life, I never felt so earnest, so strong a desire after the society of my fellow-creatures, or so deep a regret at the want of it.

There are some secret moving springs in the affections, which when they are set a going by some object in view, or be it some object, though not in view, yet rendered present to the mind by the power of imagination, that motion carries out the soul by its impetuosity to such violent, eager embracings of the object, that the absence of it is insupportable.

Such were these earnest wishings that but one man had been saved! 'O that it had been but one!' I believe I repeated the words, 'O that it had been but one!' a thousand times; and the desires were so moved by it, that when I spoke the words my hands would clinch together, and my fingers would press the palms of my hands, that if I had had any soft thing in my hand it would have crushed it involuntarily; and my teeth in my head would strike together, and set against one another so strong, that for some time I could not part them again.

Let the naturalists explain these things, and the reason and manner of them; all I can say to them is, to describe the fact, which was even

surprising to me, when I found it, though I know not from what it should proceed; it was doubtless the effect of ardent wishes, and of strong ideas formed in my mind, realizing the comfort which the conversation of one of my fellow-Christians would have been to me.

But it was not to be; either their fate, or mine, or both, forbade it; for till the last year of my being on this island, I never knew whether any were saved out of that ship or no; and had only the affliction, some days after, to see the corpse of a drowned boy come on shore at the end of the island which was next the shipwreck: he had no clothes on but a seaman's waistcoat, a pair of open-kneed linen drawers, and a blue linen shirt; but nothing to direct me so much as to guess what nation he was of: he had nothing in his pockets but two pieces-of-eight and a tobacco-pipe; the last was to me of ten times more value than the first.

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not doubting but I might find something on board that might be useful to me; but that did not altogether press me so much, as the possibility that there might be yet some living creature on board, whose life I might not only save, but might, by saving that life, comfort my own to the last degree; and this thought clung so to my heart, that I could not be quiet, night or day, but I must venture out in my boat on board this wreck; and committing the rest to God's providence, I thought the impression was so strong upon my mind, that it could not be resisted, that it must come from some invisible direction, and that I should be wanting to myself if I did not go.

Under the power of this impression, I hastened back to my castle, prepared everything for my voyage, took a quantity of bread, a great pot of fresh water, a compass to steer by, a bottle of rum, for I had still a great deal of that left, a basket of raisins; and thus loading myself with everything necessary, I went down to my boat, got the water out of her, and got her afloat, loaded all my cargo in her, and then went home again for more. My second cargo was a great bag full of rice, the umbrella to set up over my head for shade, another large pot full of fresh water, and about two dozen of my small loaves or barley-cakes, more than before, with a bottle of goat's milk and a cheese; all which, with great labour and sweat, I brought to my boat; and praying to God to direct my voyage, I put out, and rowing or paddling the canoe along the shore, I came at last to the utmost point of the island on that side, viz. N.E. And now I was to launch out into the ocean, and either to venture, or not to venture. I looked on the rapid currents which ran constantly on both sides of the island at a distance, and which were very terrible to me, from the remembrance of the hazard I had been in before, and my heart began to fail me; for I foresaw that if I was driven into either of those currents, I should be carried a vast way out to sea, and perhaps out of my reach, or sight of the island again; and that then, as my boat was but small, if any little gale of wind should rise, I should be inevitably lost.

These thoughts so oppressed my mind, that I began to give over my enterprise, and having hauled my boat into a little creek on the shore, I stepped out, and sat me down upon a little rising bit of ground, very pensive and anxious, between fear and desire about my voyage; when, as I was musing, I could perceive that the tide was turned, and the flood come on, upon which my going was for so many hours impracticable; upon this presently it occurred to me, that I should go up to the highest piece of ground I could find, and observe, if I could, how the sets of the tide or currents lay when the flood came in, that I might judge whether, if I was driven one way out, I might not expect to be driven another way home, with the same rapidness of the currents. This thought was no sooner in my head, but I cast my eye upon a little hill, which sufficiently overlooked the sea both ways, and from whence I had a clear view of the currents, or sets of the tide, and which way I was to guide myself in my return; here I found, that as the current of the ebb set out close by the south point of the island, so the current of the flood set in close by the shore of the north side, and that I had nothing to do but to keep to the north of the island in my return, and I should do well enough.

Encouraged with this observation, I resolved the next morning, to set out with the first of the tide; and reposing myself for the night in my canoe, under the great watch-coat I mentioned, I launched out. I made first a little out to sea, full north, till I began to feel the benefit of the current, which set eastward, and which carried me at a great rate, and yet did not so hurry me as the southern side current had done before, and so as to take from me all government of the boat; but having a strong steerage with my paddle, I went at a great rate directly for the wreck, and in less than two hours I came up to it.

It was a dismal sight to look at: the ship, which, by its building, was Spanish, stuck fast, jammed in between two rocks; all the stern and quarter of her were beaten to pieces with the sea; and as her forecastle, which stuck in the rocks, had run on with great violence, her main-mast and foremast were brought by the board, that is to say, broken short off; but her bowsprit was sound, and the head and bow appeared firm. When I came close to her, a dog appeared upon her, who seeing me coming, yelped, and cried; and as soon as I called him, jumped into the sea, to come to me, and I took him into the boat, but found him almost dead for hunger and thirst: I gave him a cake of my bread, and he ate it like a ravenous wolf that had been starving a fortnight in the snow: I then gave the poor creature some fresh water, with which, if I would have let him, he would have burst himself.

After this I went on board; but the first sight I met with was two men drowned in the cook room, or forecastle of the ship, with their arms fast about one another: I concluded, as is indeed probable, that when the ship struck, it being in a storm, the sea broke so high, and so continually over her, that the men were not able to bear it, and were strangled with the constant rushing in of the water, as much as if they had been under water. Besides the dog, there was nothing left in the ship that had life, nor any goods, that I could see, but what were spoiled by the water. There were some casks of liquor, whether wine or brandy I knew not, which lay lower in the hold, and which, the water being ebbed out, I could see; but they were too big to meddle with. I saw several chests, which I believed belonged to some of the seamen, and I got two of them into the boat, without examining what was in them.

Had the stern of the ship been fixed, and the forepart broken off, I am persuaded I might have made a good voyage; for by what I found in these two chests, I had room to suppose the ship had a great deal of wealth on board; and if I may guess by the course she steered, she must have been bound from Buenos Ayres, or the Rio

de la Plata, in the south part of America, beyond the Brazils, to the Havanna, in the Gulf of Mexico, and so perhaps to Spain. She had, no doubt, a great treasure in her, but of no use, at that time, to anybody; and what became of the rest of her people, I then knew not.

I found, besides these chests, a little cask full of liquor, of about twenty gallons, which I got into my boat with much difficulty; there were several muskets in a cabin, and a great powder-horn, with about four pounds of powder in it; as for the muskets, I had no occasion for them, so I left them, but took the powder-horn. I took a fire-shovel and tongs, which I wanted extremely; as also two little brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron; and with this cargo, and the dog, I came away, the tide beginning to make home again; and the same evening, about an hour within night, I reached the island again, weary and fatigued to the last degree.

I reposed that night in the boat, and in the morning I resolved to harbour what I had gotten in my new cave, not to carry it home to my castle. After refreshing myself, I got all my cargo on shore, and began to examine the particulars. The cask of liquor I found to be a kind of rum, but not such as we had at the Brazils, and in a word, not at all good; but when I came to open the chests, I found several things of great use to me: for example, I found in one a fine case of bottles, of an extraordinary kind, and filled with cordial waters, fine and very good; the bottles held about three pints each, and were tipped with silver: I found two pots of very good succades or sweetmeats, so fastened also on the top, that the salt water had not hurt them; and two more of the same, which the water had spoiled: I found some very good shirts, which were very welcome to me, and about a dozen and a half of white linen handkerchiefs and coloured neck-cloths; the former were also very welcome, being exceeding refreshing to wipe my face in a hot day. Besides this, when I came to the till in the chest, I found there three great bags of pieces-of-eight, which held about eleven hundred pieces in all; and in one of them, wrapped up in a paper, six doubloons of gold, and some small bars or wedges of gold; I suppose they might all weigh near a pound.

The other chest I found had some clothes in it, but of little value; but, by the circumstances, it must have belonged to the gunner's mate, though there was no powder in it, but about two pounds of fine glazed powder, in three small flasks, kept, I suppose, for charging their fowling-pieces on occasion. Upon the whole, I got very little by this voyage that was of any use to me; for as to the money, I had no manner of occasion for it; it was to me as the dirt under my feet; and I would have given it all for three or four pair of English shoes and stockings, which were things I greatly wanted, but had not had on my feet now for many years: I had, indeed, gotten two pair of shoes now, which I took off the feet of the two drowned men whom I saw in the wreck; and I found two pair more in one of the chests, which were very welcome to me; but they were not like our English shoes, either for ease or service, being rather what we call pumps than shoes. I found in this seaman's chest about fifty pieces-of-eight in rials, but no gold; I suppose this belonged to a poorer man than the other, which seemed to belong to some officer.

Well, however, I lugged this money home to my cave, and laid it up, as I had done that before which I had brought from our own ship; but it was a great pity, as I said, that the other part of this ship had not come to my share, for I am satisfied I might have loaded my canoe several times over with money, which, if I had ever escaped to England, would have lain here safe enough till I might have come again and fetched it.

Having now brought all my things on shore, and secured them, I went back to my boat, and rowed or paddled her along the shore, to her old harbour, where I laid her up, and made the best of my way to my old habitation, where I found everything safe and quiet; so I began now to repose myself, live after my old fashion, and take care of my family affairs; and for a while, I lived easy enough, only that I was more vigilant than I used to be, looked out oftener, and did not go abroad so much; and if at any time I did stir with any freedom, it was always to the east part of the island, where I was pretty well satisfied the savages never came, and where I could go without so many precautions, and such a load of arms and ammunition, as I always carried with me if I went the other way.

I lived in this condition near two years more; but my unlucky head, that was always to let me know it was born to make my body miserable, was all these two years filled with projects and designs, how, if it were possible, I might get away from this island; for sometimes I was for making another voyage to the wreck, though my reason told me that there was nothing left there worth the hazard of my voyage; sometimes for a ramble one way, sometimes another; and I believe verily, if I had had the boat that I went from Sallee in, I should have ventured to sea, bound anywhere, I knew not whither.

I have been, in all my circumstances, a *memento* to those who are touched with the general plague of mankind, whence, for aught I know, one-half of their miseries flow; I mean that of not being satisfied with the station wherein God and nature has placed them; for not to look back upon my primitive condition, and the excellent advice of my father, the opposition to which was, as I may call it, my original sin; my subsequent mistakes of the same kind had been the means of my coming into this miserable condition; for had that Providence, which so happily had seated me at the Brazils as a planter, blessed me with confined desires, and I could have been contented to have gone on gradually, I might have been, by this time, I mean in the time of my being in this island, one of the most considerable planters in the Brazils; nay, I am persuaded, that by the improvements I had made in that little time I lived there, and the increase I should probably have made if I had stayed, I might have been worth a hundred thousand moidores; and what business had I to leave a settled fortune, a well-stocked plantation, improving and increasing, to turn supercargo to Guinea, to fetch Negroes, when patience and time would have so increased our stock at home, that we could have bought them at our own door, from those whose business it was to fetch them; and though it had cost us something more, yet the difference of that price was by no means worth saving at so great a hazard.

But as this is ordinarily the fate of young heads, so reflection upon the folly of it is as commonly the exercise of more years, or of the dear-bought experience of time; and so it was with me now; and yet so deep had the mistake taken root in my temper, that I could not satisfy myself in my station, but was continually poring upon the means and possibility of my escape from this

place; and that I may, with the greater pleasure to the reader, bring on the remaining part of my story, it may not be improper to give some account of my first conceptions on the subject of this foolish scheme for my escape; and how, and upon what foundation I acted.

I am now to be supposed retired into my castle, after my late voyage to the wreck, my frigate laid up and secured under water, as usual, and my condition restored to what it was before; I had more wealth, indeed, than I had before, but was not at all the richer; for I had no more use for it, than the Indians of Peru had before the Spaniards came there.

It was one of the nights in the rainy season in March, the four-and-twentieth year of my first setting foot in this island of solitariness; I was lying in my bed, or hammock, awake, very well in health, had no pain, no distemper, no uneasiness of body, nor any uneasiness of mind, more than ordinary; but could by no means close my eyes, that is, so as to sleep: no, not a wink all night long, otherwise than as follows:

It is as impossible as needless to set down the innumerable crowd of thoughts that whirled through that great thoroughfare of the brain, the memory, in this night's time: I ran over the whole history of my life in miniature, or by abridgment, as I may call it, to my coming to this island; and also of that part of my life since I came to this island. In my reflections upon the state of my case since I came on shore on this island, I was comparing the happy posture of my affairs in the first years of my habitation here, compared to the life of anxiety, fear, and care which I had lived ever since I had seen the print of a foot in the sand; not that I did not believe the savages had frequented the island even all the while, and might have been several hundreds of them at times on shore there; but I had never known it, and was incapable of any apprehensions about it; my satisfaction was perfect, though my danger was the same; and I was as happy in not knowing my danger, as if I had never really been exposed to it. This furnished my thoughts with many very profitable reflections, and particularly this one, How infinitely good that Providence is, which has provided in its government of mankind such narrow bounds to his sight and knowledge of things; and though he walks in the midst of so many thousand dangers, the sight of which, if discovered to him, would distract his mind and sink his spirits, he is kept serene and calm, by having the events of things hid from his eyes, and knowing nothing of the dangers which surround him.

After these thoughts had for some time entertained me, I came to reflect seriously upon the real danger I had been in for so many years, in this very island; and how I had walked about in the greatest security, and with all possible tranquillity, even when perhaps nothing but the brow of a hill, a great tree, or the casual approach of night, had been between me and the worst kind of destruction, viz. that of falling into the hands of cannibals and savages, who would have seized on me with the same view as I did on a goat or a turtle, and have thought it no more a crime to kill and devour me, than I did of a pigeon or a curlew. I would unjustly slander myself, if I should say I was not sincerely thankful to my great Preserver, to whose singular protection I acknowledged, with great humility, that all these unknown deliverances were due, and without which I must inevitably have fallen into their merciless hands.

When these thoughts were over, my head was for some time taken up in considering the nature of these wretched creatures, I mean the savages; and how it came to pass in the world, that the wise Governor of all things should give up any of his creatures to such inhumanity, nay, to something so much below even brutality itself, as to devour its own kind; but as this ended in some (at that time fruitless) speculations, it occurred to me to inquire what part of the world these wretches lived in; how far off the coast was from whence they came; what they ventured over so far from home for; what kind of boats they had; and why I might not order myself and my business so, that I might be as able to go over thither, as they were to come to me.

I never so much as troubled myself to consider what I should do with myself when I came thither; what would become of me, if I fell into the hands of the savages; or how I should escape from them, if they attempted me; no, nor so much as how it was possible for me to reach the coast, and not be attempted by some or other of them, without any possibility of delivering myself; and if I should not fall into their hands, what I should do for provision, or whither I should bend my course; none of these thoughts, I say, so much as came in my way; but my mind was wholly bent upon the notion of my passing over in my boat to the main land. I looked back upon my present condition as the most miserable that could possibly be; that I was not able to throw myself into anything but death that could be called worse; that if I reached the shore of the main, I might perhaps meet with relief, or I might coast along, as I did on the shore of Africa, till I came to some inhabited country, and where I might find some relief; and after all, perhaps I might fall in with some Christian ship that might take me in; and if the worse came to the worst, I could but die, which would put an end to all these miseries at once. Pray note, all this was the fruit of a disturbed mind, an impatient temper, made as it were desperate by the long continuance of my troubles, and the disappointments I had met in the wreck I had been on board of, and where I had been so near the obtaining what I so earnestly longed for, viz. somebody to speak to, and to learn some knowledge from of the place where I was, and of the probable means of my deliverance; I say I was agitated wholly by these thoughts; all my calm of mind in my resignation to Providence, and waiting the issue of the dispositions of Heaven, seemed to be suspended; and I had, as it were, no power to turn my thoughts to anything, but to the project of a voyage to the main, which came upon me with such force, and such an impetuosity of desire, that it was not to be resisted.

When this had agitated my thoughts for two hours or more, with such violence, that it set my very blood into a ferment, and my pulse beat as high as if I had been in a fever, merely with the extraordinary fervour of my mind about it, nature, as if I had been fatigued and exhausted with the very thought of it, threw me into a sound sleep. One would have thought I should have dreamed of it, but I did not, nor of anything relating to it; but I dreamed that as I was going out in the morning, as usual, from my castle, I saw upon the shore two canoes and eleven savages coming to land, and that they brought with them another savage, whom they were going to kill, in order to eat him; when on a sudden, the savage that they were going to kill jumped away, and ran for his life; and I

thought, in my sleep, that he came running into my little thick grove before my fortification, to hide himself; and that I seeing him alone, and not perceiving that the other sought him that way, showed myself to him, and smiling upon him, encouraged him; that he kneeled down to me, seeming to pray me to assist him; upon which I showed him my ladder, made him go up, and carried him into my cave, and he became my servant; and that as soon as I had gotten this man, I said to myself, 'Now I may certainly venture to the main land; for this fellow will serve me as a pilot, and will tell me what to do, and whither to go for provisions, and whither not to go for fear of being devoured; what places to venture into, and what to escape.' I waked with this thought, and was under such inexpressible impressions of joy at the prospect of my escape in my dream, that the disappointments which I felt upon coming to myself, and finding it was no more than a dream, were equally extravagant the other way, and threw me into a very great dejection of spirit.

Upon this, however, I made this conclusion, that my only way to go about an attempt for an escape was, if possible, to get a savage into my possession; and if possible, it should be one of their prisoners whom they had condemned to be eaten, and should bring hither to kill. But these thoughts still were attended with this difficulty, that it was impossible to effect this without attacking a whole caravan of them, and killing them all; and this was not only a very desperate attempt, and might miscarry; but, on the other hand, I had greatly scrupled the lawfulness of it to myself, and my heart trembled at the thoughts of shedding so much blood, though it was for my deliverance. I need not repeat the arguments which occurred to me against this, they being the same mentioned before: but though I had other reasons to offer now, viz. that those men were enemies to my life, and would devour me if they could; that it was self-preservation in the highest degree, to deliver myself from this death of a life, and was acting in my own defence as much as if they were actually assaulting me, and the like: I say, though these things argued for it, yet the thoughts of shedding human blood for my deliverance were very terrible to me, and such as I could by no means reconcile myself to a great while.

However, at last, after many secret disputes with myself, and after great perplexities about it, for all these arguments one way and another struggled in my head a long time, the eager prevailing desire of deliverance at length mastered all the rest, and I resolved, if possible, to get one of those savages into my hands, cost what it would. My next thing then was to contrive how to do it, and this indeed was very difficult to resolve on: but as I could pitch upon no probable means for it, so I resolved to put myself upon the watch, to see them when they came on shore, and leave the rest to the event, taking such measures as the opportunity should present, let be what would be.

With these resolutions in my thoughts, I set myself upon the scout as often as possible, and indeed so often, till I was heartily tired of it; for it was above a year and a half that I waited, and for great part of that time went out to the west end, and to the south-west corner of the island, almost every day, to see for canoes, but none appeared. This was very discouraging, and began to trouble me much, though I cannot say that it did in this case, as it had done some time before, wear off the edge of my desire to the thing. But the longer it seemed to be delayed, the more eager I was for it; in a word, I was not at first so careful to shun the sight of these savages, and avoid being seen by them, as I was now eager to be upon them.

Besides, I fancied myself able to manage one, nay, two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves to me, to do whatever I should direct them, and to prevent their being able at any time to do me any hurt. It was a great while that I pleased myself with this affair, but nothing still presented; all my fancies and schemes came to nothing, for no savages came near me for a great while.

About a year and a half after I had entertained these notions, and, by long musing, had as it were resolved them all into nothing, for want of an occasion to put them in execution, I was surprised one morning early, with seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together on my side the island; and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight. The number of them broke all my measures; for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four or six, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures, to attack twenty or thirty men single-handed; so I lay still in my castle, perplexed and discomforted: however I put myself into all the same postures for an attack, that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for action, if anything had presented. Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise, at length, being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill, by my two stages, as usual; standing so, however, that my head did not appear above the hill, so that they could not perceive me by any means: here I observed, by the help of my perspective glass, that they were no less than thirty in number, that they had a fire kindled, that they had had meat dressed; how they had cooked it, that I knew not, or what it was; but they were all dancing in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

While I was thus looking on them, I perceived by my perspective, two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where it seems they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fall, being knocked down, I suppose with a club or wooden sword, for that was their way, and two or three others were at work immediately cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him. In that very moment this poor wretch seeing himself a little at liberty, nature inspired him with hopes of life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands directly towards me, I mean towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frighted (that I must acknowledge) when I perceived him to run my way; and especially, when as I thought I saw him pursued by the whole body; and now I expected that part of my dream was coming to pass, and that he would certainly take shelter in my grove; but I could not depend by any means upon my dream for the rest of it, viz. that the other savages would not pursue him thither, and find him there. However I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover, when I found that there was not above three men that followed him, and still more was I encouraged, when I found that he outstripped them exceedingly in running, and gained ground of them, so that if he could but hold it for half an hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle the creek which I mentioned often at the first part of my story, when I landed my cargoes out of the ship; and this, I saw plainly, he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there: but when the savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up, but plunging in, swam through in about thirty strokes or thereabouts, landed and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness; when the three persons came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that standing on the other side, he looked at the other, but went no farther; and soon after went softly back, which, as it happened, was very well for him in the main.

I observed, that the two who swam, were yet more than twice as long swimming over the creek, as the fellow was that fled from them; it came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get me a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant; and that I was called plainly by Providence to save this poor creature's life; I immediately ran down the ladders with all possible expedition, fetches my two guns, for they were both at the foot of the ladders, as I observed above; and getting up again, with the same haste, to the top of the hill, I crossed toward the sea; and having a very short cut, and all downhill, clapped myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued; hallooing aloud to him that fled, who looking back, was at first perhaps as much frighted at me as at them; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back; and in the meantime, I slowly advanced towards the two that followed; then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece; I was loath to fire, because I would not have the rest hear; though at that distance it would not have been easily heard, and being out of sight of the smoke too, they would not have easily known what to make of it. Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued him stopped, as if he had been frighted; and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me; so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first, which I did, and killed him at the first shot; the poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen and killed, as he thought, yet was so frighted with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock still, and neither came forward nor went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly still than to come on; I hallooed again to him, and made signs to come forward, which he easily understood, and came a little way, then stopped again, and then a little farther, and stopped again, and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and had just been to be killed, as his two enemies were; I beckoned to him again to come to me, and gave him all the signs of encouragement that I could think of, and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknowledgment for my saving his life. I smiled at him, and looked pleasantly, and beckoned to him to come still nearer; at length he came close to me, and then he kneeled down again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head; this it seems was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encouraged him all I could; but there was more work to do yet, for I perceived the savage whom I knocked down, was not killed but stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself; so I pointed to him, and showing him the savage, that he was not dead; upon this he spoke some words to me, and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard, my own excepted, for above twenty-five years. But there was no time for such reflections now; the savage who was knocked down recovered himself so far as to sit up upon the ground, and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid; but when I saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him; upon this my savage, for so I call him now, made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side; so I did: he no sooner had it, but he runs to his enemy, and at one blow, cut off his head so cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better; which I thought very strange, for one who, I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords; however, it seems, as I learned afterwards, they make their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood is so hard, that they will cut off heads even with them, ay and arms, and that at one blow too; when he had done this, he comes laughing to me in sign of triumph, and brought me the sword again, and with abundance of gestures, which I did not understand, laid it down with the head of the savage, that he had killed, just before me.

But that which astonished him most, was to know how I killed the other Indian so far off; so pointing to him, he made signs to me to let him go to him; so I bade him go, as well as I could; when he came to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him, turned him first on one side, then on the other, looked at the wound the bullet had made, which it seems was just in his breast, where it had made a hole, and no great quantity of blood had followed, but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead: he took up his bow and arrows, and came back; so I turned to go away, and beckoned him to follow me, making signs to him, that more might come after them.

Upon this he signed to me, that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest if they followed; and so I made signs again to him to do so; he fell to work, and in an instant, he had scraped a hole in the sand with his hands, big enough to bury the first in, and then dragged him into it, and covered him; and did so also by the other; I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour; then calling him away, I carried him not to my castle, but quite away to my cave, on the farther part of the island; so I did not let my dream come to pass in that part, viz. that he came into my grove for shelter.

Here I gave him bread, and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was indeed in great distress for, by his running; and having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go lie down and sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes; so the poor creature lay down, and went to sleep.

He was a comely handsome fellow, perfectly well made, with straight strong limbs, not too large; tall and well-shaped, and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect, but seemed to have something very manly in his face, and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance too,

especially when he smiled. His hair was long and black, not curled like wool; his forehead very high and large, and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly, yellow, nauseous tawny, as the Brazilians and Virginians, and other natives of America are; but of a bright kind of a dun olive colour, that had in it something very agreeable, though not very easy to describe. His face was round and plump; his nose small, not flat like the Negroes, a very good mouth, thin lips, and his fine teeth well set, and white as ivory. After he had slumbered, rather than slept, about half an hour, he waked again, and comes out of the cave to me, for I had been milking my goats, which I had in the enclosure just by: when he espied me, he came running to me, laying himself down again upon the ground, with all the possible signs of an humble thankful disposition, making a many antic gestures to show it: at last he lays his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and sets my other foot upon his head, as he had done before; and after this, made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how he would serve me as long as he lived. I understood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleased with him; in a little time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me; and first, I let him know his name should be FRIDAY, which was the day I saved his life; I called him so for the memory of the time; I likewise taught him to say Master, and then let him know that was to be my name; I likewise taught him to say Yes and No, and to know the meaning of them; I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and let him see me drink it before him, and sop my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made signs that it was very good for him.

I kept there with him all that night; but as soon as it was day, I beckoned to him to come with me, and let him know I would give him some clothes, at which he seemed very glad, for he was stark naked. As we went by the place where he had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the place, and showed me the marks that he had made to find them again, making signs to me that we should dig them up again, and eat them; at this I appeared very angry, expressed my abhorrence of it, made as if I would vomit at the thoughts of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he did immediately, with great submission. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone; and pulling out my glass, I looked, and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them, or their canoes; so that it was plain that they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind them, without any search after them.

But I was not content with this discovery; but having now more courage, and consequently more curiosity, I takes my man Friday with me, giving him the sword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myself, and away we marched to the place where these creatures had been; for I had a mind now to get some fuller intelligence of them. When I came to the place, my very blood ran chill in my veins, and my heart sunk within me at the horror of the spectacle: indeed it was a dreadful sight, at least it was so to me; though Friday made nothing of it. The place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with their blood, great pieces of flesh left here and there, half eaten, mangled and scorched; and in short, all the tokens of the triumphant feast they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies: I saw three skulls, five hands, and the bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of other parts of the bodies; and Friday, by his signs, made me understand that they brought over four prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth: that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects it seems he had been one of; and that they had taken a great number of prisoners, all which were carried to several places by those that had taken them in the fight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these wretches upon those they brought hither.

I caused Friday to gather all the skulls, bones, flesh, and whatever remained, and lay them together on a heap, and make a great fire upon it, and burn them all to ashes. I found Friday had still a hankering stomach after some of the flesh, and was still a cannibal in his nature; but I discovered so much abhorrence at the very thoughts of it, and at the least appearance of it, that he durst not discover it; for I had by some means let him know, that I would kill him if he offered it.

When we had done this, we came back to our castle, and there I fell to work for my man Friday; and first of all I gave him a pair of linen drawers which I had out of the poor gunner's chest I mentioned, and which I found on the wreck, and which with a little alteration, fitted him very well; then I made him a jerkin of goat's skin, as well as my skill would allow; and I was now grown a tolerable good tailor; and I gave him a cap, which I made of a hare's skin, very convenient, and fashionable enough; and thus he was clothed for the present, tolerably well; and was mighty well pleased to see himself almost as well clothed as his master. It is true, he went awkwardly in these things at first; wearing the drawers was very awkward to him, and the sleeves of the waistcoat galled his shoulders, and the inside of his arms; but a little easing them where he complained they hurt him, and using himself to them, at length he took to them very well.

The next day after I came home to my hutch with him, I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, I made a little tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and in the outside of the first: and as there was a door or entrance there into my cave, I made a formal framed door-case, and a door to it of boards, and set it up in the passage, a little within the entrance; and causing the door to open in the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladders too; so that Friday could no way come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over, that it must needs waken me; for my first wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to the side of the hill, which was again laid across with smaller sticks instead of laths, and then thatched over a great thickness with the rice straw, which was strong like reeds; and at the hole or place which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap door, which if it had been attempted on the outside would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noise; as to weapons, I took them all into my side every night.

But I needed none of all this precaution; for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant, than Friday was to me; without passions, sullenness, or designs, perfectly obliged and engaged; his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to a father; and I dare say he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine upon any occasion whatsoever; the many testimonies he gave me of this, put it out of doubt, and soon convinced me, that I needed to use no precautions as to my safety on his account.

This frequently gave me occasion to observe, and that with wonder, that however it had pleased God, in his providence, and in the government of the works of his hands, to take from so great a part of the world of his creatures, the best uses to which their faculties and the powers of their souls are adapted; yet that He has bestowed upon them the same powers, the same reason, the same affections, the same sentiments of kindness and obligation, the same passions and resentments of wrongs, the same sense of gratitude, sincerity, and fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good and receiving good, that He has given to us; and that when He pleases to offer to them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready to apply them to the right uses for which they were bestowed, than we are. And this made me very melancholy sometimes, in reflecting, as the several occasions presented, how mean a use we make of all these, even though we have these powers enlightened by the great lamp of instruction, the Spirit of God, and by the knowledge of his word added to our understanding; and why it has pleased God to hide the like saving knowledge from so many millions of souls, who if I might judge by this poor savage, would make a much better use of it than we did.

From hence I sometimes was led too far to invade the sovereignty of Providence, and, as it were, arraign the justice of so arbitrary a disposition of things, that should hide that light from some, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like duty from both: but I shut it up, and checked my thoughts with this conclusion, (1st,) That we did not know by what light and law these should be condemned; but that as God was necessarily, and by the nature of his being, infinitely holy and just, so it could not be; but if these creatures were all sentenced to absence from himself, it was on account of sinning against that light, which, as the Scripture says, was a law to themselves, and by such rules as their consciences would acknowledge to be just, though the foundation was not discovered to us: and (2d,) That still as we all are the clay in the hand of the potter, no vessel could say to Him, Why hast Thou formed me thus?

But to return to my new companion: I was greatly delighted with him, and made it my business to teach him everything that was proper to make him useful, handy, and helpful; but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spake; and he was the aptest scholar that ever was, and particularly was so merry, so constantly diligent, and so pleased, when he could but understand me, or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant to me to talk to him; and now my life began to be so easy, that I began to say to myself, that could I but have been safe from more savages, I cared not if I was never to remove from the place while I lived.

After I had been two or three days returned to my castle, I thought that, in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a cannibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh; so I took him out with me one morning to the woods. I went indeed intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring him home and dress it: but as I was going, I saw a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her; I catched hold of Friday, 'Hold,' said I, 'stand still;' and made signs to him not to stir; immediately I presented my piece, shot and killed one of the kids. The poor creature, who had at a distance indeed seen me kill the savage his enemy, but did not know, or could imagine, how it was done, was sensibly surprised, trembled and shook, and looked so amazed, that I thought he would have sunk down. He did not see the kid I had shot at, or perceive I had killed it, but ripped up his waistcoat to feel whether he was not wounded, and, as I found, presently thought I was resolved to kill him; for he came and kneeled down to me, and embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand, but I could easily see the meaning was to pray me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm, and taking him up by the hand, laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had killed, beckoned him to run and fetch it, which he did; and while he was wandering, and looking to see how the creature was killed, I loaded my gun again, and by and by I saw a great fowl like a hawk sit upon a tree within shot; so, to let Friday understand a little what I would do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which was indeed a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk; I say, pointing to the parrot, and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot, to let him see I would make it fall, I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird; accordingly I fired, and bade him look, and immediately he saw the parrot fall; he stood like one frighted again, notwithstanding all I had said to him; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put anything into the gun; but thought that there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, able to kill man, beast, bird, or anything, near or far off; and the astonishment this created in him was such, as could not wear off for a long time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun. As for the gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several days after; but would speak to it, and talk to it, as if it had answered him, when he was by himself; which, as I afterwards learned of him, was to desire it not to kill him.

Well: after his astonishment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the bird I had shot, which he did, but stayed some time; for the parrot not being quite dead, was fluttered a good way off from the place where she fell; however, he found her, took her up, and brought her to me; and, as I had perceived his ignorance about the gun before, I took this advantage to charge the gun again, and not let him see me do it, that I might be ready for any other mark that might present; but nothing more offered at that time; so I brought home the kid, and the same evening I took the skin off, and cut it out as well as I could; and having a pot for that purpose, I boiled or stewed some of the flesh, and made some very good broth; and after I had begun to eat some, I gave some to my man, who seemed very glad of it, and liked it very well; but that which was strangest to him was to see me eat salt with it; he made a sign to me that the salt was not good to eat, and putting a little into his mouth, he seemed to

nauseate it, and would spit and sputter at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it; on the other hand, I took some meat in my mouth without salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of salt, as fast as he had done at the salt; but it would not do, he would never care for salt with his meat or in his broth; at least, not a great while, and then but a very little.

Having thus fed him with boiled meat and broth, I was resolved to feast him the next day with roasting a piece of the kid; this I did by hanging it before the fire in a string, as I had seen many people do in England, setting two poles up, one on each side of the fire, and one cross on the top, and tying the string to the cross stick, letting the meat turn continually. This Friday admired very much; but when he came to taste the flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how well he liked it, that I could not but understand him; and at last he told me he would never eat man's flesh any more, which I was very glad to hear.

The next day I set him to work to beating some corn out, and sifting it in the manner I used to do, as I observed before; and he soon understood how to do it as well as I, especially, after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of; for after that I let him see me make my bread, and bake it too, and in a little time Friday was able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it myself.

I began now to consider, that having two mouths to feed instead of one, I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I used to do; so I marked out a larger piece of land, and began the fence in the same manner as before, in which Friday not only worked very willingly and very hard, but did it very cheerfully; and I told him what it was for, that it was for corn to make more bread, because he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myself too: he appeared very sensible of that part, and let me know, that he thought I had much more labour upon me on his account, than I had for myself; and that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleasantest year of all the life I led in this place: Friday began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of almost everything I had occasion to call for, and of every place I had to send him to, and talk a great deal to me; so that, in short, I began now to have some use for my tongue again, which indeed I had very little occasion for before; that is to say, about speech. Besides the pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular satisfaction in the fellow himself; his simple unfeigned honesty appeared to me more and more every day, and I began really to love the creature; and on his side, I believe he loved me more than it was possible for him ever to love anything before.

I had a mind once to try if he had any hankering inclination to his own country again; and having taught him English so well that he could answer me almost any questions, I asked him whether the nation that he belonged to never conquered in battle? At which he smiled, and said 'Yes, yes, we always fight the better;' that is, he meant always get the better in fight; and so we began the following discourse: 'You always fight the better,' said I, 'how came you to be taken prisoner then, Friday?'

Friday. My nation beat much, for all that.

Master. How beat; if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

Friday. They more many than my nation in the place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me; my nation over beat them in the yonder place, where me no was; there my nation take one, two, great thousand.

Master. But why did not your side recover you from the hands of your enemies then?

Friday. They run one, two, three, and me, and make go in the canoe; my nation have no canoe that time.

Master. Well, Friday, and what does your nation do with the men they take, do they carry them away and eat them as these did?

Friday. Yes, my nation eat mans too, eat all up.

Master. Where do they carry them?

Friday. Go to other place where they think.

Master. Do they come hither?

Friday. Yes, yes, they come hither; come other else place.

Master. Have you been here with them?

Friday. Yes, I been here; [points to the N. W. side of the island, which it seems was their side.]

By this I understood, that my man Friday had formerly been among the savages, who used to come on shore on the farther part of the island, on the same man-eating occasions that he was now brought for; and some time after, when I took the courage to carry him to that side, being the same I formerly mentioned, he presently knew the place, and told me he was there once when they eat up twenty men, two women, and one child: he could not tell twenty in English; but he numbered them, by laying so many stones on a row, and pointing to me to tell them over.

I have told this passage, because it introduces what follows; that after I had had this discourse with him, I asked him how far it was from our island to the shore, and whether the canoes were not often lost; he told me there was no danger, no canoes ever lost; but that after a little way out to sea, there was a current, and a wind, always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon.

This I understood to be no more than the sets of the tide, as going out, or coming in; but I afterwards understood, it was occasioned by the great draft and reflux of the mighty river Orinoco; in the mouth or the gulf of which river, as I found afterwards, our island lay; and this land which I perceived to the W. and N. W. was the great island Trinidad, on the north point of the mouth of the river. I asked Friday a thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nation were near; he told me all he knew with the greatest openness imaginable; I asked him the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other name than Caribs; from whence I easily understood, that these were the Caribbees, which our maps place on the part of America which reaches from the mouth of the river Orinoco to Guiana, and onwards to St. Martha. He told me that up a great way beyond the moon, that was, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be W. from their country, there dwelt white bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, which I mentioned before; and that they had killed much mans, that was his word: by all which I understood, he meant the Spaniards, whose cruelties in America had been spread over the whole countries, and were remembered by all the nations from father to son.

I inquired if he could tell me how I might go from this island, and get among these white men; he told me, Yes, yes, I might go in two canoe; I could not understand what he meant, or make him describe to me what he meant by two canoes,

till at last, with great difficulty, I found he meant it must be a large boat, as big as two canoes.

This part of Friday's discourse began to relish with me very well, and from this time I entertained some hopes, that one time or other, I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this place; and that this poor savage might be a means to help me to do it.

During the long time that Friday had now been with me, and that he began to speak to me, and understand me, I was not wanting to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in his mind; particularly, I asked him one time, Who made him? The poor creature did not understand me at all, but thought I had asked who was his father: but I took it by another handle, and asked him who made the sea, the ground we walked on, and the hills and woods; he told me, it was one old Benamuckee, that lived beyond all; he could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very old, much older, he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars. I asked him then, if this old person had made all things, why did not all things worship him? He looked very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence said, 'All things do say O to him.' I asked him if the people who die in his country, went away any where? He said, Yes, they all went to Benamuckee: then I asked him whether these they eat up went thither too? He said, yes.

From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God: I told him, that the great Maker of all things lived up there, pointing up towards heaven: that He governs the world by the same power and providence by which He made it: that He was omnipotent, could do everything for us, give everything to us, take everything from us; and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of Jesus Christ being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even in heaven. He told me one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the sun, He must needs be a greater God than their Benamuckee, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear till they went up to the great mountains where he dwelt to speak to him. I asked him if ever he went thither to speak to him? He said, No, they never went that were young men; none went thither but the old men, whom he called their Oowokakee, that is, as I made him explain it to me, their religious, or clergy, and that they went to say O, (so he called saying prayers) and then came back, and told them what Benamuckee said. By this I observed, that there is priestcraft even among the most blinded ignorant pagans in the world; and the policy of making a secret religion, in order to preserve the veneration of the people to the clergy, is not only to be found in the Roman, but perhaps among all religions in the world, even among the most brutish and barbarous savages.

I endeavoured to clear up this fraud to my man Friday, and told him, that the pretence of their old men going up to the mountains to say O to their god Benamuckee, was a cheat, and their bringing word from thence what he said, was much more so; that if they met with any answer, or spake with any one there, it must be with an evil spirit: and then I entered into a long discourse with him about the Devil, the original of him, his rebellion against God, his enmity to man, the reason of it, his setting himself up in the dark parts of the world to be worshipped instead of God, and as God; and the many stratagems he made use of to delude mankind to their ruin; how he had a secret access to our passions and to our affections, to adapt his snares so to our inclinations, as to cause us even to be our own tempters, and to run upon our destruction by our own choice.

I found it was not so easy to imprint right notions in his mind about the Devil, as it was about the being of a God. Nature assisted all my arguments to evidence to him even the necessity of a great First Cause, and overruling, governing Power, a secret, directing Providence, and of the equity and justice of paying homage to Him that made us, and the like. But there appeared nothing of all this in the notion of an evil spirit, of his original, his being, his nature, and above all, of his inclination to do evil, and to draw us in to do so too; and the poor creature puzzled me once in such a manner, by a question merely natural and innocent, that I scarce knew what to say to him. I had been talking a great deal to him of the power of God, his omnipotence, his aversion to sin, his being a consuming fire to the workers of iniquity; how, as He had made us all, He could destroy us and all the world in a moment; and he listened with great seriousness to me all the while.

After this, I had been telling him how the Devil was God's enemy in the hearts of men, and used all his malice and skill to defeat the good designs of Providence, and to ruin the kingdom of Christ in the world, and the like. 'Well,' says Friday, 'but you say God is so strong, so great, is He not much strong, much might as the Devil?' 'Yes, yes,' says I, 'Friday, God is stronger than the Devil, God is above the Devil, and therefore we pray to God to tread him down under our feet, and enable us to resist his temptations, and quench his fiery darts.' 'But,' says he again, 'if God much strong, much might as the Devil, why God no kill the Devil, so make him no more do wicked?'

I was strangely surprised at his question, and after all, though I was now an old man, yet I was but a young doctor, and ill qualified for a casuist, or a solver of difficulties; and, at first, I could not tell what to say, so I pretended not to hear him, and asked him what he said? But he was too earnest for an answer, to forget his question, so that he repeated it in the very same broken words, as above. By this time I had recovered myself a little, and I said, 'God will at last punish him severely; he is reserved for the judgment, and is to be cast into the bottomless pit, to dwell with everlasting fire.' This did not satisfy Friday, but he returns upon me, repeating my words, '*Reserve, at last*, me no understand; but why not kill the Devil now, not kill great ago?' 'You may as well ask me,' said I, 'why God does not kill you and I, when we do wicked things here that offend Him? We are preserved to repent and be pardoned.' He mused awhile at this; 'Well, well,' says he, mighty affectionately, 'that well; so you, I, Devil, all wicked, all preserve, repent, God pardon all.' Here I was run down again by him to the last degree, and it was a testimony to me, how the mere notions of nature, though they will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a God, and of a worship or homage due to the supreme being of God, as the consequence of our nature; yet nothing but divine revelation can form the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of a redemption purchased for us, of a Mediator of the new covenant, and of an Intercessor at the footstool of

God's throne; I say, nothing but a revelation from Heaven can form these in the soul; and that therefore the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I mean, the word of God, and the Spirit of God, promised for the guide and sanctifier of his people, are the absolutely necessary instructors of the souls of men, in the saving knowledge of God, and the means of salvation.

I therefore diverted the present discourse between me and my man, rising up hastily, as upon some sudden occasion of going out, then sending him for something a good way off, I seriously prayed to God, that He would enable me to instruct savingly this poor savage, assisting by his Spirit the heart of the poor ignorant creature to receive the light of the knowledge of God in Christ, reconciling him to himself, and would guide me to speak so to him from the word of God, as his conscience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his soul saved. When he came again to me, I entered into a long discourse with him upon the subject of the redemption of man by the Saviour of the world, and of the doctrine of the gospel preached from heaven, viz. of repentance towards God, and faith in our blessed Lord Jesus. I then explained to him, as well as I could, why our blessed Redeemer took not on Him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, and how for that reason, the fallen angels had no share in the redemption; that He came only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the like.

I had, God knows, more sincerity than knowledge in all the methods I took for this poor creature's instruction, and must acknowledge what I believe all that act upon the same principle will find, that in laying things open to him, I really informed and instructed myself in many things, that either I did not know, or had not fully considered before, but which occurred naturally to my mind upon searching into them, for the information of this poor savage; and I had more affection in my inquiry after things upon this occasion, than ever I felt before; so that whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or no, I had great reason to be thankful that ever he came to me; my grief sat lighter upon me, my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure; and when I reflected that in this solitary life which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved myself to look up to Heaven, and to seek to the hand that had brought me there, but was now to be made an instrument under Providence to save the life, and, for aught I knew, the soul of a poor savage, and bring him to the true knowledge of religion, and of the Christian doctrine, that he might know Christ Jesus, in whom is life eternal; I say, when I reflected upon all these things, a secret joy ran through every part of my soul, and I frequently rejoiced that ever I was brought to this place, which I had so often thought the most dreadful of all afflictions that could possibly have befallen me.

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time; and the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and me were such, as made the three years which we lived there together perfectly and completely happy, if any such thing as complete happiness can be formed in a sublunary state. The savage was now a good Christian, a much better than I; though I have reason to hope, and bless God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted restored penitents; we had here the word of God to read, and no farther off from his Spirit to instruct, than if we had been in England.

I always applied myself to reading the Scripture, to let him know, as well as I could, the meaning of what I read; and he again, by his serious inquiries and questions, made me, as I said before, a much better scholar in the Scripture knowledge, than I should ever have been by my own private mere reading. Another thing I cannot refrain from observing here also from experience, in this retired part of my life, viz. how infinite and inexpressible a blessing it is that the knowledge of God, and of the doctrine of salvation by Christ Jesus, is so plainly laid down in the word of God, so easy to be received and understood, that as the bare reading the Scripture made me capable of understanding enough of my duty, to carry me directly on to the great work of sincere repentance for my sins, and laying hold of a Saviour for life and salvation, to a stated reformation in practice, and obedience to all God's commands, and this without any teacher or instructor, (I mean, human,) so, the same plain instruction sufficiently served to the enlightening this savage creature, and bringing him to be such a Christian, as I have known few equal to him in my life.

As to all the disputes, wrangling, strife, and contention, which have happened in the world about religion, whether niceties in doctrines, or schemes of church government, they were all perfectly useless to us, as for aught I can yet see, they have been to the rest of the world. We had the sure guide to heaven, viz. the word of God; and we had, blessed be God, comfortable views of the Spirit of God, teaching and instructing us by his word, leading us into all truth, and making us both willing and obedient to the instruction of his word; and I cannot see the least use that the greatest knowledge of the disputed points in religion, which have made such confusions in the world, would have been to us, if we could have obtained it. But I must go on with the historical part of things, and take every part in its order.

After Friday and I became more intimately acquainted, and that he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak fluently, though in broken English, to me, I acquainted him with my own history, or at least so much of it as related to my coming into the place, how I had lived there, and how long. I let him into the mystery, for such it was to him, of gunpowder and bullet, and taught him how to shoot: I gave him a knife, which he was wonderfully delighted with, and I made him a belt with a frog hanging to it, such as in England we wear hangers in; and in the frog, instead of a hanger, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only as good a weapon in some cases, but much more useful upon other occasions.

I described to him the country of Europe, and particularly England, which I came from; how we lived, how we worshipped God, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ships to all parts of the world: I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and showed him as near as I could, the place where she lay; but she was all beaten in pieces before, and gone.

I showed him the ruins of our boat, which we lost when we escaped, and which I could not stir with my whole strength then, but was now fallen almost all to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, Friday stood musing a great while, and said nothing; I asked him what it was he studied upon; at last says he, 'Me see such boat like come to place at my nation.'

I did not understand him a good while; but at

last, when I had examined farther into it, I understood by him, that a boat, such as that had been, came on shore upon the country where he lived; that is, as he explained it, was driven thither by stress of weather. I presently imagined, that some European ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and the boat might get loose, and drive ashore; but was so dull, that I never once thought of men making escape from a wreck thither, much less whence they might come; so I only inquired after a description of the boat.

Friday described the boat to me well enough; but brought me better to understand him, when he added with some warmth, 'We save the white mans from drown.' Then I presently asked him, if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat: 'Yes,' he said, 'the boat full of white mans:' I asked him how many; he told upon his fingers seventeen: I asked him then, what became of them; he told me, 'They live, they dwell at my nation.'

This put new thoughts into my head; for I presently imagined that these might be the men belonging to the ship that was cast away in sight of my island, as I now call it; and who, after the ship was struck on the rock, and they saw her inevitably lost, had saved themselves in their boat, and were landed upon that wild shore, among the savages.

Upon this I enquired of him more critically what was become of them; he assured me they lived still there; that they had been there about four years; that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to live. I asked him, how it came to pass they did not kill them and eat them? He said, 'No, they make brother with them;' that is, as I understood him, a truce: and then he added, 'They no eat mans but when make the war fight;' that is to say, they never eat any men, but such as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

It was after this some considerable time, that being upon the top of the hill, at the east side of the island, from whence, as I have said, I had in a clear day discovered the main or continent of America; Friday, the weather being very serene, looks very earnestly towards the main land, and, in a kind of surprise, falls a jumping and dancing, and calls out to me, for I was at some distance from him: I asked him what was the matter? 'O joy!' says he, 'O glad! there see my country, there my nation!'

I observed an extraordinary sense of pleasure appeared in his face, and his eyes sparkled, and his countenance discovered a strange eagerness, as if he had a mind to be in his own country again; and this observation of mine put a great many thoughts into me, which made me at first not so easy about my new man Friday as I was before; and I made no doubt but that if Friday could get back to his own nation again, he would not only forget all his religion, but all his obligation to me; and would be forward enough to give his countrymen an account of me, and come back perhaps with a hundred or two of them, and make a feast upon me, at which he might be as merry as he used to be with those of his enemies, when they were taken in war.

But I wronged the poor honest creature very much, for which I was very sorry afterwards. However, as my jealousy increased, and held me some weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before; in which I was certainly in the wrong too, the honest grateful creature having no thought about it, but what consisted with the best principles, both as a religious Christian, and as a grateful friend, as appeared afterwards to my full satisfaction.

While my jealousy of him lasted, you may be sure I was every day pumping him to see if he would discover any of the new thoughts, which I suspected were in him; but I found everything he said was so honest and so innocent, that I could find nothing to nourish my suspicion; and in spite of all my uneasiness, he made me at last entirely his own again, nor did he in the least perceive that I was uneasy, and therefore I could not suspect him of deceit.

One day walking up the same hill, but the weather being hazy at sea, so that we could not see the continent, I called to him, and said, 'Friday, do not you wish yourself in your own country, your own nation?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I be much O glad to be at my own nation.' 'What would you do there,' said I, 'would you turn wild again, eat men's flesh again, and be a savage, as you were before?' He looked full of concern, and shaking his head, said, 'No, no, Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle-flesh, milk, no eat man again.' 'Why then,' said I to him, 'they will kill you.' He looked grave at that, and then said, 'No, they no kill me, they willing love learn:' he meant by this, they would be willing to learn. He added 'they learned much of the bearded mans that came in the boat.' Then I asked him if he would go back to them? He smiled at that, and told me he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a canoe for him; he told me, he would go if I would go with him. 'I go!' says I, 'why, they will eat me if I come there.' 'No, no,' says he, 'me make they no eat you; me make they much love you.' He meant, he would tell them how I had killed his enemies, and saved his life, and so he would make them love me; then he told me as well as he could how kind they were to seventeen white men, or bearded men as he called them, who came on shore there in distress.

From this time, I confess I had a mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join with these bearded men, who I made no doubt were Spaniards and Portuguese; not doubting but, if I could, we might find some method to escape from thence, being upon the continent, and a good company together, better than I could from an island 40 miles off the shore, and alone without help. So, after some days, I took Friday to work again, by way of discourse, and told him I would give him a boat to go back to his own nation; and accordingly I carried him to my frigate, which lay on the other side of the island and having cleared it of water, for I always let it sunk in water, I brought it out, and showed it him, and we both went into it.

I found he was a most dexterous fellow at managing it, would make it go almost as swift and fast again as I could; so when he was in I said to him, 'Well, now, Friday, shall we go to your nation?' He looked very dull at my saying so, which it seems was, because he thought the boat too small to go so far. I told him then I had a bigger; so the next day I went to the place where the first boat lay which I had made, but which I could not get into water; He said that was big enough; but then, as I had taken no care of it, and it had lain two or three and twenty years there, the sun had split and dried it, that it was in a manner rotten. Friday said me such a boat would do very well, and would carry 'much enough vittle, drink, bread,' that was his way of talking.

Upon the whole, I was by this time so fixed upon my design of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we would go and make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answered not one word, but looked very grave and sad: I asked him what was the matter with him? He asked me again thus, 'Why you angry mad with Friday, what me done?' I asked him what he meant; I told him I was not angry with him at all. 'No angry! no angry!' says he, repeating the words several times, 'why send Friday home away to my nation?' 'Why,' says I, 'Friday, did you not say you wished you were there?' 'Yes, yes,' says he, 'wish we both there, no wish Friday there, no master there.' In a word, he would not think of going there without me: 'I go there! Friday,' says I, 'what shall I do there?' He turned very quick upon me at this: 'You do great deal much good,' says he, 'you teach wild mans be good, sober, tame mans; you tell them know God, pray God, and live new life.' 'Alas! Friday,' says I, 'thou knowest not what thou sayest, I am but an ignorant man myself.' 'Yes, yes,' says he, 'you teachee me good, you teachee them good.' 'No, no, Friday,' says I, 'you shall go without me, leave me here to live by myself, as I did before.' He looked confused again at that word, and running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he takes it up hastily, comes and gives it to me. 'What must I do with this?' says I to him. 'You take kill Friday,' says he. 'What must I kill you for?' said I again. He returns very quick, 'What you send Friday away for? Take kill Friday, no send Friday away.' This he spoke so earnestly, that I saw tears stand in his eyes. In a word, I so plainly discovered the utmost affection in him to me, and a firm resolution in him, that I told him then, and often after, that I would never send him away from me, if he was willing to stay with me.

Upon the whole, as I found by all his discourse, a settled affection to me, and that nothing should part him from me, so I found all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good; a thing which as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought or intention, or desire of undertaking it. But still I found a strong inclination to my attempting an escape, as above, founded on the supposition gathered from the discourse, viz. that there were seventeen bearded men there; and therefore, without any more delay, I went to work with Friday, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large *periagua* or canoe to undertake the voyage. There were trees enough in the island to have built a little fleet, not of *periaguas* and canoes, but even of good large vessels. But the main thing I looked at, was to get one so near the water that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the mistake I committed at first.

At last, Friday pitched upon a tree, for I found he knew much better than I what kind of wood was fittest for it; nor can I tell, to this day, what wood to call the tree we cut down, except that it was very like the tree we call fustic, or between that and the Nicaragua wood, for it was much of the same colour and smell. Friday was for burning the hollow or cavity of this tree out to make it for a boat; but I showed him how to cut it with tools; which, after I had showed him how to use, he did very handily, and in about a month's hard labour we finished it, and made it very handsome, especially when with our axes, which I showed him how to handle, we cut and hewed the outside into the true shape of a boat; after this, however, it cost us near a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were, inch by inch upon great rollers into the water. But when she was in, she would have carried twenty men with great ease.

When she was in the water, and though she was so big, it amazed me to see with what dexterity and how swift my man Friday would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along; so I asked him if he would, and if we might, venture over in her; 'Yes,' he said, 'he venture over in her very well, though great blow wind.' However, I had a further design, that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a mast and sail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable: as to a mast, that was easy enough to get; so I pitched upon a straight young cedar tree, which I found near the place, and which there was great plenty of in the island; and I set Friday to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to shape and order it. But as to the sail, that was my particular care; I knew I had old sails, or rather pieces of old sails enough; but as I had had them now 26 years by me, and had not been very careful to preserve them, not imagining that I should ever have this kind of use for them, I did not doubt but they were all rotten, and indeed most of them were so; however, I found two pieces which appeared pretty good, and with these I went to work, and with a great deal of pains, and awkward tedious stitching (you may be sure) for want of needles, I at length made a three-cornered ugly thing, like what we call in England a shoulder-of-mutton sail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little short sprit at the top, such as usually our ships' long boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage; because it was such a one as I had to the boat in which I made my escape from Barbary, as related in the first part of my story.

I was near two months performing this last work, viz. rigging and fitting my mast and sails; for I finished them very complete, making a small stay, and a sail, or foresail to it, to assist, if we should turn to windward; and which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her to steer with; and though I was but a bungling shipwright, yet as I knew the usefulness, and even necessity of such a thing, I applied myself with so much pains to do it, that at last I brought it to pass, though considering the many dull contrivances I had for it that failed, I think it cost me almost as much labour as making the boat.

After all this was done, I had my man Friday to teach as to what belonged to the navigation of my boat; for though he knew very well how to paddle a canoe, he knew nothing what belonged to a sail and a rudder, and was the most amazed when he saw me work the boat to and again in the sea by the rudder, and how the sail gibed, and filled this way or that way, as the course we sailed changed; I say, when he saw this, he stood like one astonished and amazed. However, with a little use, I made all these things familiar to him; and he became an expert sailor, except that as to the compass, I could make him understand very little of that. On the other hand, as there was very little cloudy weather, and seldom or never any fogs in those parts, there was the less occasion for a compass, seeing the stars were always to be seen by night, and the shore by day, except in the rainy seasons, and then nobody cared to stir abroad, either by land or sea.

I was now entered on the seven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three last years that I had this creature with me,

ought rather to be left out of the account, my habitation being quite of another kind than in all the rest of the time. I kept the anniversary of my landing here with the same thankfulness to God for his mercies, as at first; and if I had such cause of acknowledgment at first, I had much more so now, having such additional testimonies of the care of Providence over me, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and speedily delivered; for I had an invincible impression upon my thoughts, that my deliverance was at hand, and that I should not be another year in this place: however, I went on with my husbandry, digging, planting, fencing, as usual; I gathered and cured my grapes, and did every necessary thing, as before.

The rainy season was in the meantime upon me, when I kept more within doors than at other times; so I had stowed our new vessel as secure as we could, bringing her up into the creek, where as I said, in the beginning I landed my rafts from the ship, and hauling her up to the shore, at high-water mark, I made my man Friday dig a little dock, just big enough to hold her, and just deep enough to give her water enough to float in; and then, when the tide was out, we made a strong dam cross the end of it, to keep the water out; and so she lay dry, as to the tide from the sea; and to keep the rain off, we laid a great many boughs of trees, so thick, that she was as well thatched as a house; and thus we waited for the months of November and December, in which I designed to make my adventure.

When the settled season began to come in, as the thought of my design returned with the fair weather, I was preparing daily for the voyage; and the first thing I did, was to lay by a certain quantity of provisions, being the stores for our voyage; and intended, in a week or a fortnight's time, to open the dock and launch out our boat. I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I called to Friday, and bid him go to the seashore, and see if he could find a turtle, or tortoise, a thing which we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs, as well as the flesh. Friday had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outer wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he set his feet on; and before I had time to speak to him, he cries out to me, 'O master! O master! O sorrow! O bad!' 'What's the matter, Friday?' says I; 'O yonder, there,' says he, 'one, two, three canoe! one, two, three!' By this way of speaking, I concluded there were six; but on inquiry, I found it was but three. 'Well, Friday,' says I, 'do not be frighted;' so I heartened him up as well as I could: however, I saw the poor fellow was most terribly scared; for nothing ran in his head but that they were come to look for him, and would cut him in pieces, and eat him; and the poor fellow trembled so, that I scarce knew what to do with him: I comforted him as well as I could, and told him I was in as much danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him; 'but,' says I, 'Friday, we must resolve to fight them; can you fight, Friday?' 'Me shoot,' says he, 'but there come many great number.' 'No matter for that,' said I, again, 'our guns will fright them that we do not kill;' so I asked him, whether if I resolved to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bid him? He said, 'Me die, when you bid die, master.' So I went and fetched a good dram of rum and gave him; for I had been so good a husband of my rum, that I had a great deal left. When he had drunk it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces, which we always carried, and loaded them with large swan-shot, as big as small pistol bullets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs and five small bullets each; and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each; I hung my great sword as usual, naked by my side, and gave Friday his hatchet.

When I had thus prepared myself, I took my perspective glass, and went up to the side of the hill, to see what I could discover; and I found quickly, by my glass, that there were one-and-twenty savages, three prisoners, and three canoes; and that their whole business seemed to be the triumphant banquet upon these three human bodies, (a barbarous feast indeed,) but nothing else more than as I had observed was usual with them.

I observed also, that they were landed not where they had done when Friday made his escape, but nearer to my creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came close almost down to the sea. This, with the abhorrence of the inhuman errand these wretches came about, filled me with such indignation, that I came down again to Friday, and told him, I was resolved to go down to them, and kill them all; and asked him if he would stand by me? He was now gotten over his fright, and his spirits being a little raised with the dram I had given him, he was very cheerful, and told me as before, he would die, when I bid die.

In this fit of fury, I took first and divided the arms which I had charged, as before, between us: I gave Friday one pistol to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder; and I took one pistol, and the other three myself; and in this posture we marched out. I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave Friday a large bag, with more powder and bullets; and as to orders, I charged him to keep close behind me, and not to stir, or shoot, or do anything, till I bid him; and in the mean time, not to speak a word. In this posture I fetched a compass to my right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek, as to get into the wood; so that I might come within shot of them before I should be discovered, which I had seen by my glass it was easy to do.

While I was making this march, my former thoughts returning, I began to abate my resolution; I do not mean, that I entertained any fear of their number; for as they were naked unarmed wretches, it is certain I was superior to them; nay, though I had been alone; but it occurred to my thoughts, what call? what occasion? and, unless, what necessity I was in to go and dip my hands in blood, to attack people, who had neither done, or intended me any wrong? who as to me were innocent, and whose barbarous customs were their own disaster, being in them a token indeed of God's having left them, with the abominations of that part of the world, to such stupidity, and to such inhuman courses; but did not call me to take upon me to be a judge of their actions, much less an executioner of his justice; that whenever He thought fit, He would take the cause into his own hands, and by national vengeance punish them as a people, for national crimes; but that in the mean time, it was none of my business; that it was true, Friday might justify it, because he was a declared enemy, and in a state of war with those very particular people; and it was lawful for him to attack them; but I could not say the same with respect to me. These things were so warmly pressed upon my thoughts, all the way as I went, that I resolved I would only go and place myself near them

that I might observe their barbarous feast, and that I would act then as God should direct; but that unless something offered that was more a call to me than yet I knew of, I would not meddle with them.

With this resolution I entered the wood, and with all possible wariness and silence, Friday following close at my heels, I marched till I came to the skirt of the wood, on the side which was next to them; only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them. Here I called softly to Friday, and showing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could see there plainly what they were doing; he did so, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly viewed there; that they were all about their fire, eating the flesh of one of their prisoners; and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, which he said they would kill next, and which fired all the very soul within me; he told me it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men, who he had told me of, that came to their country in the boat. I was filled with horror at the very naming the white bearded man, and going to the tree, I saw plainly by my glass, a white man who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and his feet tied, with flags, or things like rushes; and that he was an European, and had clothes on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which by going a little way about, I saw I might come at undiscovered, and that then I should be within half shot of them; so I withheld my passion, though I was indeed enraged to the highest degree, and going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree; and then I came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to lose; for nineteen of the dreadful wretches sat upon the ground, all close-huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor Christian, and bring him perhaps limb by limb to their fire, and they were stooped down to untie the bands at his feet; I turned to Friday, 'Now Friday,' said I, 'do as I bid thee;' Friday said he would; 'Then Friday,' says I, 'do exactly as you see me do, fail in nothing;' so I set down one of the muskets, and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and Friday did the like by his; and with the other musket, I took my aim at the savages, bidding him do the like; then asking him, if he was ready? he said, 'Yes;' 'Then fire at them,' said I; and the same moment I fired also.

Friday took his aim so much better than I, that on the side that he shot, he killed two of them, and wounded three more; and on my side, I killed one, and wounded two. They were, you may be sure, in a dreadful consternation; and all of them, who were not hurt, jumped upon their feet, but did not immediately know which way to run, or which way to look; for they knew not from whence their destruction came: Friday kept his eyes close upon me, that as I had bid him, he might observe what I did; so as soon as the first shot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling-piece, and Friday did the like; he sees me cock and present, he did the same again; 'Are you ready, Friday?' said I; 'Yes,' says he; 'Let fly, then,' says I, 'in the name of God!' And with that, I fired again among the amazed wretches, and so did Friday; and as our pieces were now loaden with what I called swan-shot, or small pistol-bullets, we found only two drop; but so many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody, and miserably wounded, most of them; whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

'Now Friday,' says I, laying down the discharged pieces, and taking up the musket which was yet loaden, 'follow me,' which he did, with a great deal of courage; upon which I rushed out of the wood, and showed myself, and Friday close at my foot; as soon as I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade Friday do so too; and running as fast as I could, which by the way, was not very fast, being loaded with arms as I was, I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, as I said, lying upon the beach, or shore, between the place where they sat and the sea. The two butchers who were just going to work with him, had left him at the surprise of our first fire, and fled in a terrible fright to the sea-side, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the rest made the same way: I turned to Friday, and bade him step forwards, and fire at them; he understood me immediately, and running about forty yards, to be near them, he shot at them, and I thought he had killed them all; for I see them all fall of a heap into the boat; though I saw two of them up again quickly: however, he killed two of them, and wounded the third; so that he lay down in the bottom of the boat, as if he had been dead.

While my man Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim, and loosing his hands and feet, I lifted him up, and asked him in the Portuguese tongue, what he was? He answered in Latin, Christianus; but was so weak and faint, that he could scarce stand or speak; I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he ate; then I asked him, what countryman he was? and he said, Espagniole; and being a little recovered, let me know by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. 'Seignior,' said I, with as much Spanish as I could make up, 'we will talk afterwards; but we must fight now; if you have any strength left, take this pistol and sword, and lay about you.' He took them very thankfully, and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but as if they had put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant; for the truth is, as the whole was a surprise to them, so the poor creatures were so much frighted with the noise of our pieces, that they fell down for mere amazement and fear; and had no more power to attempt their own escape, than their flesh had to resist our shot; and that was the case of those five that Friday shot at in the boat; for as three of them fell with the hurt they received, so the other two fell with the fright.

I kept my piece in my hand still, without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the Spaniard my pistol and sword; so I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from whence we first fired, and fetch the arms which lay there, that had been discharged, which he did with great swiftness; and then giving him my musket, I sat down myself to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading these pieces, there happened a fierce engagement between the Spaniard and one of the savages, who made at him with one of their great wooden swords, the same weapon that was to have killed

him before, if I had not prevented it. The Spaniard, who was as bold and as brave as could be imagined, though weak, had fought this Indian a good while, and had cut him two great wounds on his head; but the savage being a stout lusty fellow, closing in with him, had thrown him down (being faint), and was wringing my sword out of his hand; when the Spaniard, though undermost, wisely quitting the sword, drew the pistol from his girdle, shot the savage through the body, and killed him upon the spot, before I, who was running to help him, could come near him.

Friday being now left to his liberty, pursued the flying wretches, with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet; and with that he dispatched those three, who, as I said before, were wounded at first and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with; and the Spaniard coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages, and wounded them both; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood, where Friday pursued them, and killed one of them; but the other was too nimble for him; and though he was wounded, yet had plunged himself into the sea, and swam with all his might off to those two who were left in the canoe, which three in the canoe, with one wounded, who we knew not whether he died or no, were all that escaped our hands of one and twenty. The account of the rest is as follows:

3 Killed at our first shot from the tree.
2 Killed at the next shot.
2 Killed by Friday in the boat.
2 Killed by Ditto, of those at first wounded.
1 Killed by Ditto, in the wood.
3 Killed by the Spaniard.
4 Killed, being found dropped here and there of their wounds, or killed by Friday in his chase of them.
4 Escaped in the boat, whereof one wounded if not dead.

—
21 in all.
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Those that were in the canoe worked hard to get out of gunshot; and though Friday made two or three shot at them, I did not find that he hit any of them. Friday would fain have had me take one of their canoes, and pursue them; and indeed I was very anxious about their escape, lest carrying the news home to their people, they should come back perhaps with two or three hundred of the canoes, and devour us by mere multitude; so I consented to pursue them by sea, and running to one of their canoes, I jumped in, and bade Friday follow me; but when I was in the canoe, I was surprised to find another poor creature lie there alive, bound hand and foot, as the Spaniard was, for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what the matter was; for he had not been able to look up over the side of the boat, he was tied so hard, neck and heels, and had been tied so long that he had really but little life in him.

I immediately cut the twisted flags or rushes, which they had bound him with, and would have helped him up; but he could not stand or speak, but groaned most piteously, believing it seems still that he was only unbound in order to be killed.

When Friday came to him, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance, and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram; which, with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat. But when Friday came to hear him speak, and look in his face, it would have moved any one to tears, to have seen how Friday kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head, and then sung, and jumped about again like a distracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter; but when he came a little to himself, he told me, that it was his father.

It is not easy for me to express how it moved me to see what ecstasy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage, at the sight of his father, and of his being delivered from death; nor indeed can I describe half the extravagances of his affection after this; for he went into the boat and out of the boat a great many times; when he went in to him, he would sit down by him, open his breast, and hold his father's head close to his bosom, half-an-hour together, to nourish it; then he took his arms and ankles, which were numbed and stiff with the binding, and chafed and rubbed them with his hands; and I perceiving what the case was, gave him some rum out of my bottle to rub them with, which did them a great deal of good.

This action put an end to our pursuit of the canoe, with the other savages, who were now gotten almost out of sight; and it was happy for us that we did not; for it blew so hard within two hours after, and before they could be got a quarter of their way, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the north-west, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached to their own coast.

But to return to Friday, he was so busy about his father, that I could not find in my heart to take him off for some time: but after I thought he could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleased to the highest extreme; then I asked him, if he had given his father any bread? He shook his head, and said, 'None: ugly dog eat all up self;' so I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried on purpose; I also gave him a dram for himself, but he would not taste it, but carried it to his father: I had in my pocket also two or three bunches of my raisins, so I gave a handful of them for his father. He had no sooner given his father these raisins, but I saw him come out of the boat, and run away, as if he had been bewitched, he ran at such a rate; for he was the swiftest fellow of his foot that ever I saw; I say, he ran at such a rate, that he was out of sight, as it were, in an instant; and though I called, and hallooed too, after him, it was all one, away he went; and in a quarter of an hour, I saw him come back again, though not so fast as he went; and as he came nearer, I found his pace was slacker, because he had something in his hand.

When he came up to me, I found he had been quite home for an earthen jug or pot, to bring his father some fresh water, and that he had two more cakes or loaves of bread: the bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father: however, as I was very thirsty too, I took a little sup of it. This water revived his father more than all the rum or spirits I had given him; for he was just fainting with thirst.

When his father had drunk, I called to him to know if there was any water left; he said, 'Yes:' and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was in as much want of it as his father; and I sent one of the cakes that Friday brought, to the Spaniard too, who was indeed very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place under

the shade of a tree, and whose limbs were also very stiff, and very much swelled with the rude bandage he had been tied with. When I saw that upon Friday's coming to him with the water, he sat up and drank, and took the bread, and began to eat, I went to him and gave him a handful of raisins; he looked up in my face with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulness, that could appear in any countenance; but was so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand up upon his feet; he tried to do it two or three times, but was really not able, his ankles were so swelled and so painful to him; so I bade him sit still, and caused Friday to rub his ankles, and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's.

I observed the poor affectionate creature, every two minutes, or perhaps less, all the while he was here, turned his head about to see if his father was in the same place and posture, as he left him sitting; and at last he found he was not to be seen; at which he started up, and without speaking a word, flew with that swiftness to him, that one could scarce perceive his feet to touch the ground as he went: but when he came, he only found he had laid himself down to ease his limbs; so Friday came back to me presently, and I then spoke to the Spaniard to let Friday help him up if he could, and lead him to the boat, and then he should carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him: but Friday, a lusty strong fellow, took the Spaniard quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and set him down softly upon the side or gunnel of the canoe, with his feet in the inside of it, and then lifted him quite in, and set himself close to his father; and presently stepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard too; so he brought them both safe into our creek; and leaving them in the boat, runs away to fetch the other canoe. As he passed me, I spoke to him, and asked him whither he went; he told me, 'Go fetch more boat;' so away he went like the wind; for sure never man or horse ran like him, and he had the other canoe in the creek, almost as soon as I got to it by land; so he wafted me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat, which he did; but they were neither of them able to walk; so that poor Friday knew not what to do.

To remedy this, I went to work in my thought, and calling to Friday to bid them sit down on the bank while he came to me, I soon made a kind of a hand-barrow to lay them on, and Friday and I carried them both up together upon it, between us. But when we got them to the outside of our wall or fortification, we were at a worse loss than before; for it was impossible to get them over, and I was resolved not to break it down: so I set to work again; and Friday and I, in about 2 hours' time, made a very handsome tent, covered with old sails, and above that with boughs of trees, being in the space without our outward fence, and between that and the grove of young wood which I had planted: and here we made them two beds of such things as I had, (viz.) of good rice-straw, with blankets laid upon it to lie on, and another to cover them on each bed.

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects: and it was a merry reflection, which I frequently made, how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own mere property; so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. 2dly, my people were perfectly subjected: I was absolute lord and lawgiver; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occasion of it, for me. It was remarkable, too, we had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions. My man Friday was a Protestant, his father was a Pagan and a cannibal, and the Spaniard was a Papist: however, I allowed liberty of conscience throughout my dominions. But this is by the way.

As soon as I had secured my two weak rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them upon, I began to think of making some provision for them: and the first thing I did, I ordered Friday to take a yearling goat, betwixt a kid and a goat, out of my particular flock, to be killed, when I cut off the hinder quarter, and chopping it into small pieces, I set Friday to work to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good dish, I assure you, of flesh and broth, having put some barley and rice also into the broth; and as I cooked it without doors, for I made no fire within my inner wall, so I carried it all into the new tent; and having set a table there for them, I sat down and ate my own dinner also with them, and, as well as I could, cheered them and encouraged them; Friday being my interpreter, especially to his father, and indeed to the Spaniard too; for the Spaniard spoke the language of the savages pretty well.

After we had dined, or rather supped, I ordered Friday to take one of the canoes, and go and fetch our muskets and other firearms, which for want of time we had left upon the place of battle; and the next day I ordered him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would presently be offensive; and I also ordered him to bury the horrid remains of their barbarous feast, which I knew were pretty much, and which I could not think of doing myself; nay, I could not bear to see them, if I went that way: all which he punctually performed, and effaced the very appearance of the savages being there; so that when I went again, I could scarce know where it was, otherwise than by the corner of the wood pointing to the place.

I then began to enter into a little conversation with my two new subjects; and first I set Friday to inquire of his father, what he thought of the escape of the savages in that canoe, and whether we might expect a return of them with a power too great for us to resist. His first opinion was, that the savages in the boat never could live out the storm which blew that night they went off, but must of necessity be drowned or driven south to those other shores, where they were as sure to be devoured as they were to be drowned if they were cast away; but as to what they would do if they came safe on shore, he said he knew not; but it was his opinion that they were so dreadfully frighted with the manner of their being attacked, the noise and the fire, that he believed they would tell their people they were all killed by thunder and lightning, not by the hand of man, and that the two which appeared, (viz.) Friday and me, were two heavenly spirits or furies, come down to destroy them, and not men with weapons. This he said he knew, because he heard them all cry out so in their language one to another, for it was impossible to them to conceive that a man could dart fire, and speak thunder, and kill at a distance, without lifting up the hand, as was done now: and this old savage was in the right; for, as I understood since by other hands, the savages never attempted to go over to the island afterwards; they were so terrified with the accounts given by those four men, (for it seems they did escape the sea,) that they believed

whoever went to that enchanted island would be destroyed with fire from the gods.

This however I knew not, and therefore was under continual apprehensions for a good while, and kept always upon my guard, me and all my army; for as we were now four of us, I would have ventured upon a hundred of them fairly in the open field at any time.

In a little time, however, no more canoes appearing, the fear of their coming wore off, and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into consideration, being likewise assured by Friday's father, that I might depend upon good usage from their nation on his account, if I would go.

But my thoughts were a little suspended, when I had a serious discourse with the Spaniard, and when I understood that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and Portuguese, which is near that number, who having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace indeed with the savages, but were very sore put to it for necessaries, and indeed for life. I asked him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a Spanish ship bound from the Rio de la Plata to the Havana, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and silver, and to bring back what European goods they could meet with there; that they had five Portuguese seamen on board, who they took out of another wreck; that five of their own men were drowned, when the first ship was lost, and that these escaped through infinite dangers and hazards, and arrived almost starved on the cannibal coast, where they expected to have been devoured every moment.

He told me they had some arms with them, but they were perfectly useless, for that they had neither powder or ball, the washing of the sea having spoiled all their powder but a little, which they used at their first landing to provide themselves some food.

I asked him what he thought would become of them there, and if they had formed no design of making any escape? He said they had many consultations about it, but that having neither vessel, or tools to build one, or provisions of any kind, their councils always ended in tears and despair.

I asked him how he thought they would receive a proposal from me, which might tend towards an escape? and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done? I told him, with freedom, I feared mostly their treachery and ill usage of me, if I put my life in their hands; for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man; nor did men alway square their dealings by the obligations they had received, so much as they did by the advantages they expected. I told him it would be very hard, that I should be the instrument of their deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their prisoner in New Spain, where an Englishman was certain to be made a sacrifice, what necessity, or what accident soever, brought him thither: and that I had rather be delivered up to the savages, and be devoured alive, than fall into the merciless claws of the priests, and be carried into the Inquisition. I added, that otherwise I was persuaded, if they were all here, we might, with so many hands, build a bark large enough to carry us all away, either to the Brazils southward, or to the islands or Spanish coast, northward: but that if in requital they should, when I had put weapons into their hands, carry me by force among their own people, I might be ill used for my kindness to them, and make my case worse than it was before.

He answered with a great deal of candour and ingenuity, that their condition was so miserable, and they were so sensible of it, that he believed they would abhor the thought of using any man unkindly that should contribute to their deliverance; and that, if I pleased, he would go to them with the old man, and discourse with them about it, and return again, and bring me their answer: that he would make conditions with them upon their solemn oath, that they should be absolutely under my leading, as their commander and captain; and that they should swear upon the holy sacraments and Gospel, to be true to me, and go to such Christian country, as that I should agree to, and no other; and to be directed wholly and absolutely by my orders, till they were landed safely in such country, as I intended; and that he would bring a contract from them under their hands for that purpose.

Then he told me, he would first swear to me himself, that he would never stir from me as long as he lived, till I gave him orders; and that he would take my side to the last drop of his blood, if there should happen the least breach of faith among his countrymen.

He told me they were all of them very civil honest men, and they were under the greatest distress imaginable, having neither weapons or clothes, nor any food, but at the mercy and discretion of the savages; out of all hopes of ever returning to their own country; and that he was sure, if I would undertake their relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon these assurances, I resolved to venture to relieve them, if possible, and to send the old savage and this Spaniard over to them to treat. But when we had gotten all things in a readiness to go, the Spaniard himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it on one hand, and so much sincerity on the other hand, that I could not but be very well satisfied in it; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half a year. The case was thus:

He had been with us now about a month, during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of Providence, for my support; and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice I had laid up; which as it was more than sufficient for myself, so it was not sufficient, at least without good husbandry, for my family, now it was increased to number four: but much less would it be sufficient, if his countrymen, who were, as he said, fourteen still alive, should come over. And least of all would it be sufficient to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to any of the Christian colonies of America. So he told me, he thought it would be more advisable, to let him and the other two dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow; and that we should wait another harvest, that we might have a supply of corn for his countrymen, when they should come; for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered, otherwise than out of one difficulty into another. 'You know,' says he, 'the children of Israel, though they rejoiced at first for their being delivered out of Egypt, yet rebelled even against God himself that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the Wilderness.'

His caution was so seasonable, and his advice so good, that I could not but be very well pleased with his proposal, as well as I was satisfied with his fidelity. So we fell to digging all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted; and in about a month's time, by

the end of which it was seed-time, we had got as much land cured and trimmed up, as we sowed 22 bushels of barley on, and 16 jars of rice, which was in short all the seed we had to spare: nor indeed did we leave ourselves barley sufficient for our own food, for the six months that we had to expect our crop, that is to say, reckoning from the time we set our seed aside for sowing; for it is not to be supposed it is six months in the ground in that country.

Having now society enough, and our number being sufficient to put us out of fear of the savages, if they had come, unless their number had been very great, we went freely all over the island, wherever we found occasion; and as here we had our escape or deliverance upon our thoughts, it was impossible, at least for me, to have the means of it out of mine; to this purpose, I marked out several trees which I thought fit for our work, and I set Friday and his father to cutting them down; and then I caused the Spaniard, to whom I imparted my thought on that affair, to oversee and direct their work. I showed them with what indefatigable pains I had hewed a large tree into single planks, and I caused them to do the like, till they had made about a dozen large planks of good oak, near 2 feet broad, 35 feet long, and from 2 inches to 4 inches thick: what prodigious labour it took up, any one may imagine.

At the same time I contrived to increase my little flock of tame goats as much as I could; and to this purpose I made Friday and the Spaniard go out one day, and myself with Friday the next day; for we took our turns: and by this means we got about 20 young kids to breed up with the rest; for whenever we shot the dam, we saved the kids, and added them to our flock. But above all, the season for curing the grapes coming on, I caused such a prodigious quantity to be hung up in the sun, that I believe, had we been at Alicant, where the raisins of the sun are cured, we could have filled 60 or 80 barrels; and these with our bread was a great part of our food, and very good living too, I assure you; for it is an exceeding nourishing food.

It was now harvest, and our crop in good order; it was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the island, but, however, it was enough to answer our end; for from 22 bushels of barley we brought in and thrashed out above 220 bushels; and the like in proportion of the rice, which was store enough for our food to the next harvest, though all the 16 Spaniards had been on shore with me; or if we had been ready for a voyage, it would very plentifully have victualled our ship, to have carried us to any part of the world, that is to say, of America.

When we had thus housed and secured our magazine of corn, we fell to work to make more wicker-work, (viz.) great baskets in which we kept it; and the Spaniard was very handy and dexterous at this part, and often blamed me that I did not make some things, for defence, of this kind of work; but I saw no need of it.

And now having a full supply of food for all the guests I expected, I gave the Spaniard leave to go over to the main, to see what he could do with those he had left behind him there. I gave him a strict charge in writing not to bring any man with him, who would not first swear, in the presence of himself and of the old savage, that he would no way injure, fight with, or attack the person he should find in the island, who was so kind to send for them in order to their deliverance; but that they would stand by and defend him against all such attempts, and wherever they went, would be entirely under and subjected to his commands; and that this should be put in writing, and signed with their hands: how we were to have this done, when I knew they had neither pen or ink; that indeed was a question which we never asked.

Under these instructions, the Spaniard and the old savage, the father of Friday, went away in one of the canoes, which they might be said to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as prisoners to be devoured by the savages.

I gave each of them a musket with a firelock on it, and about eight charges of powder and ball, charging them to be very good husbands of both, and not to use either of them but upon urgent occasions.

This was a cheerful work, being the first measures used by me in view of my deliverance for now 27 years and some days. I gave them provisions of bread, and of dried grapes, sufficient for themselves for many days, and sufficient for all their countrymen for about eight days' time; and wishing them a good voyage, I see them go, agreeing with them about a signal they should hang out at their return, by which I should know them again, when they came back, at a distance, before they came on shore.

They went away with a fair gale on the day that the moon was at full by my account, in the month of October: but as for an exact reckoning of days, after I had once lost it, I could never recover it again; nor had I kept even the number of years so punctually, as to be sure that I was right, though as it proved, when I afterwards examined my account, I found I had kept a true reckoning of years.

It was no less than eight days I had waited for them, when a strange and unforeseen accident intervened, of which the like has not perhaps been heard of in history: I was fast asleep in my hutch one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud, 'Master, master, they are come, they are come.'

I jumped up, and regardless of danger, I went out, as soon as I could get my clothes on, through my little grove, which by the way was by this time grown to be a very thick wood; I say, regardless of danger, I went without my arms, which was not my custom to do: but I was surprised, when turning my eyes to the sea, I presently saw a boat about a league and a half's distance, standing in for the shore, with a shoulder-of-mutton sail, as they call it; and the wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in; also I observed, presently, that they did not come from that side which the shore lay on, but from the southernmost end of the island. Upon this I called Friday in, and bade him lie close, for these were not the people we looked for, and that we might not know yet whether they were friends or enemies.

In the next place, I went in to fetch my perspective glass, to see what I could make of them; and having taken the ladder out, I climbed up to the top of the hill, as I used to do when I was apprehensive of anything, and to take my view the plainer without being discovered.

I had scarce set my foot upon the hill, when my eye plainly discovered a ship lying at an anchor, at about two leagues and a half's distance from me south-south-east, but not above a league and a half from the shore. By my observation it appeared plainly to be an English ship, and the boat appeared to be an English long-boat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in, though the joy of seeing a ship, and one that I had reason to believe was manned by my own coun-

trymen, and consequently friends, was such as I cannot describe; but yet I had some secret doubts hang about me, I cannot tell from whence they came, bidding me keep upon my guard. In the first place, it occurred to me to consider what business an English ship could have in that part of the world, since it was not the way to or from any part of the world, where the English had any traffic; and I knew there had been no storms to drive them in there, as in distress; and that if they were English really, it was most probable that they were here upon no good design; and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of danger, which sometimes are given him, when he may think there is no possibility of its being real. That such hints and notices are given us, I believe few that have made any observations of things can deny; that they are certain discoveries of an invisible world, and a converse of spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the tendency of them seems to be to warn us of danger, why should we not suppose they are from some friendly agent, whether supreme, or inferior and subordinate, is not the question; and that they are given for our good?

The present question abundantly confirms me in the justice of this reasoning; for had I not been made cautious by this secret admonition, come it from whence it will, I had been undone inevitably, and in a far worse condition than before, as you will see presently.

I had not kept myself long in this posture, but I saw the boat draw near the shore, as if they looked for a creek to thrust in at for the convenience of landing; however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not see the little inlet where I formerly landed my rafts; but run their boat on shore upon the beach, at about half a mile from me, which was very happy for me; for otherwise they would have landed just, as I may say, at my door, and would soon have beaten me out of my castle, and perhaps have plundered me of all I had.

When they were on shore, I was fully satisfied they were Englishmen, at least, most of them; one or two I thought were Dutch, but it did not prove so: there were in all eleven men, whereof three of them I found were unarmed, and, as I thought, bound; and when the first four or five of them were jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat as prisoners: one of the three I could perceive using the most passionate gestures of entreaty, affliction, and despair, even to a kind of extravagance; the other two I could perceive lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned indeed, but not to such a degree as the first.

I was perfectly confounded at the sight, and knew not what the meaning of it should be. Friday called out to me in English, as well as he could, 'O master! you see English mans eat prisoner as well as savage mans.' 'Why,' says I, 'Friday, do you think they are a going to eat them then?' 'Yes,' says Friday, 'they will eat them.' 'No, no,' says I, 'Friday, I am afraid they will murder them indeed, but you may be sure they will not eat them.'

All this while I had no thought of what the matter really was; but stood trembling with the horror of the sight, expecting every moment when the three prisoners should be killed; nay, once I saw one of the villains lift up his arm with a great cutlass, as the seamen call it, or sword, to strike one of the poor men; and I expected to see him fall every moment, at which all the blood in my body seemed to run chill in my veins.

I wished heartily now for my Spaniard, and the savage that was gone with him; or that I had any way to have come undiscovered within shot of them, that I might have rescued the three men; for I saw no firearms they had among them; but it fell out to my mind another way.

After I had observed the outrageous usage of the three men, by the insolent seamen, I observed the fellows run scattering about the land, as if they wanted to see the country: I observed that the three other men had liberty to go also where they pleased; but they sat down all three upon the ground, very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

This put me in mind of the first time when I came on shore, and began to look about me; how I gave myself over for lost: how wildly I looked around me: what dreadful apprehensions I had: and how I lodged in the tree all night for fear of being devoured by wild beasts.

As I knew nothing that night of the supply I was to receive by the providential driving of the ship nearer the land, by the storms and tide, by which I have since been so long nourished and supported; so these three poor desolate men knew nothing how certain of deliverance and supply they were, how near it was to them, and how effectually and really they were in a condition of safety, at the same time that they thought themselves lost, and their case desperate.

So little do we see before us in the world, and so much reason have we to depend cheerfully upon the great Maker of the world, that He does not leave his creatures so absolutely destitute, but that in the worst circumstances they have always something to be thankful for, and sometimes are nearer their deliverance than they imagine; nay, are even brought to their deliverance by the means by which they seem to be brought to their destruction.

It was just at the top of high water when these people came on shore, and while partly they stood parleying with the prisoners they brought, and partly while they rambled about to see what kind of a place they were in, they had carelessly stayed till the tide was spent, and the water was ebbed considerably away, leaving their boat aground.

They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drunk a little too much brandy, fell asleep; however, one of them waking sooner than the other, and finding the boat too fast aground for him to stir it, hallooed for the rest who were straggling about, upon which they all soon came to the boat; but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a soft oozy sand, almost like a quicksand.

In this condition, like true seamen who are perhaps the least of all mankind given to forethought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one of them say aloud to another, calling them off from the boat, 'Why, let her alone, Jack, can't you, she will float next tide;' by which I was fully confirmed in the main inquiry, of what countrymen they were.

All this while I kept myself very close, not once daring to stir out of my castle, any farther than to my place of observation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was, to think how well it was fortified. I knew it was no less than ten hours before the boat could be on float again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be at more liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any.

In the meantime, I fitted myself up for a battle, as before; though with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy than I had at first: I ordered Friday also, who I had made an excellent marksman with his gun, to load himself with arms: I took myself two fowling-pieces, and I gave him three muskets. My figure indeed was very fierce; I had my formidable goat's skin coat on, with the great cap I have mentioned, a naked sword by my side, two pistols in my belt, and a gun upon each shoulder.

It was my design, as I said above, not to have made any attempt till it was dark: but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that in short they were all gone straggling into the woods, and, as I thought, were laid down to sleep. The three poor distressed men, too anxious for their condition to get any sleep, were however sat down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and, as I thought, out of sight of any of the rest.

Upon this I resolved to discover myself to them, and learn something of their condition: immediately I marched in the figure as above, my man Friday at a good distance behind me, as formidable for his arms as I, but not making quite so staring a spectre-like figure as I did.

I came as near them undiscovered as I could, and then, before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them in Spanish, 'What are ye, gentlemen?'

They started up at the noise, but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth figure that I made. They made no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in English, 'Gentlemen,' said I, 'do not be surprised at me; perhaps you may have a friend near you when you did not expect it.' 'He must be sent directly from heaven then,' said one of them very gravely to me, and pulling off his hat at the same time to me, 'for our condition is past the help of man.' 'All help is from Heaven, sir,' said I. 'But can you put a stranger in the way how to help you, for you seem to be in some great distress? I saw you when you landed, and when you seemed to make applications to the brutes that came with you, I saw one of them lift up his sword to kill you.'

The poor man with tears running down his face, and trembling, looking like one astonished, returned, 'Am I talking to God or man! Is it a real man or an angel!' 'Be in no fear about that, sir,' said I; 'if God had sent an angel to relieve you, he would have come better clothed, and armed after another manner than you see me in; pray lay aside your fears, I am a man, an Englishman, and disposed to assist you; you see I have one servant only; we have arms and ammunition; tell us freely, can we serve you?—What is your case?'

'Our case,' said he, 'sir, is too long to tell you, while our murderers are so near; but in short, sir, I was commander of that ship, my men have mutinied against me; they have been hardly prevailed on not to murder me, and at last have set me on shore in this desolate place, with these two men with me, one my mate, the other a passenger, where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it.'

'Where are those brutes, your enemies,' said I, 'do you know where they are gone?' 'There they lie, sir,' said he, pointing to a thicket of trees; 'my heart trembles, for fear they have seen us, and heard you speak; if they have, they will certainly murder us all.'

'Have they any firearms?' said I; he answered they had only two pieces, one of which they left in the boat. 'Well then,' said I, 'leave the rest to me; I see they are all asleep, it is an easy thing to kill them all; but shall we rather take them prisoners?' He told me there were two desperate villains among them, that it was scarce safe to show any mercy to; but if they were secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty. I asked him which they were? He told me he could not at that distance describe them; but he would obey my orders in anything I would direct. 'Well,' says I, 'let us retreat out of their view or hearing, lest they awake, and we will resolve further;' so they willingly went back with me, till the woods covered us from them.

'Look you, sir,' said I, 'if I venture upon your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me?' He anticipated my proposals, by telling me, that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be wholly directed and commanded by me in everything; and if the ship was not recovered, he would live and die with me in what part of the world soever I would send him; and the two other men said the same.

'Well,' says I, 'my conditions are but two. 1. That while you stay on this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms into your hands, you will upon all occasions give them up to me, and do no prejudice to me or mine upon this island, and in the meantime be governed by my orders.

'2. That if the ship is, or may be recovered, you will carry me and my man to England passage free.'

He gave me all the assurances that the invention and faith of man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable demands, and besides would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it upon all occasions as long as he lived.

'Well then,' said I, 'here are three muskets for you, with powder and ball; tell me next what you think is proper to be done.' He showed all the testimony of his gratitude that he was able, but offered to be wholly guided by me. I told him I thought it was hard venturing anything; but the best method I could think of was to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any was not killed at the first volley, and offered to submit, we might save them, and so put it wholly upon God's providence to direct the shot.

He said very modestly, that he was loath to kill them, if he could help it, but that those two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship, and if they escaped, we should be undone still; for they would go on board and bring the whole ship's company, and destroy us all. 'Well then,' says I, 'necessity legitimates my advice; for it is the only way to save our lives.' However, seeing him still cautious of shedding blood, I told him they should go themselves and manage as they found convenient.

In the middle of this discourse we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet; I asked him if either of them were of the men, who he had said were the heads of the mutiny? He said, no. 'Well then,' said I, 'you may let them escape, and Providence seems to have awakened them on purpose to save themselves. Now,' says I, 'if the rest escape you, it is your fault.'

Animated with this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and a pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, with each man a piece in his hand. The two men who were

with him going first, made some noise, at which one of the seamen who was awake turned about, and seeing them coming, cried out to the rest: but it was too late then, for the moment he cried out, they fired; I mean the two men, the captain wisely reserving his own piece. They had so well aimed their shot at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he started up on his feet, and called eagerly for help to the other; but the captain stepping to him, told him, it was too late to cry for help, he should call upon God to forgive his villany, and with that word knocked him down with the stock of his musket, so that he never spoke more: there were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded. By this time I was come; and when they saw their danger, and that it was in vain to resist, they begged for mercy: the captain told them, he would spare their lives, if they would give him any assurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came: they gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, and he was willing to believe them, and spare their lives, which I was not against; only I obliged him to keep them bound hand and foot while they were upon the island.

While this was doing, I sent Friday with the captain's mate to the boat, with orders to secure her, and bring away the oars and sails, which they did; and by and by, three straggling men that were (happily for them) parted from the rest, came back upon hearing the guns fired, and seeing their captain, who before was their prisoner, now their conqueror, they submitted to be bound also; and so our victory was complete.

It now remained, that the captain and I should inquire into one another's circumstances: I began first, and told him my whole history, which he heard with an attention even to amazement; and particularly at the wonderful manner of my being furnished with provisions and ammunition; and indeed, as my story is a whole collection of wonders, it affected him deeply; but when he reflected from thence upon himself, and how I seemed to have been preserved there on purpose to save his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not speak a word more.

After this communication was at an end, I carried him and his two men into my apartment, leading them in just where I came out, viz. at the top of the house, where I refreshed them with such provisions as I had, and showed them all the contrivances I had made, during my long, long inhabiting that place.

All I showed them, all I said to them, was perfectly amazing; but above all, the captain admired my fortification, and how perfectly I had concealed my retreat with a grove of trees, which having now been planted near twenty years, and the trees growing much faster than in England, was become a little wood, and so thick, that it was impassable in any part of it, but at that one side, where I had reserved my little winding passage into it. I told him, this was my castle, and my residence, but that I had a seat in the country, as most princes have, whither I could retreat upon occasion, and I would show him that too another time; but at present, our business was to consider how to recover the ship. He agreed with me as to that; but told me he was perfectly at a loss what measures to take; for that there were still six and twenty hands on board, who having entered into a cursed conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be hardened in it now by desperation; and would carry it on, knowing that, if they were reduced, they would be brought to the gallows, as soon as they came to England, or to any of the English colonies; and that therefore there would be no attacking them, with so small a number as we were.

I mused for some time upon what he had said, and found it was a very rational conclusion; and that therefore something was to be resolved on speedily, as well to draw the men on board into some snare for their surprise, as to prevent their landing upon us, and destroying us; upon this, it presently occurred to me, that in a little while the ship's crew wondering what was become of their comrades, and of the boat, would certainly come on shore in their other boat, to seek for them, and that then perhaps they might come armed, and be too strong for us; this he allowed to be rational.

Upon this, I told him the first thing we had to do, was to stave the boat, which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off; and taking everything out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim; accordingly we went on board, took the arms which were left on board, out of her, and whatever else we found there, which was a bottle of brandy, and another of rum, a few biscuit-cakes, a horn of powder, and a great lump of sugar, in a piece of canvas; the sugar was five or six pounds; all which was very welcome to me, especially the brandy and sugar, of which I had had none left for many years.

When we had carried all these things on shore (the oars, mast, sail, and rudder of the boat, were carried away before, as above), we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

Indeed, it was not much in my thoughts that we could be able to recover the ship; but my view was that if they went away without the boat, I did not much question to make her fit again, to carry us away to the Leeward Islands, and call upon our friends, the Spaniards, in my way, for I had them still in my thoughts.

While we were thus preparing our designs, and had first, by main strength, heaved the boat up upon the beach, so high that the tide would not float her off at high-water mark; and besides, had broke a hole in her bottom, too big to be quickly stopped, and were sat down musing what we should do; we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her antient, as a signal for the boat to come on board; but no boat stirred, and they fired several times, making other signals for the boat.

At last, when all their signals and firing proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them by the help of my glasses, hoist another boat out, and row towards the shore; and we found as they approached, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had firearms with them.

As the ship lay almost two leagues from the shore, we had a full view of them as they came, and a plain sight of the men, even of their faces, because the tide having set them a little to the east of the other boat, they rowed up under shore, to come to the same place where the other had landed, and where the boat lay.

By this means, I say, we had a full view of them, and the captain knew the persons and

characters of all the men in the boat, of whom he said, there were three very honest fellows, who he was sure were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpowered and frighted.

But that as for the boatswain, who it seems was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew, and were no doubt made desperate in their new enterprise, and terribly apprehensive he was, that they would be too powerful for us.

I smiled at him, and told him that men in our circumstances were past the operation of fear: that seeing almost every condition that could be, was better than that which we were supposed to be in, we ought to expect that the consequence, whether death or life, would be sure to be a deliverance. I asked him what he thought of the circumstances of my life, and whether a deliverance were not worth venturing for? 'And where, sir,' said I, 'is your belief of my being preserved here on purpose to save your life, which elevated you a little while ago? For my part,' said I, 'there seems to be but one thing amiss in all the prospect of it.' 'What's that?' says he. 'Why,' says I, 'it is, that as you say, there are three or four honest fellows among them, which should be spared; had they been all of the wicked part of the crew, I should have thought God's providence had singled them out to deliver them into your hands; for depend upon it, every man that comes ashore are our own, and shall die or live as they behave to us.'

As I spoke this with a raised voice and cheerful countenance, I found it greatly encouraged him; so we set vigorously to our business. We had upon the first appearance of the boat's coming from the ship, considered of separating our prisoners, and had indeed secured them effectually.

Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured than ordinary, I sent with Friday, and one of the three (delivered men) to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or discovered, or of finding their way out of the woods if they could have delivered themselves: here they left them bound, but gave them provisions, and promised them if they continued there quietly, to give them their liberty in a day or two; but that if they attempted their escape, they should be put to death without mercy. They promised faithfully to bear their confinement with patience, and were very thankful that they had such good usage, as to have provisions and a light left them; for Friday gave them candles (such as we made ourselves) for their comfort; and they did not know but that he stood sentinel over them at the entrance.

The other prisoners had better usage; two of them were kept pinioned indeed, because the captain was not free to trust them; but the other two were taken into my service, upon the captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us; so with them and the three honest men, we were seven men, well armed; and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were a coming, considering that the captain had said there were three or four honest men among them also.

As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came on shore, hauling the boat up after them, which I was glad to see; for I was afraid they would rather have left the boat at an anchor, some distance from the shore, with some hands in her to guard her; and so we should not be able to seize the boat.

Being on shore, the first thing they did, they ran all to their other boat, and it was easy to see they were under a great surprise, to find her stripped as above, of all that was in her, and a great hole in her bottom.

After they had mused awhile upon this, they set up two or three great shouts, hallooing with all their might to try if they could make their companions hear; but all was to no purpose: then they came all close in a ring, and fired a volley of their small arms, which indeed we heard, and the echoes made the woods ring; but it was all one, those in the cave we were sure could not hear, and those in our keeping, though they heard it well enough, yet durst give no answer to them.

They were so astonished at the surprise of this, that as they told us afterwards, they resolved to go all on board again to their ship, and let them know there, that the men were all murdered, and the long-boat staved; accordingly they immediately launched their boat again, and got all of them on board.

The captain was terribly amazed and even confounded at this, believing they would go on board the ship again, and set sail, giving their comrades for lost, and so he should still lose the ship, which he was in hopes we should have recovered; but he was quickly as much frighted the other way.

They had not been long put off with the boat, but we perceived them all coming on shore again; but with this new measure in their conduct, which it seems they consulted together upon, viz. to leave three men in the boat, and the rest to go on shore, and go up into the country to look for their fellows.

This was a great disappointment to us; for now we were at a loss what to do; for our seizing those seven men on shore would be no advantage to us, if we let the boat escape; because they would then row away to the ship, and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh and set sail, and so our recovering the ship would be lost.

However, we had no remedy, but to wait and see what the issue of things might present. The seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor to wait for them; so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat.

Those that came on shore, kept close together, marching towards the top of the little hill under which my habitation lay; and we could see them plainly, though they could not perceive us: we could have been very glad they would have come nearer to us, so that we might have fired at them, or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come abroad.

But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way into the valleys and woods, which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, to consider of it. Had they thought fit to have gone to sleep there, as the other party of them had done, they had done the job for us; but they were too full of apprehensions of danger, to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear neither.

The captain made a very just proposal to me,

upon this consultation of theirs, viz. that perhaps they would all fire a volley again, to endeavour to make their fellows hear, and that we should all sally upon them, just at the juncture when their pieces were all discharged, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without bloodshed: I liked the proposal, provided it was done while we were near enough to come up to them, before they could load their pieces again.

But this event did not happen, and we lay still a long time, very irresolute what course to take; at length I told them, there would be nothing to be done in my opinion till night, and then if they did not return to the boat, perhaps we might find a way to get between them and the shore, and so might use some stratagem with them in the boat to get them on shore.

We waited a great while, though very impatient for their removing; and were very uneasy, when after long consultations, we saw them all start up, and march down toward the sea: it seems they had such dreadful apprehensions upon them, of the danger of the place, that they resolved to go on board the ship again, give their companions over for lost, and so go on with their intended voyage with the ship.

As soon as I perceived them go towards the shore, I imagined it to be as it really was, that they had given over their search, and were for going back again; and the captain, as soon as I told him my thoughts, was ready to sink at the apprehensions of it; but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered my end to a tittle.

I ordered Friday and the captain's mate to go over the little creek westward, towards the place where the savages came on shore when Friday was rescued; and as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile distance, I bade them halloo, as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them; that as soon as ever they heard the seamen answer them, they should return it again, and then keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far into the island, and among the woods, as possible, and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed them.

They were just going into the boat, when Friday and the mate hallooed, and they presently heard them, and answering, ran along the shore westward, towards the voice they heard, when they were presently stopped by the creek, where the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up and set them over, as indeed I expected.

When they had set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone a good way into the creek, and as it were, in a harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore.

This was what I wished for, and immediately leaving Friday and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware; one of them lying on the shore, and the other being in the boat; the fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and going to start up; the captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down; besides, this was, it seems, one of the three who were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincerely with us.

In the meantime, Friday and the captain's mate so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them, where they were very sure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark; and indeed they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and to fall upon them, so as to make sure work with them.

It was several hours after Friday came back to me, before they came back to their boat; and we could hear the foremost of them long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along, and could also hear them answer and complain how lame and tired they were, and not able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat; but it is impossible to express their confusion, when they found the boat fast aground in the creek, the tide ebbed out, and their two men gone: we could hear them call to one another in a most lamentable manner, telling one another they were got into an enchanted island; that either there were inhabitants in it, and they should all be murdered, or else there were devils and spirits in it, and they should be all carried away and devoured.

They hallooed again, and called their two comrades by their names a great many times, but no answer. After some time, we could see them, by the little light there was, run about wringing their hands like men in despair; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come ashore again, and walk about again, and so the same thing over again.

My men would fain have me give them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark; but I was willing to take them at some advantage, so to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could; and especially I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our men, knowing the others were very well armed. I resolved to wait to see if they did not separate; and therefore to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer, and ordered Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture, but that the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shown himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of their crew; the captain was so eager, as having this principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near, as to be sure of him; for they only heard his tongue before: but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday starting up on their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain was killed upon the spot; the next man was shot into the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after; and the third ran for it.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now 8 men,

viz. myself generalissimo, Friday my lieutenant-general, the captain and his two men, and the three prisoners of war, who we had trusted with arms.

We came upon them indeed in the dark, so that they could not see our number; and I made the man we had left in the boat, who was now one of us, call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms, which fell out just as we desired: for indeed it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate; so he calls out as loud as he could, to one of them, 'Tom Smith, Tom Smith;' Tom Smith answered immediately, 'Who's that, Robinson?' For it seems, he knew his voice: the other answered, 'Ay, ay; for God's sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms and yield, or you are all dead men this moment.'

'Who must we yield to? Where are they?' (says Smith again;) 'Here they are,' says he, 'here's our captain, and fifty men with him, have been hunting you this two hours; the boatswain is killed, Will Fry is wounded, and I am a prisoner; and if you do not yield, you are all lost.'

'Will they give us quarter then,' (says Tom Smith,) 'and we will yield?' 'I'll go and ask, if you promise to yield,' says Robinson; so he asked the captain, and the captain then calls himself out, 'You Smith, you know my voice, if you lay down your arms immediately, and submit, you shall have your lives all but Will Atkins.'

Upon this Will Atkins cried out, 'For God's sake, captain, give me quarter, what have I done? They have been all as bad as I,' which by the way was not true neither; for it seems this Will Atkins was the first man that laid hold of the captain, when they first mutinied, and used him barbarously, in tying his hands, and giving him injurious language. However, the captain told him he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the governor's mercy, by which he meant me, for they all called me governor.

In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I sent the man that had parleyed with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great army of 50 men, which particularly with those three, were all but eight, came up and seized upon them all, and upon their boat, only that I kept myself and one more out of sight for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and think of seizing the ship; and as for the captain, now he had leisure to parley with them, he expostulated with them upon the villany of their practices with him, and at length upon the farther wickedness of their design, and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives; as for that, he told them, they were none of his prisoners, but the commander of the island: that they thought they had set him on shore in a barren uninhabited island, but it had pleased God so to direct them, that the island was inhabited, and that the governor was an Englishman; that he might hang them all there, if he pleased; but as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them to England to be dealt with there as justice required, except Atkins, who he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death; for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though this was all a fiction of his own, yet it had its desired effect; Atkins fell upon his knees to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life; and all the rest begged of him for God's sake, that they might not be sent to England.

It now occurred to me, that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these fellows in, to be hearty in getting possession of the ship; so I retired in the dark from them, that they might not see what kind of a governor they had, and called the captain to me; when I called, as at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain, 'Captain, the commander calls for you;' and presently the captain replied, 'Tell his excellency, I am just a coming.' This more perfectly amused them; and they all believed that the commander was just by with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked of wonderfully well, and resolved to put it in execution the next morning.

But, in order to execute it with more art, and secure of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take Atkins and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others lay: this was committed to Friday and the two men who came on shore with the captain.

They conveyed them to the cave, as to a prison; and it was indeed a dismal place, especially to men in their condition.

The others I ordered to my bower, as I called it, of which I have given a full description; and as it was fenced in, and they pinioned, the place was secure enough, considering they were upon their behaviour.

To these in the morning I sent the captain, who was to enter into a parley with them, in a word to try them, and tell me whether he thought they might be trusted or no, to go on board and surprise the ship. He talked to them of the injury done him, of the condition they were brought to; and that though the governor had given them quarter for their lives, as to the present action, yet that if they were sent to England, they would all be hanged in chains, to be sure; but that if they would join in so just an attempt, as to recover the ship, he would have the governor's engagement for their pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition; they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promised, with the deepest imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the last drop, and that they should owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world, that they would own him for a father to them as long as they lived.

'Well,' says the captain, 'I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it:' so he brought me an account of the temper he found them in; and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again and choose out five of them, and tell them, they might see he did not want men, that he would take out five of them to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle (my cave) as hostages for the fidelity of those five; and that if they proved unfaithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive upon the shore.

This looked severe, and convinced them that the governor was in earnest; however they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was

now the business of the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to do their duty.

Our strength was now thus ordered for the expedition: 1. The captain, his mate, and passenger. 2. Then the two prisoners of the first gang, to whom, having their character from the captain, I had given their liberty, and trusted them with arms. 3. The other two who I had kept till now in my apartment pinioned; but upon the captain's motion, had now released. 4. The single man taken in the boat. 5. These five released at last: so that they were thirteen in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

I asked the captain if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship; for as for me and my man Friday, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, having seven men left behind; and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder, and supply them with victuals.

As to the five in the cave, I resolved to keep them fast, but Friday went in twice a day to them, to supply them with necessaries; and I made the other two carry provisions to a certain distance, where Friday was to take it.

When I showed myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain, who told them I was the person the governor had ordered to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleasure they should not stir anywhere, but by my direction; that if they did, they would be fetched into the castle, and be laid in irons; so that as we never suffered them to see me as a governor, so I now appeared as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle, and the like, upon all occasions.

The captain now had no difficulty before him, but to furnish his two boats, stop the breach of one, and man them. He made his passenger captain of one, with four other men; and himself, and his mate, and six more, went in the other: and they contrived their business very well; for they came up to the ship about midnight. As soon as they came within call of the ship, he made Robinson hail them, and tell them they had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they had found them, and the like; holding them in a chat till they came to the ship's side, when the captain and the mate entering first with their arms, immediately knocked down the second mate and carpenter with the butt end of their muskets, being very faithfully seconded by their men; they secured all the rest that were upon the main and quarter decks, and began to fasten the hatches, to keep them down that were below, when the other boat and their men entering at the fore-chains, secured the forecastle of the ship, and the scuttle which went down into the cook-room, making three men they found there prisoners.

When this was done, and all safe upon deck, the captain ordered the mate with three men, to break into the round-house where the new rebel captain lay, who having taken the alarm, was gotten up, and with two men and a boy, had gotten firearms in their hands; and when the mate with a crow split open the door, the new captain and his men fired boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a musket ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody.

The mate calling for help, rushed however into the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, the bullet entering at his mouth, and coming out again behind one of his ears, so that he never spoke a word; upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually, without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon with me, to give me notice of his success, which you may be sure I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two of the clock in the morning.

Having thus heard the signal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very sound, till I was something surprised with the noise of a gun; and presently starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of Governor, Governor, and presently I knew the captain's voice, when climbing up to the top of the hill, there he stood, and pointing to the ship, he embraced me in his arms. 'My dear friend and deliverer,' says he, 'there's your ship, for she is all yours, and so are we and all that belong to her.' I cast my eyes to the ship, and there she rode within little more than half a mile of the shore; for they had weighed her anchor as soon as they were masters of her; and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of the little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I at first landed my rafts, and so landed just at my door.

I was at first ready to sink down with the surprise. For I saw my deliverance indeed visibly put into my hands, all things easy, and a large ship just ready to carry me away whither I pleased to go. At first, for some time, I was not able to answer him one word; but as he had taken me in his arms, I held fast by him, or I should have fallen to the ground.

He perceived the surprise, and immediately pulls a bottle out of his pocket, and gave me a dram of cordial, which he had brought on purpose for me; after I had drank it, I sat down upon the ground; and though it brought me to myself, yet it was a good while before I could speak a word to him.

All this while the poor man was in as great an ecstasy as I, only not under any surprise, as I was; and he said a thousand kind tender things to me, to compose me and bring me to myself; but such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion; at last it broke out into tears, and in a little while after I recovered my speech.

Then I took my turn, and embraced him as my deliverer; and we rejoiced together. I told him, I looked upon him as a man sent from heaven to deliver me, and that the whole transaction seemed to be a chain of wonders; that such things as these were the testimonies we had of a secret hand of Providence governing the world, and an evidence, that the eye of an Infinite Power could search into the remotest corner of the world, and send help to the miserable whenever He pleased.

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to Heaven; and what heart could forbear to bless Him, who had not only in a miraculous manner provided for one in such a wilderness, and in such a desolate condition, but from whom every deliverance must always be acknowledged to proceed?

When we had talked a while, the captain told me, he had brought me some little refreshment, such as the ship afforded, and such as the wretches that had been so long his masters had not plundered him of. Upon this he called aloud to the boat, and bade his men bring the things ashore that were for the governor; and indeed it

was a present, as if I had been one that was not to be carried away with them, but as if I had been to dwell upon the island still, and they were to go without me.

First, he had brought me a case of bottles full of excellent cordial waters, six large bottles of Madeira wine; the bottles held two quarts apiece; two pounds of excellent good tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ship's beef, and six pieces of pork, with a bag of peas, and about a hundredweight of biscuit.

He brought me also a box of sugar, a box of flour, a bag full of lemons, and two bottles of lime juice, and abundance of other things. But besides these, and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he brought me six clean new shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings, with a very good suit of clothes of his own, which had been worn but very little: in a word, he clothed me from head to foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine, to one in my circumstances: but never was anything in the world of that kind so unpleasant, awkward, and uneasy, as it was to me to wear such clothes at their first putting on.

After these ceremonies were past, and after all his good things were brought into my little apartment, we began to consult what was to be done with the prisoners we had; for it was worth considering, whether we might venture to take them away with us or no, especially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the last degree; and the captain said, he knew they were such rogues, that there was no obliging them, and if he did carry them away, it must be in irons, as malefactors to be delivered over to justice at the first English colony he could come at; and I found that the captain himself was very anxious about it.

Upon this, I told him, that if he desired it, I durst undertake to bring the two men he spoke of, to make it their own request that he should leave them upon the island: 'I should be very glad of that,' says the captain, 'with all my heart.'

'Well,' says I, 'I will send for them up, and talk with them for you;' so I caused Friday and the two hostages, for they were now discharged, their comrades having performed their promise; I say, I caused them to go to the cave, and bring up the five men pinioned, as they were, to the bower, and keep them there till I came.

After some time, I came thither dressed in my new habit, and now I was called governor again. Being all met, and the captain with me, I caused the men to be brought before me, and I told them I had had a full account of their villanous behaviour to the captain, and how they had run away with the ship, and were preparing to commit farther robberies, but that Providence had ensnared them in their own ways, and that they were fallen into the pit which they had digged for others.

I let them know, that by my direction the ship had been seized, that she lay now in the road; and they might see by and by, that their new captain had received the reward of his villany; for that they might see him hanging at the yard-arm.

That as to them, I wanted to know what they had to say, why I should not execute them as pirates taken in the fact, as by my commission they could not doubt I had authority to do.

One of them answered in the name of the rest, that they had nothing to say, but this, that when they were taken, the captain promised them their lives, and they humbly implored my mercy: but I told them, I knew not what mercy to show them; for as for myself, I had resolved to quit the island with all my men, and had taken passage with the captain to go for England: and as for the captain, he could not carry them to England, other than as prisoners in irons, to be tried for mutiny, and running away with the ship; the consequence of which, they must needs know, would be the gallows; so that I could not tell which was best for them, unless they had a mind to take their fate in the island; if they desired that, I did not care, as I had liberty to leave it, I had some inclination to give them their lives, if they thought they could shift on shore.

They seemed very thankful for it, said they would much rather venture to stay there, than to be carried to England to be hanged; so I left it on that issue.

However, the captain seemed to make some difficulty of it, as if he durst not leave them there. Upon this I seemed a little angry with the captain, and told him, that they were my prisoners, not his; and seeing that I had offered them so much favour, I would be as good as my word; and that if he did not think fit to consent to it, I would set them at liberty as I found them; and if he did not like it, he might take them again if he could catch them.

Upon this they appeared very thankful, and I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods to the place whence they came, and I would leave them some firearms, some ammunition, and some directions how they should live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this I prepared to go on board the ship, but told the captain, that I would stay that night to prepare my things, and desired him to go on board in the mean time, and keep all right in the ship, and send the boat on shore the next day for me; ordering him in the mean time to cause the new captain who was killed, to be hanged at the yard-arm that these men might see him.

When the captain was gone, I sent for the men up to me to my apartment, and entered seriously into discourse with them of their circumstances; I told them, I thought they had made a right choice; that if the captain carried them away, they would certainly be hanged. I showed them the new captain, hanging at the yard-arm of the ship, and told them they had nothing less to expect.

When they had all declared their willingness to stay, I then told them, I would let them into the story of my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them. Accordingly I gave them the whole history of the place, and of my coming to it; showed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes; and in a word, all that was necessary to make them easy: I told them the story also of the sixteen Spaniards that were to be expected; for whom I left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves.

I left them my fire-arms, viz. five muskets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords. I had above a barrel and a half of powder left; for after the first year or two, I used but little, and wasted none. I gave them a description of the way I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, and to make both butter and cheese.

In a word, I gave them every part of my own story; and told them, I would prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gunpowder

more, and some garden seeds, which I told them I would have been very glad of; also I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day, and went on board the ship: we prepared immediately to sail, but did not weigh that night. The next morning early, two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship, for God's sake, for they should be murdered, and begged the captain to take them on board, though he hanged them immediately.

Upon this, the captain pretended to have no power without me; but after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they were taken on board, and were some time after soundly whipped and pickled, after which, they proved very honest and quiet fellows.

Some time after this, the boat was ordered on shore, the tide being up, with the things promised to the men, to which the captain at my intercession caused their chests and clothes to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for; I also encouraged them, by telling them, that if it lay in my way to send any vessel to take them in, I would not forget them.

When I took leave of this island, I carried on board for reliques the great goat-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and my parrot; also I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me so long useless, that it was grown rusty, or tarnished, and could hardly pass for silver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled; as also the money I found in the wreck of the Spanish ship.

And thus I left the island, the nineteenth of December, as I found by the ship's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight and twenty years, two months, and 19 days; being delivered from this second captivity, the same day of the month, that I first made my escape in the *barco-longo*, from among the Moors of Sallee.

In this vessel, after a long voyage, I arrived in England, the eleventh of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty and five years absent.

When I came to England, I was as perfect a stranger to all the world, as if I had never been known there. My benefactor and faithful steward, who I had left in trust with my money, was alive, but had had great misfortunes in the world; was become a widow the second time, and very low in the world. I made her very easy as to what she owed me, assuring her I would give her no trouble; but on the contrary, in gratitude for former care and faithfulness to me, I relieved her, as my little stock would afford, which at that time would indeed allow me to do but little for her; but I assured her, I would never forget her former kindness to me; nor did I forget her, when I had sufficient to help her, as shall be observed in its place.

I went down afterwards into Yorkshire; but my father was dead, and my mother, and all the family extinct, except that I found two sisters, and two of the children of one of my brothers; and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no provision made for me; so that in a word, I found nothing to relieve or assist me; and that little money I had, would not do much for me, as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship who I had so happily delivered, and by the same means saved the ship and cargo, having given a very handsome account to the owners, of the manner how I had saved the lives of the men, and the ship, they invited me to meet them, and some other merchants concerned, and all together made me a very handsome compliment upon the subject, and a present of almost two hundred pounds sterling.

But after making several reflections upon the circumstances of my life, and how little way this would go towards settling me in the world, I resolved to go to Lisbon, and see if I might not come by some information of the state of my plantation in the Brazils, and of what was become of my partner, who I had reason to suppose, had some years now given me over for dead.

With this view I took shipping for Lisbon, where I arrived in April following; my man Friday accompanying me very honestly in all these ramblings, and proving a most faithful servant upon all occasions.

When I came to Lisbon, I found out by inquiry, and to my particular satisfaction, my old friend the captain of the ship, who first took me up at sea, off of the shore of Africa. He was now grown old, and had left off going to sea, having put his son, who was far from a young man, into his ship, and who still used the Brazil trade. The old man did not know me, and indeed I hardly knew him; but I soon brought him to my remembrance, and as soon brought myself to his remembrance, when I told him who I was.

After some passionate expressions of the old acquaintance between us, I inquired, you may be sure, after my plantation and my partner. The old man told me he had not been in the Brazils for about nine years; but that he could assure me, that when he came away, my partner was living, but the trustees, who I had joined with him to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that however, he believed I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation; for that upon the general belief of my being cast away and drowned, my trustees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation, to the procurator-fiscal, who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it; one-third to the king, and two-thirds to the monastery of St. Augustine, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith; but that if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it would be restored; only that the improvement, or annual production, being distributed to charitable uses, could not be restored; but he assured me, that the steward of the king's revenue (from lands) and the provedidore, or steward of the monastery, had taken great care all along, that the incumbent, that is to say, my partner, gave every year a faithful account of the produce, of which they received duly my moiety.

I asked him if he knew to what height of improvement he had brought the plantation? And, whether he thought it might be worth looking after? Or, whether on my going thither, I should meet with no obstruction to my possessing my just right in the moiety?

He told me, he could not tell exactly to what degree the plantation was improved; but this he knew, that my partner was grown exceeding rich upon the enjoying but one-half of it; and that to the best of his remembrance, he had heard that the king's third of my part, which was, it seems, granted away to some other monastery, or religious house, amounted to above two hundred

moidores a year; that as to my being restored to a quiet possession of it, there was no question to be made of that, my partner being alive to witness my title, and my name being also enrolled in the register of the country; also he told me, that the survivors of my two trustees were very fair honest people, and very wealthy; and he believed I would not only have their assistance for putting me in possession, but would find a very considerable sum of money in their hands, for my account; being the produce of the farm while their fathers held the trust, and before it was given up as above, which, as he remembered, was for about twelve years.

I showed myself a little concerned and uneasy at this account, and inquired of the old captain how it came to pass that the trustees should thus dispose of my effects, when he knew that I had made my will, and had made him, the Portuguese captain, my universal heir, &c.

He told me, that was true; but that as there was no proof of my being dead, he could not act as executor, until some certain account should come of my death, and that besides, he was not willing to intermeddle with a thing so remote: that it was true he had registered my will, and put in his claim; and could he have given any account of my being dead or alive, he would have acted by procuration, and taken possession of the *ingenio*, so they called the sugar-house, and had given his son, who was now at the Brazils, order to do it.

'But,' says the old man, 'I have one piece of news to tell you, which perhaps may not be so acceptable to you as the rest, and that is, believing you were lost, and all the world believing so also, your partner and trustees did offer to account with me in your name, for six or eight of the first years' profits, which I received; but there being at that time,' says he, 'great disbursements for increasing the works, building an *ingenio*, and buying slaves, it did not amount to near so much as afterwards it produced: however,' says the old man, 'I shall give you a true account of what I have received in all, and how I have disposed of it.'

After a few days' further conference with this ancient friend, he brought me an account of the first six years' income of my plantation, signed by my partner and the merchant trustees, being always delivered in goods, viz. tobacco in roll, and sugar in chests, besides rum, molasses, &c., which is the consequence of a sugar-work; and I found by this account, that every year the income considerably increased; but as above, the disbursement being large, the sum at first was small: however, the old man let me see, that he was debtor to me 470 moidores of gold, besides 60 chests of sugar, and 15 double rolls of tobacco, which were lost in his ship; he having been shipwrecked coming home to Lisbon about 11 years after my leaving the place.

The good man then began to complain of his misfortunes, and how he had been obliged to make use of my money to recover his losses, and buy him a share in a new ship. 'However, my old friend,' says he, 'you shall not want a supply in your necessity; and as soon as my son returns, you shall be fully satisfied.'

Upon this, he pulls out an old pouch, and gives me 160 Portugal moidores in gold; and giving me the writings of his title to the ship, which his son was gone to the Brazils in, of which he was a quarter part owner, and his son another, he puts them both into my hands for security of the rest.

I was too much moved with the honesty and kindness of the poor man, to be able to bear this; and remembering what he had done for me, how he had taken me up at sea, and how generously he had used me on all occasions, and particularly, how sincere a friend he was now to me, I could hardly refrain weeping at what he said to me: therefore first I asked him, if his circumstances admitted him to spare so much money at that time, and if it would not straiten him? He told me, he could not say but it might straiten him a little; but however it was my money, and I might want it more than he.

Everything the good man said was full of affection, and I could hardly refrain from tears while he spoke: in short, I took 100 of the moidores, and called for a pen and ink to give him a receipt for them; then I returned him the rest, and told him, if ever I had possession of the plantation, I would return the other to him also, as indeed I afterwards did; and that as to the bill of sale of his part in his son's ship, I would not take it by any means; but that if I wanted the money, I found he was honest enough to pay me; and if I did not, but came to receive what he gave me reason to expect, I would never have a penny more from him.

When this was past, the old man began to ask me if he should put me into a method to make my claim to my plantation? I told him, I thought to go over to it myself. He said I might do so if I pleased; but that if I did not, there were ways enough to secure my right, and immediately to appropriate the profits to my use; and as there were ships in the river of Lisbon, just ready to go away to Brazil, he made me enter my name in a public register, with his affidavit, affirming upon oath that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for the planting the said plantation at first.

This being regularly attested by a notary, and a procuration affixed, he directed me to send it with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place, and then proposed my staying with him till an account came of the return.

Never was anything more honourable, than the proceedings upon this procuration; for in less than seven months I received a large packet from the survivors of my trustees the merchants, for whose account I went to sea, in which were the following particular letters and papers, enclosed.

First, There was the account current of the produce of my farm or plantation, from the year when their fathers had balanced with my old Portugal captain, being for six years; the balance appeared to be 1174 moidores in my favour.

Secondly, There was the account of four years more while they kept the effects in their hands, before the government claimed the administration, as being the effects of a person not to be found, which they called 'civil death;' and the balance of this, the value of the plantation increasing, amounted to 38,892 crusadoes, which made 3241 moidores.

Thirdly, There was the prior of Augustine's account, who had received the profits for above fourteen years; but not being to account for what was disposed to the hospital, very honestly declared he had 872 moidores not distributed, which he acknowledged to my account; as to the king's part, that refunded nothing.

There was a letter of my partner's, congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive, giving me an account how the estate was improved, and what it produced a year, with a particular of the number of squares or acres that

it contained, how planted, how many slaves there were upon it; and making two and twenty crosses for blessings, told me he had said so many *Ave Marias* to thank the blessed Virgin that I was alive; inviting me very passionately to come over and take possession of my own; and in the meantime to give him orders to whom he should deliver my effects, if I did not come myself; concluding with a hearty tender of his friendship, and that of his family, and sent me, as a present, seven fine leopards' skins, which he had, it seems, received from Africa, by some other ship which he had sent thither, and who, it seems, had made a better voyage than I. He sent me also five chests of excellent sweetmeats, and a hundred pieces of gold uncoined, not quite so large as moidores.

By the same fleet, my two merchant trustees shipped me 1200 chests of sugar, 800 rolls of tobacco, and the rest of the whole account in gold.

I might well say, now indeed, that the latter end of Job was better than the beginning. It is impossible to express the flutterings of my very heart, when I looked over these letters, and especially when I found all my wealth about me; for as the Brazil ships come all in fleets, the same ships which brought my letters, brought my goods; and the effects were safe in the river before the letters came to my hand. In a word, I turned pale and grew sick; and had not the old man run and fetched me a cordial, I believe the sudden surprise of joy had overset nature, and I had died upon the spot.

Nay after that, I continued very ill, and was so some hours, till a physician being sent for, and something of the real cause of my illness being known, he ordered me to be let blood; after which I had relief, and grew well: but I verily believe, if it had not been eased by a vent given in that manner to the spirits, I should have died.

I was now master, all on a sudden, of above £5000 sterling in money, and had an estate, as I might well call it, in the Brazils, of above a thousand pounds a year, as sure as an estate of lands in England: and in a word, I was in a condition which I scarce knew how to understand, or how to compose myself, for the enjoyment of it.

The first thing I did, was to recompense my original benefactor, my good old captain, who had been first charitable to me in my distress, kind to me in my beginning, and honest to me at the end: I showed him all that was sent me; I told him, that next to the providence of Heaven, which disposes all things, it was owing to him; and that it now lay on me to reward him, which I would do a hundred-fold: so I first returned to him the hundred moidores I had received of him, then I sent for a notary, and caused him to draw up a general release or discharge for the 470 moidores, which he had acknowledged he owed me in the fullest and firmest manner possible; after which, I caused a procuration to be drawn, empowering him to be my receiver of the annual profits of my plantation, and appointing my partner to account to him, and make the returns by the usual fleets to him in my name; and a clause in the end, being a grant of 100 moidores a year to him, during his life, out of the effects, and 50 moidores a year to his son after him, for his life: and thus I requited my old man.

I was now to consider which way to steer my course next, and what to do with the estate that Providence had thus put into my hands; and indeed I had more care upon my head now than I had in my silent state of life in the island, where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted: whereas I had now a great charge upon me, and my business was how to secure it. I had ne'er a cave now to hide my money in, or a place where it might lie without lock or key, till it grew mouldy and tarnished before anybody would meddle with it: on the contrary, I knew not where to put it, or who to trust with it. My old patron, the captain, indeed, was honest, and that was the only refuge I had.

In the next place, my interest in the Brazils seemed to summon me thither, but now I could not tell how to think of going thither, till I had settled my affairs, and left my effects in some safe hands behind me. At first I thought of my old friend the widow, who I knew was honest, and would be just to me; but then she was in years, and but poor, and, for aught I knew, might be in debt; so that in a word, I had no way but to go back to England myself, and take my effects with me.

It was some months, however, before I resolved upon this; and therefore, as I had rewarded the old captain fully, and to his satisfaction, who had been my former benefactor, so I began to think of my poor widow, whose husband had been my first benefactor, and she, while it was in her power, my faithful steward and instructor. So the first thing I did, I got a merchant in Lisbon to write to his correspondent in London, not only to pay a bill, but to go find her out, and carry her in money a hundred pounds for me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her poverty, by telling her she should, if I lived, have a further supply: at the same time I sent my two sisters in the country each of them a hundred pounds, they being, though not in want, yet not in very good circumstances; one having been married, and left a widow; and the other having a husband not so kind to her as he should be.

But among all my relations, or acquaintances, I could not yet pitch upon one to whom I durst commit the gross of my stock, that I might go away to the Brazils, and leave things safe behind me; and this greatly perplexed me.

I had once a mind to have gone to the Brazils, and have settled myself there; for I was, as it were, naturalized to the place; but I had some little scruple in my mind about religion, which insensibly drew me back, of which I shall say more presently. However, it was not religion that kept me from going there for the present; and as I had made no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country, all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet; only that now and then having of late thought more of it, (than formerly,) when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having professed myself a papist, and thought it might not be the best religion to die with.

But, as I have said, this was not the main thing that kept me from going to the Brazils, but that really I did not know with whom to leave my effects behind me; so I resolved at last to go to England with it, where, if I arrived, I concluded I should make some acquaintance, or find some relations that would be faithful to me; and accordingly I prepared to go for England with all my wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going home, I first, the Brazil fleet being just going away, resolved to give answers suitable to the just and faithful account of things I had from thence; and first to the prior of St. Augustine I wrote a letter full of thanks for their just dealings, and the offer of the 872 moidores, which were undis-

posed of, which I desired might be given, 500 to the monastery, and 372 to the poor, as the prior should direct, desiring the good padre's prayers for me, and the like.

I wrote next a letter of thanks to my two trustees, with all the acknowledgment that so much justice and honesty called for; as for sending them any present, they were far above having any occasion for it.

Lastly, I wrote to my partner, acknowledging his industry in the improving the plantation, and his integrity in increasing the stock of the works, giving him instructions for his future government of my part, according to the powers I had left with my old patron, to whom I desired him to send whatever became due to me, till he should hear from me more particularly; assuring him that it was my intention, not only to come to him, but to settle myself there for the remainder of my life: to this I added a very handsome present of some Italian silks for his wife and two daughters, for such the captain's son informed me he had; with two pieces of fine English broad cloth, the best I could get in Lisbon, five pieces of black baize, and some Flanders lace of a good value.

Having thus settled my affairs, sold my cargo, and turned all my effects into good bills of exchange, my next difficulty was, which way to go to England: I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to going to England by sea at that time; and though I could give no reason for it, yet the difficulty increased upon me so much, that though I had once shipped my baggage, in order to go, yet I altered my mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true, I had been very unfortunate by sea, and this might be some of the reason; but let no man slight the strong impulses of his own thoughts in cases of such moment: two of the ships which I had singled out to go in, I mean, more particularly singled out than any other, so as in one of them to put my things on board, and in the other to have agreed with the captain; I say, two of these ships miscarried, viz. one was taken by the Algerines, and the other was cast away on the Start, near Torbay, and all the people drowned, except three; so that in either of those vessels I had been made miserable; and in which most, it was hard to say.

Having been thus harassed in my thoughts, my old pilot, to whom I communicated everything, pressed me earnestly not to go by sea, but either to go by land to the Groyne, and cross over the Bay of Biscay to Rochelle, from whence it was but an easy and safe journey by land to Paris, and so to Calais and Dover; or to go up to Madrid, and so all the way by land through France.

In a word, I was so prepossessed against my going by sea at all, except from Calais to Dover, that I resolved to travel all the way by land; which as I was not in haste, and did not value the charge, was by much the pleasanter way; and to make it more so, my old captain brought an English gentleman, the son of a merchant in Lisbon, who was willing to travel with me: after which we picked up two more English merchants also, and two young Portuguese gentlemen, the last going to Paris only; so that we were in all six of us, and five servants; the two merchants and the two Portuguese, contenting themselves with one servant between two, to save the charge; and as for me, I got an English sailor to travel with me as a servant, besides my man Friday, who was too much a stranger to be capable of supplying the place of a servant on the road.

In this manner I set out from Lisbon; and our company being all very well mounted and armed, we made a little troop, whereof they did me the honour to call me captain, as well because I was the oldest man, as because I had two servants, and indeed was the original of the whole journey.

As I have troubled you with none of my sea journals, so I shall trouble you now with none of my land journal: but some adventures that happened to us in this tedious and difficult journey I must not omit.

When we came to Madrid, we being all of us strangers to Spain, were willing to stay some time to see the court of Spain, and to see what was worth observing; but it being the latter part of the summer, we hastened away, and set out from Madrid about the middle of October: but when we came to the edge of Navarre, we were alarmed at several towns on the way, with an account, that so much snow was fallen on the French side of the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to Pampeluna, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

When we came to Pampeluna itself, we found it so indeed; and to me that had been always used to a hot climate, and to countries where I could scarce bear any clothes on, the cold was insufferable; nor indeed was it more painful than surprising, to come but ten days before out of the Old Castile, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot, and immediately to feel a wind from the Pyrenean mountains, so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger the benumbing and perishing of our fingers and toes.

Poor Friday was really frightened when he saw the mountains all covered with snow, and felt cold weather, which he had never seen or felt before in his life.

To mend the matter, when we came to Pampeluna, it continued snowing with so much violence, and so long, that the people said, winter was come before its time, and the roads which were difficult before, were now quite impassable: for in a word, the snow lay in some places too thick for us to travel; and being not hard frozen, as is the case in the northern countries, there was no going without being in danger of being buried alive every step. We stayed no less than twenty days at Pampeluna; when seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter all over Europe that had been known in the memory of man, I proposed that we should all go away to Fontarabia, and there take shipping for Bourdeaux, which was a very little voyage.

But while we were considering this, there came in four French gentlemen, who having been stopped on the French side of the passes, as we were on the Spanish, had found out a guide, who traversing the country near the head of Languedoc, had brought them over the mountains by such ways, that they were not much incommoded with the snow; and where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

We sent for this guide, who told us he would undertake to carry us the same way with no hazard from the snow, provided we were armed sufficiently to protect us from wild beasts; for he said, upon these great snows, it was frequent for some wolves to show themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food, the ground being covered with snow. We told him, we were well enough prepared for such creatures as they were, if he would insure us from

a kind of two-legged wolves, which we were told, we were in most danger from, especially on the French side of the mountains.

He satisfied us that there was no danger of that kind in the way that we were to go; so we readily agreed to follow him, as did also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some French, some Spanish, who, as I said, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly, we all set out from Pampeluna, with our guide, on the fifteenth of November; and indeed, I was surprised, when instead of going forward, he came directly back with us on the same road that we came from Madrid, above twenty miles; when being passed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleasant, and no snow to be seen; but on a sudden, turning to his left, he approached the mountains another way; and though it is true, the hills and precipices looked dreadful, yet he made so many tours, such meanders, and led us by such winding ways, that we were insensibly passed the height of the mountains, without being much incumbered with the snow; and all on a sudden he showed us the pleasant fruitful provinces of Languedoc and Gascony, all green and flourishing; though indeed it was at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass yet.

We were a little uneasy however, when we found it snowed one whole day and a night, so fast, that we could not travel; but he bid us be easy, we should soon be past it all: we found indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to come more north than before; and so depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when our guide being something before us, and not just in sight, out rushed three monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, out of a hollow way, adjoining to a thick wood; two of the wolves flew upon the guide, and had he been half a mile before us, he had been devoured, before we could have helped him: one of them fastened upon his horse, and the other attacked the man with that violence, that he had not time, or not presence of mind enough, to draw his pistol, but hallooed and cried out to us most lustily; my man Friday being next me, I bade him ride up, and see what was the matter; as soon as Friday came in sight of the man, he hallooed out as loud as the other, 'O master! O master!' but like a bold fellow, rode directly up to the poor man, and with his pistol shot the wolf that attacked him into the head.

It was happy for the poor man, that it was my man Friday; for he having been used to that kind of creature in his country, had no fear upon him; but went close up to him, and shot him as above; whereas any other of us, would have fired at a farther distance, and have perhaps either missed the wolf, or endangered shooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I, and indeed it alarmed all our company, when with the noise of Friday's pistol, we heard on both sides the dismallest howling of wolves, and the noise redoubled by the echo of the mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious multitude of them; and perhaps indeed there was not such a few, as that we had no cause of apprehensions.

However, as Friday had killed this wolf, the other that had fastened upon the horse, left him immediately, and fled; having happily fastened upon his head, where the bosses of the bridle had stuck in his teeth, so that he had not done him much hurt: the man indeed was most hurt; for the raging creature had bit him twice, once on the arm, and the other time a little above his knee; and he was just as it were tumbling down by the disorder of his horse, when Friday came up and shot the wolf.

It is easy to suppose, that at the noise of Friday's pistol, we all mended our pace, and rode up as fast as the way (which was very difficult) would give us leave, to see what was the matter; as soon as we came clear of the trees, which blinded us before, we saw clearly what had been the case, and how Friday had disengaged the poor guide; though we did not presently discern what kind of creature it was he had killed.

But never was a fight managed so hardily, and in such a surprising manner, as that which followed between Friday and the bear, which gave us all (though at first we were surprised and afraid for him) the greatest diversion imaginable. As the bear is a heavy, clumsy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, who is swift and light; so he has two particular qualities, which generally are the rule of his actions; first, as to men, who are not his proper prey; because though I cannot say what excessive hunger might do, which was now their case, the ground being all covered with snow; but as to men, he does not usually attempt them, unless they first attack him: on the contrary, if you meet him in the woods, if you don't meddle with him, he won't meddle with you; but then you must take care to be very civil to him, and give him the road; for he is a very nice gentleman, he will not go a step out of his way for a prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your best way is to look another way, and keep going on; for sometimes if you stop, and stand still, and look steadily at him, he takes it for an affront; but if you throw or toss anything at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of stick, as big as your finger, he takes it for an affront, and sets all other business aside to pursue his revenge; for he will have satisfaction in point of honour; that is his first quality: the next is, that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you, night or day, till he has his revenge; but follows at a good round rate, till he overtakes you.

My man Friday had delivered our guide, and when we came up to him, he was helping him off from his horse; for the man was both hurt and frighted, and indeed the last more than the first; when on the sudden, we spied the bear come out of the wood, and a vast monstrous one it was, the biggest by far that ever I saw. We were all a little surprised when we saw him; but when Friday saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance; 'O! O! O!' says Friday, three times, pointing to him; 'O master! you give me te leave, me shakee te hand with him; me make you good laugh.'

I was surprised to see the fellow so well pleased; 'You fool you,' says I, 'he will eat you up.' 'Eatee me up! eatee me up!' says Friday, twice over again; 'me eatee him up: me make you good laugh: you all stay here, me show you good laugh;' so down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and put on a pair of pumps (as we call the flat shoes they wear) and which he had in his pocket, gives my other servant his horse, and with his gun away he flew swift like the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till Friday coming pretty near, calls to him, as if the bear could understand him; 'Hark ye, hark ye,' says Friday, 'me speakee wit you.' We followed at a distance; for

now being come down on the Gascony side of the mountains, we were entered a vast great forest, where the country was plain, and pretty open, though many trees in it scattered here and there.

Friday, who had as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone, and throws at him, and hit him just on the head; but did him no more harm, than if he had thrown it against a wall; but it answered Friday's end; for the rogue was so void of fear, that he did it purely to make the bear follow him, and show us some laugh as he called it.

As soon as the bear felt the stone, and saw him, he turns about, and comes after him, taking devilish long strides, and shuffling along at a strange rate, so as would have put a horse to a middling gallop; away runs Friday, and takes his course, as if he run towards us for help; so we all resolved to fire at once upon the bear, and deliver my man; though I was angry at him heartily, for bringing the bear back upon us, when he was going about his own business another way; and especially I was angry that he had turned the bear upon us, and then run away; and I called out, 'You dog, is this your making us laugh? Come away, and take your horse, that we may shoot the creature;' he hears me, and cries out, 'No shoot, no shoot, stand still, you get much laugh.' And as the nimble creature ran two feet for the bear's one, he turned on a sudden, on one side of us, and seeing a great oak tree, fit for his purpose, he beckoned to us to follow, and doubling his pace, he gets nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground, at about five or six yards from the bottom of the tree.

The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance; the first thing he did, he stopped at the gun, smelt to it, but let it lie, and up he scrambles into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrously heavy: I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see anything to laugh at yet, till seeing the bear get up the tree, we all rode near to him.

When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the small end of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him; as soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker, 'Ha,' says he to us, 'now you see me teachee the bear dance;' so he falls a jumping and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back; then indeed we did laugh heartily. But Friday had not done with him by a great deal; when he sees him stand still, he calls out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak English; 'What, you no come farther? pray you come farther;' so he left jumping and shaking the tree; and the bear, just as if he had understood what he said, did come a little farther, then he fell a jumping again, and the bear stopped again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and I called to Friday to stand still, and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly, 'O pray! O pray! no shoot, me shoot by and then;' he would have said, 'by and by.' However, to shorten the story, Friday danced so much, and the bear stood so ticklish, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do; for first we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off; and we found the bear was too cunning for that too; for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clings fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it, and where the jest would be at last.

But Friday put us out of doubt quickly; for seeing the bear cling fast to the bough, and that he would not be persuaded to come any farther, 'Well, well,' says Friday, 'you no come farther, me go, me go; you no come to me, me go come to you;' and upon this, he goes out to the smaller end of the bough, where it would bend with his weight, and gently lets himself down by it, sliding down the bough, till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he runs to his gun, takes it up, and stands still.

'Well,' said I to him, 'Friday, what will you do now? Why don't you shoot him?' 'No shoot,' says Friday, 'no yet, me shoot now, me no kill; me stay, give you one more laugh;' and indeed so he did, as you will see presently: for when the bear saw his enemy gone, he comes back from the bough where he stood; but did it mighty leisurely, looking behind him every step, and coming backward till he got into the body of the tree; then with the same hinder-end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws and moving one foot at a time, very leisurely. At this juncture, and just before he could set his hind feet on the ground, Friday stepped up close to him, clapped the muzzle of his piece into his ear, and shot him dead as a stone.

Then the rogue turned about, to see if we did not laugh, and when he saw we were pleased by our looks, he falls a laughing himself very loud; 'So we kill bear in my country,' says Friday. 'So you kill them,' says I, 'why you have no gun:' 'No,' says he, 'no gun, but shoot great much long arrow.'

This was indeed a good diversion to us; but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew; the howling of wolves ran much in my head; and indeed, except the noise I once heard on the shore of Africa, of which I have said something already, I never heard anything that filled me with so much horror.

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as Friday would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving; but we had three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us, so we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was still covered with snow, though not so deep and dangerous as on the mountains, and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the forest and plain country, pressed by hunger, to seek for food; and had done a great deal of mischief in the villages, where they surprised the country people, killed a great many of their sheep and horses, and some people too.

We had one dangerous place to pass, which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them there; and this was in a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long narrow defile or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then we should come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sunset when we entered the first wood; and a little after sunset when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except, that in a little plain within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed one after another, as if they had been in chase of some prey, and had it in view; they took no notice of us, and were gone and out of our sight in a few moments.

Upon this our guide, who by the way was a wretched faint-hearted fellow, bid us keep in a ready posture; for he believed there were more wolves a coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us, but we saw no more wolves till we came through that wood, which was near half a league, and entered the plain; as soon as we came into the plain, we had occasion enough to look about us: the first object that we met with was a dead horse; that is to say, a poor horse which the wolves had killed, and at least a dozen of them at work; we could not say eating of him, but picking of his bones rather; for they had eaten up all the flesh before.

We did not think fit to disturb them at their feast, neither did they take much notice of us: Friday would have let fly at them, but I would not suffer him by any means; for I found we were like to have more business upon our hands than we were aware of. We were not gone half over the plain, but we began to hear the wolves howl in the wood on our left, in a frightful manner, and presently after we saw about a hundred coming on directly towards us, all in a body, and most of them in a line, as regularly as an army drawn up by experienced officers. I scarce knew in what manner to receive them; but found to draw ourselves in a close line was the only way: so we formed in a moment: but that we might not have too much interval, I ordered that only every other man should fire, and that the others who had not fired, should stand ready to give them a second volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us, and then that those who had fired at first, should not pretend to load there fusees again, but stand ready with every one a pistol; for we were all armed with a fusee and a pair of pistols each man; so we were by this method able to fire six volleys, half of us at a time; however, at present we had no necessity; for upon firing the first volley, the enemy made a full stop, being terrified as well with the noise, as with the fire; four of them being shot into the head, dropped; several others were wounded, and went bleeding off, as we could see by the snow: I found they stopped, but did not immediately retreat; whereupon, remembering that I had been told that the fiercest creatures were terrified at the voice of a man, I caused all the company to halloo as loud as we could; and I found the notion not altogether mistaken; for upon our shout, they began to retire, and turn about; then I ordered a second volley to be fired, in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again, and that we might lose no time, we kept going; but we had little more than loaded our fusees, and put ourselves into a readiness, when we heard a terrible noise in the same wood, on our left, only that it was farther onward the same way we were to go.

The night was coming on, and the light began to be dusky, which made it worse on our side; but the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of those hellish creatures; and on a sudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves, one on our left, one behind us, and one in our front, so that we seemed to be surrounded with them; however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which the way being very rough, was only a good large trot; and in this manner we came in view of the entrance of a wood, through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain; but we were greatly surprised, when coming nearer the lane or pass, we saw a confused number of wolves standing just at the entrance.

On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun; and looking that way, out rushed a horse, with a saddle and a bridle on him, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him, full speed; indeed, the horse had the heels of them; but as we supposed that he could not hold it at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at last, and no question but they did.

But here we had a most horrible sight; for riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcass of another horse, and of two men, devoured by the ravenous creatures, and one of the men was no doubt the same who we heard fire the gun; for there lay a gun just by him, fired off; but as to the man, his head and the upper part of his body were eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take, but the creatures resolved us soon; for they gathered about us presently, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them: it happened very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood, but a little way from it, there lay some large timber trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there for carriage; I drew my little troop in among those trees, and placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, I advised them all to light, and keeping that tree before us for a breastwork, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts, enclosing our horses in the centre.

We did so, and it was well we did; for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place; they came on with a growling kind of a noise (and mounted the piece of timber, which as I said, was our breastwork) as if they were only rushing upon their prey; and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasioned by their seeing our horses behind us, which was the prey they aimed at: I ordered our men to fire as before, every other man; and they took their aim so sure, that indeed they killed several of the wolves at the first volley; but there was a necessity to keep a continual firing, for they came on like devils, those behind pushing on those before.

When we had fired our second volley of our fusees, we thought they stopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off; but it was but a moment, for others came forward again; so we fired two volleys of our pistols, and I believe in these four firings we had killed seventeen or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many; yet they came on again.

I was loath to spend our shot too hastily; so I called my servant, not my man Friday, for he was better employed; for with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he had charged my fusee and his own, while we were engaged; but as I said, I called my other man, and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train; he did so, and had just time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, and some were got upon it, when I, snapping an uncharged pistol, close to the powder, set it on fire; those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire; we despatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frighted with the light, which the night, for it was now very near dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon which I ordered our last pistol to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout; upon this, the wolves turned tail, and we sallied immediately upon near twenty lame ones, who we found struggling on the ground, and fell a cutting them with our swords, which answered our expectation; for the crying and howling they made, was better understood by their fellows, so that they all fled and left us.

We had, first and last, killed about threescore of them; and had it been daylight, we had killed many more. The field of battle being thus cleared, we made forward again; for we had still near a league to go. We heard the ravenous creatures howl and yell in the woods as we went, several times; and sometimes we fancied we saw some of them, but the snow dazzling our eyes, we were not certain; so in about an hour more, we came to the town where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible fright, and all in arms; for it seems, that the night before, the wolves and some bears had broke into the village in the night, and put them in a terrible fright, and they were obliged to keep guard night and day, but especially in the night, to preserve their cattle, and indeed their people.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his limbs swelled with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no farther; so we were obliged to take a new guide there, and go to Toulouse, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, nor anything like them; but when we told our story at Toulouse, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest at the foot of the mountains, especially when the snow lay on the ground: but they inquired much what kind of a guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season; and told us it was very much we were not all devoured. When we told them how we placed ourselves, and the horses in the middle, they blamed us exceedingly, and told us it was fifty to one but we had been all destroyed; for it was the sight of the horses which made the wolves so furious, seeing their prey; and that at other times they are really afraid of a gun; but they being excessive hungry, and raging on that account, the eagerness to come at the horses had made them senseless of danger; and that if we had not by the continued fire, and at last by the stratagem of the train of powder, mastered them, it had been great odds but that we had been torn to pieces; whereas had we been content to have sat still on horseback, and fired as horsemen, they would not have taken the horses so much for their own, when men were on their backs, as otherwise; and withal they told us, that at last, if we had stood altogether, and left our horses, they would have been so eager to have devoured them, that we might have come off safe, especially having our firearms in our hands, and being so many in number.

For my part, I was never so sensible of danger in my life; for seeing above three hundred devils come roaring and open-mouthed to devour us, and having nothing to shelter us, or retreat to, I gave myself over for lost; and as it was, I believe I shall never care to cross those mountains again; I think I would much rather go a thousand leagues by sea, though I was sure to meet with a storm once a week.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of in my passage through France; nothing but what other travellers have given an account of, with much more advantage than I can. I travelled from Toulouse to Paris, and without any considerable stay, came to Calais, and landed safe at Dover, the fourteenth of January, after having had a severe cold season to travel in.

I was now come to the centre of my travels, and had in a little time all my new discovered estate safe about me, the bills of exchange which I brought with me having been very currently paid.

My principal guide and privy counsellor, was my good ancient widow, who in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me; and I trusted her so entirely with everything, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects: and indeed, I was very happy from my beginning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my effects with this woman, and setting out for Lisbon, and so to the Brazils; but now another scruple came in my way, and that was religion; for as I had entertained some doubts about the Roman religion, even while I was abroad, especially in my state of solitude; so I knew there was no going to the Brazils for me, much less going to settle there, unless I resolved to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, without any reserve; unless on the other hand, I resolved to be a sacrifice to my principles, to be a martyr for my religion, and die in the Inquisition; so I resolved to stay at home, and if I could find means for it, to dispose of my plantation.

To this purpose I wrote to my old friend at Lisbon, who in return gave me notice, that he could easily dispose of it there: but that if I thought fit to give him leave to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees, who lived in the Brazils, who must fully understand the value of it, who lived just upon the spot, and who I knew were very rich; so that he believed they would be fond of buying it; he did not doubt, but I should make 4 or 5000 pieces of eight, the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, gave him order to offer it to them, and he did so; and in about 8 months more, the ship being then returned, he sent me an account, that they had accepted the offer, and had remitted 33,000 pieces of eight, to a correspondent of theirs at Lisbon, to pay for it.

In return, I signed the instrument of sale in the form which they sent from Lisbon, and sent it to my old man, who sent me bills of exchange for 32,800 pieces of eight for the estate; reserving the payment of 100 moidores a year to him, the old man, during his life, and 50 moidores afterwards to his son for his life, which I had promised them, which the plantation was to make good as a rent-charge. And thus I have given the first part of a life of fortune and adventure, a life of Providence's chequer-work, and of a variety which the world will seldom be able to show the like of: beginning foolishly, but closing much more happily than any part of it ever gave me leave so much as to hope for.

Any one would think, that in this state of complicated good fortune, I was past running any more hazards; and so indeed I had been, if other circumstances had concurred; but I was inured to a wandering life, had no family, not many relations, nor however rich had I contracted much acquaintance; and though I had sold my estate in the Brazils, yet I could not keep the country out of my head, and had a great mind to be upon the wing again; especially I could not resist the strong inclination I had to see my island, and to know if the poor Spaniards were in being there, and how the rogues I had left there had used them.

My true friend, the widow, earnestly dissuaded

me from it, and so far prevailed with me, that for almost seven years, she prevented my running abroad, during which time, I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care: the eldest having something of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate, after my decease; the other I put out to a captain of a ship; and after five years, finding him a sensible, bold, enterprising young fellow, I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea: and this young fellow afterwards drew me in, as old as I was, to farther adventures myself.

In the mean time, I in part settled myself here; for first of all, I married, and that not either to my disadvantage or dissatisfaction, and had three children, two sons and one daughter: but my wife dying, and my nephew coming home with good success from a voyage to Spain, my inclination to go abroad, and his importunity prevailed and engaged me to go in his ship, as a private trader to the East Indies: this was in the year 1694.

In this voyage I visited my new colony in the island, saw my successors the Spaniards, had the whole story of their lives, and of the villains I left there; how at first they insulted the poor Spaniards, how they afterwards agreed, disagreed, united, separated, and how at last the Spaniards were obliged to use violence with them, how they were subjected to the Spaniards, how honestly the Spaniards used them; a history, if it were entered into as full of variety and wonderful accidents, as my own part; particularly also as to their battles with the Caribbeans, who landed several times upon the island; and as to the improvement they made upon the island itself, and how five of them made an attempt upon the mainland, and brought away eleven men and five women prisoners, by which, at my coming, I found about twenty young children on the island.

Here I stayed about 20 days, left them supplies of all necessary things, and particularly of arms, powder, shot, clothes, tools, and two workmen, which I brought from England with me, viz. a carpenter and a smith.

Besides this, I shared the island into parts with them, reserved to myself the property of the whole, but gave them such parts respectively as they agreed on; and having settled all things with them, and engaged them not to leave the place, I left them there.

From thence I touched at the Brazils, from whence I sent a bark, which I bought there, with more people to the island, and in it, besides other supplies, I sent seven women, being such as I found proper for service, or for wives to such as would take them: as to the Englishmen, I promised them to send them some women from England, with a good cargo of necessaries, if they would apply themselves to planting, which I afterwards performed. And the fellows proved very honest and diligent after they were mastered, and had their properties set apart for them. I sent them also from the Brazils five cows, three of them being big with calf, some sheep, and some hogs, which, when I came again, were considerably increased.

But all these things, with an account how 300 Caribbees came and invaded them, and ruined their plantations, and how they fought with that whole number twice, and were at first defeated, and three of them killed; but at last a storm destroying their enemies' canoes, they famished or destroyed almost all the rest, and recovered the possession of their plantation, and still lived upon the island.

All these things, with some very surprising incidents in some new adventures of my own, for ten years more, I may perhaps give a further account of hereafter.

SECOND PART OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

The further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, being the second and last part of his life; and of the strange, surprising accounts of his Travels round three parts of the globe. Written by Himself. To which is added a map of the world, in which is delineated the Voyages of Robinson Crusoe.

[THE favourable reception of the former volume, says Defoe's biographer, notwithstanding some insidious attempts to prejudice the public against it, encouraged the Author to pursue the subject. A Second Part, the composition of which was the labour of little more than three months, was published in the following August. In his preface he complains of an abridgment of the First Part having been published, injuring the Author both in his reputation and purse. In order to warn the public against it, he inserted an advertisement in the *St. James' Post* for August 7, 1719, announcing that the pretended abridgment, 'clandestinely printed for T. Cox, at the Amsterdam Coffee-House, consists only of some scattered passages, incoherently tacked together, wherein the Author's sense throughout is wholly mistaken, the matters of fact misrepresented, and the moral reflections misapplied. It's hoped the public will not give encouragement to so base a practice, the proprietor intending to prosecute the venders according to law.' This notice produced some

angry discussions between the parties. Taylor, Defoe's publisher, commenced a suit in Chancery for the protection of his copyright, and Cox vindicated himself from any concern in the piracy, by an advertisement inserted in the *Flying Post*, Oct. 29, 1719.

The reader cannot fail to notice again in this Second Part, the extent and wonderful accuracy and clearness of Defoe's geographical knowledge. He must have read Marco Polo, and must also have been familiar with the works of later travellers, as he appears to have been perfectly familiar with the general aspect of eastern and northern Asia, and to have had a perfectly distinct notion of the relative situations of the several native tribes or nations, their manners, customs, religion, etc.]

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE Success the former Part of this Work has met with in the World, has yet been no other than is acknowledg'd to be due to the surprising Variety of the Subject, and to the agreeable Manner of the Performance.

All the Endeavours of envious People to reproach it with being a Romance, to search it for Errors in Geography, Inconsistency in the Relation, and Contradictions in the Fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious.

The just Application of every Incident, the religious and useful Inferences drawn from every Part, are so many Testimonies to the good Design of making it publick, and must legitimate all the Part that may be call'd Invention, or Parable in the Story.

The Second Part, if the Editor's Opinion may pass, is (contrary to the Usage of Second Parts,) every Way as entertaining as the First, contains as strange and surprising Incidents, and as great a Variety of them; nor is the Application less serious, or suitable; and doubtless will, to the sober, as well as ingenious Reader, be every way as profitable and diverting; and this makes the abridging this Work, as scandalous, as it is knavish and ridiculous, seeing, while to shorten the Book, that they may seem to reduce the Value, they strip it of all those Reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest Beauties of the Work, but are calculated for the infinite Advantage of the Reader.

By this they leave the Work naked of its brightest Ornaments; and if they would, at the same Time pretend, that the Author has supply'd the Story out of his Invention, they take from it the Improvement, which alone recommends that Invention to wise and good Men.

The Injury these Men do the Proprietor of this Work, is a Practice all honest Men abhor; and he believes he may challenge them to shew the Difference between that and Robbing on the Highway, or Breaking open a House.

If they can't shew any Difference in the Crime, they will find it hard to shew why there should be any Difference in the Punishment: And he will answer for it, that nothing shall be wanting on his Part, to do them Justice.

THAT homely proverb used on so many occasions in England, viz. that 'what is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh,' was never more verified than in the story of my life. Any one would think, that after thirty-five years' affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if any ever, went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulness of all things; grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man completely happy: I say, after all this, any one would have thought, that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my first setting out into the world, to have been so predominant in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at least condensed, and I might at 61 years of age have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay farther, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me; for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing to seek: if I had gained ten thousand pounds, I had been no richer; for I had already sufficient for me, and for those I had to leave it to; and that I had was visibly increasing; for having no great family, I could not spend the income of what I had, unless I would set up for an expensive way of living, such

as a great family, servants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; so that I had nothing indeed to do, but to sit still, and fully enjoy what I had got, and see it increase daily upon my hands.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least, not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical distemper; particularly the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, ran in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination ran upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it in my sleep; in short, nothing could remove it out of my mind; it even broke so violently into all my discourses, that it made my conversation tiresome; for I could talk of nothing else; all my discourse ran into it, even to impertinence, and I saw it in myself.

I have often heard persons of good judgment say, that all the stir people make in the world about ghosts and apparitions, is owing to the strength of imagination, and the powerful operation of fancy in their minds; that there is no such thing as a spirit appearing, or a ghost walking, and the like: that people's poring affectionately upon the past conversation of their deceased friends, so realises it to them, that they are capable of fancying, upon some extraordinary circumstances, that they see them, talk to them, and are answered by them; when in truth, there is nothing but shadow and vapour in the thing, and they really know nothing of the matter.

For my part, I know not to this hour, whether there are any such things as real apparitions, spectres, or walking of people after they are dead; or whether there is anything in the stories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, sick minds, and wandering fancies; but this I know, that my imagination worked up to such a height, and brought me into such ecstasies of vapours, or what else I may call it, that I actually supposed myself oftentimes upon the spot, at my old castle behind the trees; saw my old Spaniard, Friday's father, and the reprobate sailors I left upon the island; nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them so steadily, though I was broad awake, as at persons just before me; and this I did till I often frightened myself with the images my fancy represented to me. One time in my sleep I had the villany of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me by the first Spaniard and Friday's father, that it was surprising; they told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the Spaniards, and that they set fire to the provisions they had laid up, on purpose to distress and starve them; things that I had never heard of, and that indeed were never all of them true in fact; but it was so warm in my imagination, and so realized to me, that to the hour I saw them, I could not be persuaded, but that it was or would be true; also how I resented it, when the Spaniard complained to me, and how I brought them to justice, tried them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged. What there was really in this, shall be seen in its place: for however I came to form such things in my dream, and what secret converse of spirits injected it, yet there was very much of it true. I say, I own, that this dream had nothing in it literally and specifically true: but the general part was so true, the base villanous behaviour of these three hardened rogues was such, and had been so much worse than all I can describe, that the dream had too much similitude of the fact; and as I would afterwards have punished them severely, so if I had hanged them all, I had been much in the right, and should have been justified both by the laws of God and man.

But to return to my story. In this kind of temper I had lived some years; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleasant hours, no agreeable diversion, but what had something or other of this in it; so that my wife, who saw my mind so wholly bent upon it, told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that she found nothing hindered my going, but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me that it was true she could not think of parting with me; but as she was assured, that if she was dead, it would be the first thing I would do, so as it seemed to her that the thing was determined above, she would not be the only obstruction: for if I thought fit, and resolved to go——Here she found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earnestly at her; so that it a little disordered her, and she stopped. I asked her, why she did not go on, and say out what she was going to say? But I perceived her heart was too full, and some tears stood in her eyes. 'Speak out, my dear,' said I, 'are you willing I should go?' 'No,' says she, very affectionately, 'I am far from willing: but if you are resolved to go,' says she, 'and rather than I will be the only hindrance, I will go with you; for though I think it a most preposterous thing for one of your years, and in your condition, yet, if it must be,' said she, again weeping, 'I would not leave you; for if it be of Heaven, you must do it; there is no resisting it; and if Heaven make it your duty to go, He will also make it mine to go with you, or otherwise dispose of me, that I may not obstruct it.'

This affectionate behaviour of my wife's brought me a little out of the vapours, and I began to consider what I was doing; I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myself sedately, what business I had after threescore years, and after such a life of tedious sufferings and disasters, and closed in so happy and easy a manner, I say, what business I had to rush into new hazards, and put myself upon adventures, fit only for youth and poverty to run into?

With those thoughts I considered my new engagement; that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another; that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to seek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of seeking to increase it; that as to what my wife had said, of its being an impulse from Heaven, and that it should be my duty to go, I had no notion of that; so after many of these cogitations, I struggled with the power of my imagination, reasoned myself out of it, as I believe people may always do in like cases if they will; and, in a word, I conquered it; composed myself with such arguments as occurred to my thoughts, and which my present condition furnished me plentifully with, and particularly, as the most effectual method, I resolved to divert myself with other things, and to engage in some business that might effectually tie me up from any more excursions of this kind; for I found that thing return upon me chiefly when I was idle, and had nothing to do, nor anything of moment immediately before me.

To this purpose I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford, and resolved to remove myself thither. I had a little convenient house upon it,

and the land about it I found was capable of great improvement, and it was many ways suited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, and improving of land; and particularly, being an inland country, I was removed from conversing among ships, sailors, and things relating to the remote part of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, settled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horses, cows, sheep; and setting seriously to work, became, in one half year, a mere country gentleman; my thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my servants, cultivating the ground, enclosing, planting, &c., and I lived, as I thought, the most agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of being retreated to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles; I could pull up or cut down as I pleased: what I planted was for myself, and what I improved was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the least discomfort in any part of life, as to this world. Now I thought indeed that I enjoyed the middle state of life, that my father so earnestly recommended to me, and lived a kind of heavenly life, something like what is described by the poet, upon the subject of a country life—

> 'Free from vices, free from care,
> Age has no pain, and youth no snare.'

But, in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unforeseen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me inevitable and incurable, but drove me, by its consequences, into a deep relapse into the wandering disposition, which, as I may say, being born in my very blood, soon recovered its hold of me, and like the returns of a violent distemper, came on with an irresistible force upon me; so that nothing could make any more impression upon me. This blow was the loss of my wife.

It is not my business here to write an elegy upon my wife, give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the sex by the flattery of a funeral sermon. She was, in a few words, the stay of all my affairs, the centre of all my enterprises, the engine, that by her prudence reduced me to that happy compass I was in, from the most extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head, as above; and did more to guide my rambling genius than a mother's tears, a father's instructions, a friend's counsel, or my own reasoning powers could do. I was happy in listening to her tears, and in being moved by her entreaties, and to the last degree desolate and dislocated in the world by the loss of her.

When she was gone, the world looked awkwardly round me; I was as much a stranger in it, in my thoughts, as I was in the Brazils, when I went first on shore there; and as much alone, except as to the assistance of servants, as I was in my island. I knew neither what to do, or what not to do. I saw the world busy around me, one part labouring for bread, another part squandering in vile excesses or empty pleasures, equally miserable, because the end they proposed still fled from them; for the man of pleasure every day surfeited of his vice, and heaped up work for sorrow and repentance; and the men of labour spent their strength in daily strugglings for bread to maintain the vital strength they laboured with, so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.

This put me in mind of the life I lived in my kingdom, the island; where I suffered no more corn to grow, because I did not want it; and bred no more goats, because I had no more use for them; where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mouldy, and had scarce the favour to be looked upon in 20 years.

All these things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reason and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to search farther than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was something which certainly was the reason and end of life, superior to all these things, and which was either to be possessed, or at least hoped for on this side the grave.

But my sage counsellor was gone, I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run afore the wind: my thoughts ran all away again into the old affair, my head was quite turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures, and all the pleasant, innocent amusements of my farm, and my garden, my cattle and my family, which before entirely possessed me, were nothing to me, had no relish, and were like music to one that has no ear, or food to one that has no taste: in a word, I resolved to leave off housekeeping, let my farm, and return to London; and in a few months after, I did so.

When I came to London, I was still as uneasy as I was before; I had no relish to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to saunter about like an idle person, of whom it may be said, he is perfectly useless in God's creation; and it is not one farthing's matter to the rest of his kind whether he be dead or alive. This also was the life, which of all circumstances of life was the most my aversion, who had been all my days used to an active life; and I would often say to myself, 'A state of idleness is the very dregs of life;' and indeed I thought I was much more suitably employed, when I was 26 days a making me a deal board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom as I had observed before, I had brought up to the sea, and had made him commander of a ship, was come home from a short voyage to Bilboa, being the first he had made; and he came to me, and told me that some merchants of his acquaintance had been proposing to him to go a voyage for them to the East Indies, and to China, as private traders: 'And now, uncle,' says he, 'if you will go to sea with me, I'll engage to land you upon your old habitation in the island, for we are to touch at the Brazils.'

Nothing can be a greater demonstration of a future state, and of the existence of an invisible world, than the concurrence of second causes with the ideas of things, which we form in our minds, perfectly reserved, and not communicated to any in the world.

My nephew knew nothing how far my distemper of wandering was returned upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thoughts to say, when that very morning before he came to me, I had, in a great deal of confusion of thought, and revolving every part of my circumstances in my mind, come to this resolution, viz. that I would go to Lisbon, and consult with my old sea-captain; and so if it was rational and practicable, I would go and see the island again, and see what was become of my people there. I had pleased myself with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession, and I know not what; when in the middle of all this, in comes

my nephew, as I have said, with his project of carrying me thither, in his way to the East Indies.

I paused awhile at his words, and, looking steadily at him, 'What devil,' said I, 'sent you of this unlucky errand?' My nephew startled as if he had been frighted at first; but perceiving that I was not much displeased with the proposal, he recovered himself. 'I hope it may not be an unlucky proposal, sir,' says he, 'I dare say you would be pleased to see your new colony there, where you once reigned with more felicity, than most of your brother-monarchs in the world.'

In a word, the scheme hit so exactly with my temper, that is to say, the prepossession I was under, and of which I have said so much, that I told him in a few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him: but I told him, I would not promise to go any farther than my own island. 'Why, sir,' says he, 'you don't want to be left there again, I hope?' 'Why,' said I, 'can you not take me up again in your return?' He told me, it could not be possible that the merchants would allow him to come that way with a loaded ship of such value, it being a month's sail out of his way, and might be three or four: 'Besides, sir, if I should miscarry,' said he, 'and not return at all, then you would be just reduced to the condition you were in before.'

This was very rational; but we both found out a remedy for it, which was to carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which being taken in pieces, and shipped on board the ship, might by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be set up again in the island, and finished, fit to go to sea in a few days.

I was not long resolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me: on the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody concerned themselves so much for me, as to persuade me one way or the other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earnestly struggled with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazards of a long voyage; and above all, my young children. But it was all to no purpose, I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and I told her, I thought there was something so uncommon in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of resisting Providence, if I should attempt to stay at home; after which, she ceased her expostulations, and joined with me, not only in making provision for my voyage, but also in settling my family affairs for my absence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this, I made my will, and settled the estate I had in such a manner for my children, and placed in such hands, that I was perfectly easy and satisfied they would have justice done them, whatever might befall me; and for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a sufficient maintenance to herself for her care: all which she richly deserved; for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or understood it better; and as she lived till I came home, I also lived to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of January 1694–5, and I with my man Friday went on board in the Downs the 8th, having besides that sloop which I mentioned above, a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony, which if I did not find in good condition, I resolved to leave so.

First, I carried with me some servants, whom I purposed to place there as inhabitants, or at least to set on work there upon my own account while I stayed, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they would appear willing; particularly, I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic; for he was dexterous at making wheels, and hand-mills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker; he also made any thing that was proper to make of earth, or of wood; in a word, we called him our 'Jack of all trades.'

With these I carried a tailor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the East Indies with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most necessary, handy fellow as could be desired, in many other businesses besides that of his trade; for as I observed formerly, necessity arms us for all employments.

My cargo, as near as I can collect, for I have not kept an account of the particulars, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and some thin English stuffs for clothing the Spaniards that I expected to find there, and enough of them, as, by my calculation, might comfortably supply them for seven years; if I remember right, the materials I carried for clothing them with, gloves, hats, shoes, stockings, and all such things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above 200 pounds, including some beds, bedding, and household stuff, particularly kitchen utensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c., and near a hundred pounds more in iron work, nails, tools of every kind, staples, hooks, hinges, and every necessary thing I could think of.

I carried also a hundred spare arms, muskets, and fusees, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, three or four tons of lead, and two pieces of brass cannon; and because I knew not what time, and what extremities I was providing for, I carried a hundred barrels of powder, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron part of some pikes and halberds; so that, in short, we had a large magazine of all sorts of stores; and I made my nephew carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind if there was occasion; that when we came there, we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies; and indeed, I at first thought there was need enough for it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our possession of the island, as shall be seen in the course of that story.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with; and therefore shall have the less occasion to interrupt the reader, who perhaps may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet some odd accidents, cross winds, and bad weather happened on this first setting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at first; and I who had never made but one voyage, viz. my first voyage to Guinea, in which I might be said to come back again, as the voyage was at first designed, began to think the same ill fate still attended me; and that I was born never to be contented with being on shore, and yet to be always unfortunate at sea.

Contrary winds first put us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway in Ireland, where we lay windbound two and twenty days; but we had this satisfaction with the disaster, that provisions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmost plenty; so that while we lay here, we never touched the ship's stores, but rather added to them; also I took in several live hogs, and two cows, and calves, which I resolved,

if I had a good passage, to put on shore in my island, but we found occasion to dispose otherwise of them.

We set out on the 5th of February from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days. As I remember, it might be about the 20th of February, in the evening late, when the mate having the watch, came into the round-house, and told us he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for a while we heard nothing, but in a few minutes we saw a very great light, and found that there was some very terrible fire at a distance. Immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, in which we all agreed, that there could be no land that way, in which the fire showed itself, no not for 500 leagues, for it appeared at W.N.W. Upon this we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea; and as by our hearing the noise of guns just before, we concluded that it could not be far off, we stood directly towards it, and were presently satisfied we should discover it, because, the farther we sailed, the greater the light appeared, though the weather being hazy, we could not perceive anything but the light for a while. In about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly discern that it was a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea.

I was most sensibly touched with this disaster, though not at all acquainted with the persons engaged in it; I presently recollected my former circumstances, and in what condition I was in, when taken up by the Portuguese captain; and how much more deplorable the circumstances of the poor creatures belonging to this ship must be, if they had no other ship in company with them. Upon this, I immediately ordered that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them, that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to save themselves in their boat; for though we could see the flame of the ship, yet they, it being night, could see nothing of us.

We lay by some time upon this, only driving as the burning ship drove, waiting for daylight; when, on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air; and immediately, that is to say, in a few minutes, all the fire was out, that is to say, the rest of the ship sunk. This was a terrible, and indeed an afflicting sight, for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded, must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boat, in the middle of the ocean, which at present, by reason it was dark, I could not see: however, to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanterns for, and kept firing guns all the night long, letting them know by this, that there was a ship not far off.

About 8 o'clock in the morning we discovered the ship's boats by the help of our perspective glasses, and found there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water: we perceived they rowed, the wind being against them, that they saw our ship, and did their utmost to make us see them.

We immediately spread our antient, to let them know we saw them, and hung a waft out as a signal for them to come on board, and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In little more than half an hour we came up with them, and in a word took them all in, being no less than sixty-four men, women, and children; for there were a great many passengers.

Upon the whole, we found it was a French merchant-ship of 300 tons, homeward bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship, how the fire began in the steerage, by the negligence of the steersman; but on his crying out for help, was, as everybody thought, entirely put out, when they found that some sparks of the first fire had gotten into some part of the ship, so difficult to come at, that they could not effectually quench it, till getting in between the timbers, and within the ceiling of the ship, it proceeded into the hold, and mastered all the skill and all the application they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then, but to get into their boats, which to their great comfort, were pretty large, being their long-boat, and a great shallop, besides a small skiff, which was of no great service to them, other than to get some fresh water and provisions into her, after they had secured their lives from the fire. They had indeed small hopes of their lives by getting into these boats, at that distance from any land, only as they said well, that they were escaped from the fire, and had a possibility that some ship might happen to be at sea, and might take them in. They had sails, oars, and a compass, and were preparing to make the best of their way back to Newfoundland, the wind blowing pretty fair, for it blew an easy gale at S.E. by E. They had as much provisions and water, as with sparing it so as to be next door to starving, might support them about 12 days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain said he hoped he might get to the Banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take some fish, to sustain them till they might go on shore. But there were so many chances against them in all these cases; such as, storms to overset and founder them, rains and cold to benumb and perish their limbs, contrary winds to keep them out and starve them, that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped.

In the midst of their consternation, every one being hopeless and ready to despair, the captain with tears in his eyes told me, they were on a sudden surprised with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more; these were the five guns which I caused to be fired at first seeing the light. This revived their hearts, and gave them the notice, which, as above, I desired it should, viz. that there was a ship at hand for their help.

It was upon hearing these guns, that they took down their masts and sails; the sound coming from the windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three muskets, one a considerable while after another; but these, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again, they were still more agreeably surprised with seeing our lights, and hearing the guns, which, as I have said, I caused to be fired all the rest of the night; this set them to work with their oars, to keep their boats ahead, at least, that we might the sooner come up with them; and at last, to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them.

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange ecstasies, the variety of postures which these poor delivered people ran into to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance. Grief and fear are

easily described; sighs, tears, and groans, and a very few motions of the head and hands, make up the sum of its variety: but an excess of joy, a surprise of joy, has a thousand extravagances in it; there were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow, some stark raving and downright lunatic, some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; some were dancing, some singing, some laughing, more crying; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word; others sick and vomiting, several swooning, and ready to faint; and a few were crossing themselves, and giving God thanks.

I would not wrong them neither; there might be many that were thankful afterward, but the passion was too strong for them at first, and they were not able to master it; they were thrown into ecstasies and a kind of frenzy, and it was but a very few that were composed and serious in their joy.

Perhaps the case may have some addition to it from the particular circumstance of that nation they belonged to, I mean the French, whose temper is allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid than in other nations. I am not philosopher enough to determine the cause, but nothing I had ever seen before came up to it. The ecstasies poor Friday, my trusty savage, was in, when he found his father in the boat, came the nearest to it, and the surprise of the master and his two companions, whom I delivered from the villains that set them on shore in the island, came a little way towards it; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I saw in Friday, or anywhere else in my life.

It is further observable, that these extravagances did not show themselves in that different manner I have mentioned in different persons only; but all the variety would appear, in a short succession of moments, in one and the same person. A man that we saw this minute dumb, and as it were stupid and confounded, would the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antic; and the next moment be tearing his hair, or pulling his clothes to pieces, and stamping them under his feet, like a madman; and a few moments after that, we would have him all in tears, then sick, then swooning; and had not immediate help been had, he would in a few moments have been dead. And thus it was not with one or two, or ten or twenty, but with the greatest part of them; and if I remember right, our surgeon was obliged to let above thirty of them blood.

There were two priests among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was strangest was, the oldest man was the worst. As soon as he set his foot on board our ship, and saw himself safe, he dropped down stone-dead, not the least sign of life could be perceived in him; our surgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him, and was the only man in the ship, that believed he was not dead; at length he opened a vein in his arm, having first chafed and rubbed the part, so as to warm it as much as possible: upon this blood, which only dropped at first, flowed something freely; in three minutes after, the man opened his eyes, and about quarter of an hour after that he spoke, grew better, and in a little time, quite well. After the blood was stopped, he walked about, and told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial which the surgeon gave him, and was what we called, come to himself. About a quarter of an hour after, they came running into the cabin to the surgeon, who was bleeding a French woman that had fainted, and told him the priest was gone stark mad. It seems he had begun to revolve the change of his circumstance in his mind, and again this put him into an ecstasy of joy, his spirits whirled about faster than the vessels could convey them; the blood grew hot and feverish, and the man was as fit for Bedlam as any creature that ever was in it; the surgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him something to doze and put him to sleep, which, after some time, operated upon him, and he awoke next morning perfectly composed and well.

The younger priest behaved with great command of his passions, and was really an example of a serious well-governed mind; at his first coming on board the ship, he threw himself flat on his face, prostrating himself in thankfulness for his deliverance, in which I unhappily and unseasonably disturbed him, really thinking he had been in a swoon; but he spoke calmly, thanked me, told me he was giving God thanks for his deliverance, and begged me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Maker, he would give me thanks also.

I was heartily sorry that I disturbed him, and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him also. He continued in that posture about three minutes, or little more, after I left him, then came to me, as he had said he would, and with a great deal of seriousness and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me that had, under God, given him and so many miserable creatures their lives. I told him, I had no room to move him to thank God for it, rather than me: but I added, that it was nothing but what reason and humanity dictated to all men, and that we had as much reason as he to give thanks to God, who had blessed us so far as to make us the instruments of his mercy to so many of his creatures.

After this, the young priest applied himself to his country-folks; laboured to compose them; persuaded, entreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason; and with some he had success, though others were for a time out of all government of themselves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be useful to those into whose hands it may fall, for the guiding themselves in all the extravagances of their passions; for if an excess of joy can carry men out to such a length beyond the reach of their reason, what will not the extravagances of anger, rage, and a provoked mind, carry us to? And indeed here I saw reason for keeping an exceeding watch over our passions of every kind, as well those of joy and satisfaction, as those of sorrow and anger.

We were something disordered by these extravagances among our new guests for the first day, but when they had been retired, lodgings provided for them as well as our ship would allow, and they had slept heartily, as most of them did, they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness shown them, was wanting; the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain and one of the priests came to me the next day, and desired to speak with me and my nephew, the commander, began to consult with us what should be done with them; and first they told us, that as we had saved their lives, so all they had was little enough for a return to us for that kindness re-

ceived. The captain said, they had saved some money, and some things of value in their boats, catched hastily up out of the flames, and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way, where, if possible, they might get passage to France.

My nephew was for accepting their money at first word, and to consider what to do with them afterwards; but I overruled him in that part, for I knew what it was to be set on shore in a strange country; and if the Portuguese captain that took me up at sea had served me so, and took all I had for my deliverance, I must have starved, or have been as much a slave at the Brazils as I had been at Barbary, the mere being sold to a Mahometan excepted; and perhaps a Portuguese is not much a better master than a Turk, if not in some cases a much worse.

I therefore told the French captain that we had taken them up in their distress, it was true; but that it was our duty to do so as we were fellow-creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered, if we were in the like, or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them but what we believed they would have done for us, if we had been in their case, and they in ours; but that we took them up to save them, not to plunder them; and it would be a most barbarous thing to take that little from them which they had saved out of the fire, and then set them on shore and leave them: that this would be first to save them from death, and then to kill them ourselves; save them from drowning, and abandon them to starving; and therefore I would not let the least thing be taken from them. As to setting them on shore, I told them indeed that was an exceeding difficulty to us, for that the ship was bound to the East Indies; and though we were driven out of our course to the westward a very great way, and perhaps were directed by Heaven on purpose for their deliverance, yet it was impossible for us wilfully to change our voyage on this particular account, nor could my nephew, the captain, answer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter-party to pursue his voyage by the way of Brazil; and all I knew we could do for them, was to put ourselves in the way of meeting with other ships homeward bound from the West Indies, and get them passage, if possible, to England or France.

The first part of the proposal was so generous and kind, they could not but be very thankful for it; but they were in a very great consternation, especially the passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the East Indies; they then entreated me, that seeing I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same coast to the Banks of Newfoundland, where it was probable I might meet with some ship or sloop that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reasonable request on their part, and therefore I inclined to agree to it; for, indeed, I considered, that to carry this whole company to the East Indies, would not only be an intolerable severity upon the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage, by devouring all our provisions; so I thought it no breach of charter-party, but what an unforeseen accident made absolutely necessary to us, and in which no one could say we were to blame; for the laws of God and nature would have forbid that we should refuse to take up two boats full of people in such a distressed condition; and the nature of the thing, as well respecting ourselves as the poor people, obliged us to set them on shore somewhere or other for their deliverance: so I consented that we would carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit, and if not, that I would carry them to Martinico in the West Indies.

The wind continued fresh easterly, but the weather pretty good; and as the winds had continued in the points between N.E. and S.E. a long time, we missed several opportunities of sending them to France; for we met several ships bound to Europe, whereof two were French, from St. Christophers, but they had been so long beating up against the wind, that they durst take in no passengers, for fear of wanting provisions for the voyage, as well for themselves as for those they should take in; so we were obliged to go on. It was about a week after this that we made the Banks of Newfoundland, where, to shorten my story, we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at sea there, to put them on shore, and afterwards to carry them to France, if they could get provisions to victual themselves with. When I say all the French went on shore, I should remember, that the young priest I spoke of, hearing we were bound to the East Indies, desired to go the voyage with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of Coromandel, which I readily agreed to, for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason, as will appear afterwards; also four of the seamen entered themselves on our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

From hence we directed our course to the West Indies, steering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, sometimes little or no wind at all, when we met with another subject for our humanity to work upon, almost as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of 27 degrees 5 minutes north, and the 19th day of March 1694–5, when we spied a sail, our course S.E. and by S. We soon perceived it was a large vessel, and that she bore up to us, but could not at first know what to make of her, till after coming a little nearer, we found she had lost her main-topmast, foremast, and bowsprit; and presently she fired a gun, as a signal of distress; the weather was pretty good, wind at N.N.W. a fresh gale, and we soon came to speak with her.

We found her a ship of Bristol, bound home from Barbadoes, but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore, so that besides the terror of the storm, they were but in an indifferent case for good artists to bring the ship home. They had been already nine weeks at sea, and had met with another terrible storm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the westward, and in which they lost their masts, as above. They told us they expected to have seen the Bahama Islands, but were then driven away again to the south-east, by a strong gale of wind at N.N.W., the same that blew now, and having no sails to work the ship with but a maincourse, and a kind of square sail upon a jury foremast, which they had set up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to stand away for the Canaries.

But that which was worst of all, was, that they were almost starved for want of provisions, besides the fatigues they had undergone; their bread and flesh were quite gone, they had not one ounce left in the ship, and had had none for eleven days; the only relief they had was, their

water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had sugar enough; some succades, or sweetmeats, they had at first, but they were devoured, and they had seven anks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother and a maid-servant on board, who were going passengers, and thinking the ship was ready to sail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began, and having no provisions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest; for the seamen being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers, and they were, indeed, in a condition, that their misery is very hard to describe.

I had, perhaps, not known this part, if my curiosity had not led me, the weather being fair, and the wind abated, to go on board the ship. The second mate who upon this occasion commanded the ship, had been on board our ship, and he told me indeed they had three passengers in the great cabin, that were in a deplorable condition; 'nay,' says he, 'I believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them for above two days, and I was afraid to inquire after them,' said he, 'for I had nothing to relieve them with.'

We immediately applied ourselves to give them what relief we could spare; and indeed I had so far overruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to Virginia, or any other part of the coast of America, to have supplied ourselves; but there was no necessity for that.

But now they were in a new danger; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them. The mate or commander brought six men with him in his boat, but these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, that they could hardly sit to their oars. The mate himself was very ill, and half-starved; for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went share and share alike with them in every bit they ate.

I cautioned him to eat sparingly, but set meat before him immediately; and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be sick, and out of order; so he stopped awhile, and our surgeon mixed him up something with some broth, which he said would be to him both food and physic; and after he had taken it, he grew better. In the meantime, I forgot not the men; I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than ate it; they were so exceeding hungry, that they were in a kind ravenous, and had no command of themselves; and two of them ate with so much greediness, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The sight of these people's distress was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible prospect of at my first coming on shore in my island, where I had never the least mouthful of food, or any prospect of procuring any; besides the hourly apprehension I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miserable condition of the ship's company, I could not put out of my thought the story he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin, viz. the mother, her son, and the maid-servant, whom he had heard nothing of for two or three days, and whom he seemed to confess they had wholly neglected, their own extremities being so great; by which I understood, that they had really given them no food at all, and that therefore they must be perished, and be all lying dead, perhaps, on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board with his men, to refresh them, so I also forgot not the starving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go on board the ship, and with my mate and twelve men, to carry them a sack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our surgeon charged the men to cause the meat to be boiled while they stayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a very little at a time; and by this caution he preserved the men, who would otherwise have killed themselves with that very food that was given them on purpose to save their lives.

At the same time, I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see what condition the poor passengers were in, and if they were alive, to comfort them, and give them what refreshment was proper; and the surgeon gave him a large pitcher, with some of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

I was not satisfied with this, but as I said above, having a great mind to see the scene of misery which I knew the ship itself would present me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult, to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready: but my mate observed his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door, and the man he placed there, after using all possible persuasion to have patience, kept them off by force: however, he caused some biscuit-cakes to be dipped in the pot, and softened with the liquor of the meat, which they called brewis, and gave them every one, one, to stay their stomachs, and told them it was for their own safety that he was obliged to give them but little at a time. But it was all in vain; and had I not come on board, and their own commander and officers with me, and with good words, and some threats also of giving them no more, I believe they would have broken into the cook-room by force, and torn the meat out of the furnace; for words are indeed of very small force to a hungry belly: however we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiously for the first time, and the next time gave them more, and at last filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest; for as first the ship's company had so little for themselves, it was but too true that they had at first kept them very low, and at last totally neglected them; so that for six or seven days it might be said they had really no food at all, and for several days before very little. The poor mother, who as the men reported, was a woman of sense and good breeding, had spared all she could get, so affectionately for her son, that at last she entirely sunk under it: and when the mate of our ship went in, she sat upon the floor or deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk between her shoulders, like a corpse, though not quite dead. My mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth; she opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak; yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating that it was too late

for her, but pointed to her child, as if she would have said, they should take care of him.

However, the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth, and as he said, got two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not: but it was too late, and she died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed, as one stretched out, with hardly any life left in him; he had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the rest of it; however, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly to revive, though by giving him some time after but two or three spoonfuls extraordinary, he was very sick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid; she lay all along upon the deck, hard by her mistress, and just like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and struggled for life. Her limbs were distorted, one of her hands was clasped round the frame of a chair, and she griped it so hard, that we could not easily make her let go; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin-table; in short, she lay just like one in the last agonies of death, and yet she was alive too.

The poor creature was not only starved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her mistress, whom she saw dying for two or three days before, and whom she loved most tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our surgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, had with great application recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hand as to her senses, for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after, as shall appear presently.

Whoever shall read these memorandums must be desired to consider, that visits at sea are not like a journey into the country, where sometimes people stay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our business was to relieve this distressed ship's crew, but not lie by for them; and though they were willing to steer the same course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts; however, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up a main-topmast, and a kind of a topmast to his jury foremast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days, and then having given him five barrels of beef, and a barrel of pork, two hogsheads of biscuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could spare; and taking three casks of sugar, some rum, and some pieces-of-eight of them for satisfaction, we left them, taking on board with us, at their own earnest request, the youth and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about seventeen years of age, a pretty, well-bred, modest, and sensible youth, greatly dejected with the loss of his mother, and, as it seems, had lost his father but a few months before at Barbadoes. He begged of the surgeon to speak to me to take him out of the ship, for he said the cruel fellows had murdered his mother; and indeed so they had, that is to say, passively; for they might have spared a small sustenance to the poor helpless widow, that might have preserved her life, though it had been but just enough to keep her alive. But hunger knows no friend, no relation, no justice, no right, and therefore is remorseless, and capable of no compassion.

The surgeon told him how far we were going, and how it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him perhaps in as bad circumstances almost as those we found him in; that is to say, starving in the world. He said he mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew that he was among: that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had saved his life, and he was sure would not hurt him; and as for the maid, he was sure, if she came to herself, she would be very thankful for it, let us carry them where we would. The surgeon represented the case so affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them both on board, with all their goods, except eleven hogsheads of sugar, which could not be removed or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander sign a writing, obliging himself to go, as soon as he came to Bristol, to one Mr. Rogers a merchant there, to whom the youth said he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceased widow; which I suppose was not done, for I could never learn that the ship came to Bristol, but was, as is most probable, lost at sea, being in so disabled a condition, and so far from any land, that I am of opinion the first storm she met with afterwards she might founder in the sea; for she was leaky, and had damage in her hold when we met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 degrees 32 minutes, and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. I shall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c. on the rest of our voyage; but shortening my story, for the sake of what is to follow, shall observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April, 1695. It was with no small difficulty that I found the place; for as I came to it, and went from it, before, on the south and east side of the island, as coming from the Brazils, so now, coming in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, nor any landmark, I did not know it when I saw it, or know whether I saw it or not.

We beat about a great while, and went on shore on several islands in the mouth of the great river Orinoco, but none for my purpose. Only this I learned by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, viz. that the continent which I thought I saw from the island I lived in, was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands, reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the savages who came to my island were not properly those which we call Caribbees, but islanders, and other barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of these islands to no purpose; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some Spaniards, and thought they had lived there; but speaking with them, found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and they came thither to make salt and to catch some pearl mussels, if they could, but that they belonged to the Isle de Trinidad, which lay farther north, in the latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

But at last coasting from one island to another, sometimes with the ship, sometimes with the Frenchmen's shallop, which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept her with their

very good will; at length I came fair on the south side of my island, and I presently knew the very countenance of the place; so I brought the ship safe to an anchor, broadside with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As soon as I saw the place, I called for Friday, and asked him if he knew where he was? He looked about a little, and presently clapping his hands, cried, 'O yes, O there, O yes, O there,' pointing to our old habitation, and fell dancing and capering like a mad fellow, and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim ashore to the place.

'Well, Friday,' says I, 'do you think we shall find anybody here or no? and do you think we shall see your father?' The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected, and I could see the tears run down his face very plentifully. 'What is the matter, Friday?' says I, 'are you troubled because you may see your father?' 'No, no,' says he, shaking his head, 'no see him more, no ever more see him again.' 'Why so,' said I, 'Friday, how do you know that?' 'O no, O no,' says Friday, 'he long ago die, long ago; he much old man.' 'Well, well,' says I, 'Friday, you don't know; but shall we see any one else, then?' The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he points just to the hill above my old house; and though we lay half a league off, he cries out 'We see! we see! yes, we see much man there, and there, and there.' I looked, but I could see nobody, no not with a perspective glass, which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place, for the fellow was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day; and there were five or six men altogether, stood to look at the ship, not knowing what to think of us.

As soon as Friday told me he saw people, I caused the English antient to be spread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends, and in about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a smoke rise from the side of the creek; so I immediately ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me, and hanging out a white flag, or a flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the story of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular both of myself and those I left there; and who was on that account, extremely desirous to go with me. We had besides about sixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new guests there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek; and the first man I fixed my eye upon, was the Spaniard whose life I had saved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well; as to his habit, I shall describe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself, but there was no keeping Friday in the boat; for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off of the Spaniards, where indeed I saw nothing of him; and if they had not let him go on shore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, but he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man have shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joy when he came to his father; how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and lay down by him, then stood and looked at him, as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then lie down on the ground, and stroke his legs, and kiss them, and then get up again, and stare at him; one would have thought the fellow bewitched. But it would have made a dog laugh the next day to see how his passion ran out another way: in the morning he walked along the shore, to and again, with his father several hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a lady; and every now and then he would come to fetch something or other for him, to the boat, either a lump of sugar, or a dram, a biscuit-cake, or something or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolics ran another way; for then he would set the old man down upon the ground and dance about him, and make a thousand antic postures and gestures; and all the while he did this, he would be talking to him, and telling him one story or another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In short, if the same filial affection was to be found in Christians to their parents, in our part of the world, one would be tempted to say, there would hardly have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But this is a digression; I return to my landing. It would be endless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The first Spaniard, whom, as I said, I knew very well, was he whose life I had saved; he came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also; and he not only did not know me at first, but he had no thoughts, no notion of its being me that was come, till I spoke to him. 'Seignior,' said I, in Portuguese, 'do you not know me?' At which he spoke not a word; but giving his musket to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and saying something in Spanish that I did not perfectly hear, comes forward and embraced me, telling me he was inexcusable not to know that face again, that he had once seen as if an angel from heaven sent to save his life: he said abundance of very handsome things, as a well-bred Spaniard always knows how; and then beckoning to the person that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then asked me if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me possession of my own house again, and where I should see there had been but mean improvements; so I walked along with him; but, alas! I could no more find the place again than if I had never been there: for they had planted so many trees, and placed them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another; and in ten years' time they were grown so big, that in short the place was inaccessible, except by such windings and blind ways, as they themselves only, who made them, could find.

I asked them what put them upon all these fortifications? He told me, I would say there was need enough of it, when they had given me an account how they had passed their time since their arriving in the island; especially after they had the misfortune to find that I was gone. He told me, he could not but have some satisfaction in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone in a good ship, and to my satisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a strong persuasion that one time or other he should see me again: but nothing that ever befel him in his life, he said, was so surprising and afflicting to him at first, as the disappointment he was under when he came back to the island, and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom, he said, he had a long story to tell me, the Spaniards all thought themselves much better among the

savages, only that their number was so small; 'and,' says he, 'had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory;' and with that he crossed himself on the breast: 'But, sir,' says he, 'I hope you will not be displeased when I shall tell you how, forced by necessity, we were obliged, for our own preservation, to disarm them, and make them our subjects, who would not be content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers.' I answered I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of everything first, and left the others in a state of subjection, as they deserved: but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory, ungoverned villains, and were fit for any manner of mischief.

While I was saying this, came the man whom he had sent back, and with him eleven men more. In the dress they were in, it was impossible to guess what nation they were of: but he made all clear, both to them and to me. First he turned to me, and pointing to them, said, 'These, sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you;' and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up, one by one, not as if they had been sailors and ordinary fellows, and the like, but really, as if they had been ambassadors of noblemen, and I a monarch or a great conqueror; their behaviour was to the last degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly, majestic gravity, which very well became them; and, in short, they had so much more manners than I, that I scarce knew how to receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

The history of their coming to, and conduct in the island, after my going away, is so very remarkable, and has so many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to understand, and which will in most of the particulars, refer to the account I have already given, that I cannot but commit them with great delight, to the reading of those that come after me.

I shall no longer trouble the story with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the expense of ten thousand *said I's*, and *said he's*, and *he told me's*, and *I told him's*, and the like; but I shall collect the facts historically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my conversing with them and with the place.

In order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstance in which I left the island, and in which the persons were of whom I am to speak. And first, it is necessary to repeat, that I had sent away Friday's father and the Spaniard, the two whose lives I had rescued from the savages; I say, I had sent them away in a large canoe, to the main, as I then thought it, to fetch over the Spaniard's companions, whom he had left behind him, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in, and in order to succour them for the present; and that, if possible, we might together find some way for our deliverance afterward.

When I sent them away, I had no visible appearance of, or the least room to hope for my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty years before; much less had I any foreknowledge of what afterwards happened, I mean of an English ship coming on shore there to fetch me off; and it could not but be a very great surprise to them when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three strangers left on the spot, possessed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, however, which I inquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part; and I desired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I sent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part, for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, having had very calm weather and a smooth sea; for his countrymen it could not be doubted, he said, but that they were overjoyed to see him. (It seems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the vessel they had been shipwrecked in having been dead some time); they were, he said, the more surprised to see him, because they knew that he was fallen into the hands of the savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him as they did all the rest of the prisoners; that when he told them the story of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furnished for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them; and their astonishment, they said, was something like that of Joseph's brethren, when he told them who he was, and told them the story of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court: but when he showed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and provisions that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were restored to themselves, took a just share of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their first business was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to stick so much upon the honest part of it, but to trespass upon their friendly savages, and to borrow two large canoes, or *periaguas*, on pretence of going out a fishing, or for pleasure.

In these they came away the next morning. It seems they wanted no time to get themselves ready; for they had no baggage, neither clothes or provisions, or anything in the world, but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they used to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks absent, and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occasion offered for my escape, as I mentioned in my other part, and to get off from the island, leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungoverned, disagreeable villains behind me, that any man could desire to meet with, to the poor Spaniards' great grief and disappointment, you may be sure.

The only just thing the rogues did, was, that when the Spaniards came on shore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them provisions and other relief, as I had ordered them to do; also they gave them the long paper of directions which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; the way how I baked my bread, bred up tame goats, and planted my corn; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and in a word, everything I did. All this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards, two of whom understood English well enough; nor did they refuse to accommodate the Spaniards with everything else, for they agreed very well for some time. They gave them an equal admission into the house or cave; and they began to live very sociably, and the head Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my methods, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs: for, as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about

the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises, and when they came home at night, the Spaniards provided their suppers for them.

The Spaniards would have been satisfied with this, would the other but have let them alone, which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long, but like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themselves, and would not let others eat neither. The differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial, and such as are not worth relating; but at last it broke out into open war, and it began with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined, without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed, to common sense; and though it is true, the first relation of it came from the Spaniards themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation, and this was, that I forgot to set down among the rest, that just as we were weighing the anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ship, which I was afraid once would have turned to a second mutiny; nor was it appeased till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some ugly dangerous words the second time, he threatened to carry them in irons to England, and have them hanged there for mutiny, and running away with the ship.

This, it seems, though the captain did not intend to do it, frighted some other men in the ship, and some of them had put it into the heads of the rest, that the captain only gave them good words for the present, till they should come to some English port, and that then they should be all put into jail, and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was desired that I, who still passed for a great man among them, should go down with the mate, and satisfy the men, and tell them that they might be assured, if they behaved well the rest of the voyage, all they had done for the time past should be pardoned. So I went, and after passing 'my honour's' word to them, they appeared easy; and the more so, when I caused the two men that were in irons, to be released and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind also falling calm; next morning we found, that our two men who had been laid in irons had stole each of them a musket, and some other weapons; what powder or shot they had, we know not; and had taken the ship's pinnace, which was not yet hauled up, and run away with her to their companions in roguery on shore.

As soon as we found this, I ordered the longboat on shore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to seek the rogues, but they could neither find them nor any of the rest; for they all fled into the woods when they saw the boat coming on shore. The mate was once resolved, in justice to their roguery, to have destroyed their plantations, burned all their household stuff and furniture, and left them to shift without it; but having no orders, he let it all alone, left everything as they found it, and bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them.

These two men made their number five, but the other three villains were so much wickeder than these, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned the two new comers out of doors to shift for themselves, and would have nothing to do with them, nor could they, for a good while, be persuaded to give them any food; as for the Spaniards, they were not yet come.

When the Spaniards came first on shore, the business began to go forward; the Spaniards would have persuaded the three English brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it. So the two poor fellows lived by themselves, and finding nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortably, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, but a little more on the west, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the east parts of the island.

Here they built them two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in, and the Spaniards having given them some corn for seed, and especially some of the peas which I had left them, they dug, and planted, and enclosed, after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well. Their first crop of corn was on the ground; and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at first, having had but a little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them with bread and other eatables; and one of the fellows, being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and other such preparations, as the rice and the milk, and such little flesh as they got, furnished him to do.

They were going on in this little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs, that the governor, meaning me, had given them the possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it, and damn them, they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they would pay them rent for them.

The two men, thinking they had jested at first, asked them to come in and sit down, and see what fine houses they were that they had built, and tell them what rent they demanded; and one of them merrily told them if they were groundlandlords, he hoped, if they built tenements upon their land, and made improvements, they would, according to the custom of landlords, grant them a long lease, and bid them go fetch a scrivener to draw the writings. One of the three damning and raging, told them they should see they were not in jest, and going to a little place at a distance, where the honest men had made a fire to dress their victuals, he takes a firebrand, and claps it to the outside of their hut, and very fairly set it on fire, and it would have been burned all down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thrust him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without some difficulty too.

The fellow was in such a rage at the honest man's thrusting him away, that he returned upon him with a pole he had in his hand, and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade seeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muskets, and the man that was first struck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down that had begun the quarrel, with the stock of his musket, and that before the other two could come to help him; and then seeing the rest come at them, they stood together, and presenting the

other ends of their pieces to them, bade them stand off.

The other had firearms with them too, but one of the two honest men, bolder than his comrade, and made desperate by his danger, told them, if they offered to move hand or foot, they were dead men, and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms, but seeing him so resolute, it brought them to a parley, and they consented to take their wounded man with them, and be gone; and indeed it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow. However, they were much in the wrong, since they had the advantage, that they did not disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the Spaniards, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some intimation that they did so.

But not to crowd this part with an account of the lesser part of their rogueries, such as treading down their corn, shooting three young kids, and a she-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner, it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three the first time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this, they resolved to go to the castle, as they called it, that was, my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the Spaniards should stand by, to see fair play; so they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the Englishmen by their names, telling a Spaniard, that answered, that they wanted to speak with them.

It happened, that the day before, two of the Spaniards, having been in the woods, had seen one of the two Englishmen, whom, for distinction, I called the honest men, and he had made a sad complaint to the Spaniards of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn, that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed the milch goat and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their sustenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards, did not assist them again, they should be starved. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at supper, he took the freedom to reprove the three Englishmen, though in very gentle and mannerly terms, and asked them how they could be so cruel, they being harmless inoffensive fellows, that they were putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labour, and that it had cost them a great deal of pains to bring things to such perfection as they had?

One of the Englishmen returned very briskly, What had they to do there? that they came on shore without leave, and that they should not plant or build upon the island, it was none of their ground. 'Why,' says the Spaniard, very calmly, 'Seignior Inglese, they must not starve.' The Englishman replied, like a true rough-hewn tarpauling, 'They might starve and be damn'd, they should not plant nor build.' 'But what must they do then, seignior?' said the Spaniard. Another of the brutes returned, 'Do! d——n them, they should be servants, and work for them.' 'But how can you expect that of them,' says the Spaniard, 'they are not bought with your money? you have no right to make them servants.' The Englishman answered, 'The island was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had anything to do there but themselves;' and with that swore by his Maker that they would go and burn all their new huts, they should build none upon their land.

'Why, seignior,' says the Spaniard, 'by the same rule, we must be your servants too.' 'Ah,' says the bold dog, 'and so you shall too, before we have done with you,' mixing two or three G—d damme's in the proper intervals of his speech. The Spaniard only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them, and, starting up, one says to the other, I think it was he they called Will Atkins, 'Come, Jack, let's go, and have t'other brush with 'em; we'll demolish their castle, I'll warrant you, they shall plant no colony in our dominions.'

Upon this, they went all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol, and a sword, and muttered some insolent things among themselves, of what they would do to the Spaniards too, when opportunity offered; but the Spaniards, it seems, did not so perfectly understand them as to know all the particulars; only that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two Englishmen's part.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the Spaniards said they did not know; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night, and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves. The case was this, they had resolved to stay till midnight, and so to take the two poor men when they were asleep, and as they acknowledged afterwards, intended to set fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out; and as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was very strange they should not have been kept waking.

However, as the two men had also a design upon them, as I have said, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad, before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came there and found the men gone, Atkins, who, it seems, was the forwardest man, called out to his comrades, 'Ha! Jack, here's the nest, but d——n them the birds are flown.' They mused awhile to think what should be the occasion of their being gone abroad so soon, and suggested presently, that the Spaniards had given them notice of it, and with that they shook hands, and swore to one another that they would be revenged of the Spaniards. As soon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation; they did not set fire indeed to anything, but they pulled down both their houses, and pulled them so limb from limb, that they left not the least stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood: they tore all their little collected household stuff in pieces, and threw everything about in such a manner, that the poor men afterwards found some of their things a mile off their habitation.

When they had done this, they pulled up all the young trees the poor men had planted, pulled up an enclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn; and in a word, sacked and plundered everything, as competely as a horde of Tartars would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two to three: so that had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them,

for they were all very stout resolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them asunder, than they themselves could do to meet; for, as if they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again; we shall see their differing conduct presently. When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about had put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, sneering in his face, says he to him, 'And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your manners.' The Spaniard, who though a quiet civil man, was as brave a man as could be desired to be, and withal a strong well-made man, looked steadily at him for a good while, and then, having no weapon in his hand, stepped gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe; at which one of the rogues, insolent at the first, fired his pistol at the Spaniard immediately. He missed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe, he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat; for before he acted all in a perfect calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped to take the fellow's musket whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him, when the rest of the Spaniards, being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stepped in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool, and giving the Spaniards better words, would have had their arms again; but the Spaniards considering the feud that was between them and the other two Englishmen, and that it would be the best method they could take, to keep them from killing one another, told them they would do them no harm, and if they would live peaceably, they would be very willing to assist and associate with them, as they did before, but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared so resolved to do mischief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their servants.

The rogues were now no more capable to hear reason, than to act with reason, and being refused their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no firearms. But the Spaniards despising their threatening, told them they should take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle, for if they did, they would shoot them as they would do ravenous beasts, wherever they found them; and if they fell into their hands alive, they should certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them, but away they went raging and swearing like furies of hell. As soon as they were gone, came back the two men in passion and rage enough also, though of another kind; for having been at their plantation, and finding it all demolished and destroyed, as above, it will easily be supposed they had provocation enough; they could scarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were so eager to tell them theirs; and it was strange enough to find that three men should thus bully nineteen, and receive no punishment at all.

The Spaniards indeed despised them, and especially, having thus disarmed them, made light of all their threatenings; but the two Englishmen resolved to have their remedy against them, what pain soever it cost to find them out.

But the Spaniards interposed here too, and told them, that as they had disarmed them, they could not consent that they (the two) should pursue them with firearms, and perhaps kill them; 'but,' said the grave Spaniard, who was their governor, 'we will endeavour to make them do you justice, if you will leave it to us; for as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their passion is over, being not able to subsist without our assistance, we promise you to make no peace with them, without having a full satisfaction for you; upon this condition we hope you will promise to use no violence with them, other than in your own defence.'

The two Englishmen yielded to this very awkwardly, and with great reluctance; but the Spaniards protested that they did it only to keep them from bloodshed, and to make all easy at last; 'for,' said they, 'we are not so many of us, here is room enough for us all, and it is great pity we should not be all good friends.' At length they did consent, and waited for the issue of the thing, living for some days with the Spaniards, for their own habitation was destroyed.

In about five days' time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles' eggs all that while, came back to the grove, and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive, humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards used them civilly, but told them they had acted so unnaturally by their countrymen, and so very grossly by them (the Spaniards), that they could not come to any conclusion without consulting the two Englishmen and the rest; but however, they would go to them and discourse about it, and they should know in half an hour. It may be guessed, that they were very hard put to it; for, it seems, as they were to wait this half hour for an answer, they begged they would send them out some bread in the meantime, which they did, and sent them at the same time a large piece of goat's flesh and a broiled parrot, which they ate very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half an hour's consultation they were called in, and a long debate had among them, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now. Upon the whole, the Spaniards acted the moderator between them, and as they had obliged the two Englishmen not to hurt the three while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and build their fellows' two huts, one of the same, and the other of larger dimensions, than they were before; to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up their fences, plant trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it, and in a word, to restore everything

in the same state as they found it, as near as they could, for entirely it could not be, the season for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, not being possible to be recovered.

Well, they submitted to all this, and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together, only that these three fellows could never be persuaded to work, I mean for themselves, except now and then a little, just as they pleased. However, the Spaniards told them plainly, that if they would but live sociably and friendly together, and study in the whole the good of the plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleased; and thus having lived pretty well together for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them arms again, and gave them liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had these arms, and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be insolent and troublesome as before; but however, an accident happening presently upon this, which endangered the safety of them all, they were obliged to lay by all private resentments, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the Spaniard governor, as I call him, that is to say, the Spaniard whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep; he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous, his mind ran upon men fighting and killing of one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any sleep. In short, he lay a great while, but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise. As they lay, being so many of them, upon goats' skins, laid thick upon such couches and pads as they made for themselves, not in hammocks and ship beds, as I did, who was but one, so they had little to do, when they were willing to rise, but to get up upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, such as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them.

Being thus got up, he looked out, but being dark, he could see little or nothing; and besides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is described, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear starlight night, and hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again; but it was all one, he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to anything like rest; but his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked, and calling, asked who it was that was up? The governor told him how it had been with him. 'Say you so?' says the other Spaniard, 'such things are not to be slighted, I assure you; there is certainly some mischief working near us;' and presently he asked him, 'Where are the Englishmen?' 'They are all in their huts,' says he, 'safe enough.' It seems, the Spaniards had kept possession of the main apartment, and had made a place where the three Englishmen since their last mutiny always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. 'Well,' says the Spaniard, 'there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience; I am satisfied our spirits embodied have a converse with, and receive intelligence from the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world, and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we knew how to make use of it. Come,' says he, 'let us go and look abroad, and if we find nothing at all in it to justify the trouble, I'll tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it.'

In a word, they went out to go up to the top of the hill where I used to go, but they being strong, and in good company, not alone, as I was, used none of my cautions, to go up by the ladder, and then pulling it up after them, to go up a second stage to the top, but were going round through the grove unconcerned and unwary, when they were surprised with seeing a light as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not one or two, but of a great number.

In all the discoveries I had made of the savages landing on the island, it was my constant care to prevent them making the least discovery of there being any inhabitant upon the place; and when by any occasion they came to know it, they felt it so effectually, that they that got away were scarce able to give any account of it, for we disappeared as soon as possible; nor did ever any that had seen me, escape to tell any one else, except it was the three savages in our last encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned, that I was afraid they should go home and bring more help.

Whether it was the consequence of the escape of those men, that so great a number came now together, or whether they came ignorantly, and by accident, on their usual bloody errand, they could not it seems understand; but whatever it was, it had been their business, either to have concealed themselves, as not to have seen them at all, much less to have let the savages have seen that there were any inhabitants in the place, or to have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been, by getting in between them and their boats; but this presence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt, but that the governor and the man with him, surprised with this sight, ran back immediately, and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in; and they again as readily took the alarm, but it was impossible to persuade them to stay close within where they were, but they must all run out to see how things stood.

While it was dark indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough for some hours, to view them by the light of three fires they had made at a distance from one another; what they were doing they knew not, and what to do themselves they knew not. For, first, the enemy were too many; and secondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into several parties, and were on shore in several places.

The Spaniards were in no small consternation at this sight, and as they found that the fellows ran straggling all over the shore, they made no doubt, but first or last, some of them would chop in upon their habitation, or upon some other place where they would see the token of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity also for fear of their flock of goats, which would have been little less than starving them, if they should have been destroyed; so the first thing they resolved upon was, to despatch three men away before it was

light, two Spaniards and one Englishman, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itself.

Could they have seen the savages all together in one body, and at a distance from their canoes, they resolved, if they had been a hundred of them, to have attacked them; but that could not be obtained, for they were some of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and beating their brains in considering their present circumstances, they resolved at last, while it was still dark, to send the old savage, Friday's father, out as a spy, to learn, if possible, something concerning them, what they came for, and what they intended to do. The old man readily undertook it, and stripping himself quite naked, as most of the savages were, away he went. After he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word, that he had been among them undiscovered, that he found they were two parties, and of two several nations, who had war with one another, and had a great battle in their own country, and that both sides having had several prisoners taken in the fight, they were by mere chance landed all on the same island, for the devouring their prisoners, and making merry; but their coming so by chance to the same place had spoiled all their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another, and that they were so near, that he believed they would fight again as soon as daylight began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of anybody's being on the island but themselves. He had hardly made an end of telling his story, when they could perceive, by the unusual noise they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father used all the arguments he could to persuade our people to lie close, and not be seen; he told them their safety consisted in it, and that they had nothing to do but lie still, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and then the rest would go away, and it was so to a tittle. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the Englishmen; their curiosity was so importunate upon their prudentials, that they must run out and see the battle: however, they used some caution too, viz. they did not go openly, just by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely see them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not be seen by them; but it seems the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce, and if I might believe the Englishmen, one of them said, he could perceive, that some of them were men of great bravery, of invincible spirits, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, they said, held two hours, before they could guess which party would be beaten; but then that party which was nearest our people's habitation began to appear weakest, and after some time more, some of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great consternation, lest any of those that fled should run into the grove before their dwelling, for shelter, and thereby involuntarily discover the place; and that by consequence the pursuers should do the like in search of them. Upon this they resolved that they would stand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they should sally out over the wall and kill them: so that, if possible, not one should return to give an account of it. They ordered also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down with the stocks of their muskets, but not by shooting them, for fear of the noise.

As they expected, it fell out; three of the routed army fled for life, and crossing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter; the scout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within, with this addition, to our men's great satisfaction, viz. that the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they were gone. Upon this the Spaniard governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives, but sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round and come in behind them, surprise, and take them prisoners, which was done. The residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to sea; the victors retired, and made no pursuit, or very little, but drawing themselves into a body together, gave two great screaming shouts, which they supposed was by way of triumph, and so the fight ended: and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes; and thus the Spaniards had their island again free to themselves, their fright was over, and they saw no savages in several years after.

After they were all gone, the Spaniards came out of their den, and viewing the field of battle, they found about two and thirty dead men on the spot; some were killed with great long arrows, some of which were found sticking in their bodies; but most of them were killed with great wooden swords, sixteen or seventeen of which they found on the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows. These swords were strange, great unwieldy things, and they must be very strong men that used them. Most of those men that were killed with them had their heads mashed to pieces, as we may say, or as we call it in English, their brains knocked out, and several their arms and legs broken; so that it is evident they fight with inexpressible rage and fury. We found not one wounded man that was not stone-dead; for either they stay by their enemy till they have quite killed him, or they carry all the wounded men that are not quite dead away with them.

This deliverance tamed our Englishmen for a great while; the sight had filled them with horror, and the consequences appeared terrible to the last degree, even to them, if ever they should fall into the hands of those creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. And they professed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was supposed it was not to be till they were dead, had something in it so horrible, that it nauseated their very stomachs, made them sick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with such unusual terror, that they were not themselves for some weeks after.

This, as I said, tamed even the three English brutes I have been speaking of; and for a great while after they were very tractable, and went about the common business of their whole society well enough; planted, sowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country. But some time after this, they fell all into such measures as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three prisoners, as I had observed, and these three being lusty stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them, and as slaves they did well enough; but they did not take their measures with them as I did by my man Friday, viz. to

begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instruct them in the rational principles of life, much less of religion, civilising, and reducing them by kind usage and affectionate arguings; but as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery enough; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them, as I had my man Friday, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part; being all now good friends, for common danger, as I said above, had effectually reconciled them, they began to consider their general circumstances; and the first thing that came under their consideration was, whether, seeing the savages particularly haunted that side of the island, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, and manifestly to their advantage, they should not rather remove their habitation, and plant in some more proper place for their safety, and especially for the security of their cattle and corn?

Upon this, after long debate, it was concluded that they would not remove their habitation; because, that some time or other, they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me; and if I should send any one to seek them, I should be sure to direct them to that side, where, if they should find the place demolished, they would conclude the savages had killed us all, and we were gone, and so our supply would go too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them into the valley where my cave was, where the land was as proper for both, and where indeed there was land enough: however, upon second thoughts, they altered one part of that resolution too, and resolved only to remove part of their cattle thither, and plant part of their corn there; and so if one part was destroyed, the other might be saved. And one part of prudence they used, which it was very well they did, viz. that they never trusted those three savages, which they had prisoners, with knowing anything of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle they had there; much less of the cave there, which they kept, in case of necessity, as a safe retreat, and whither they carried also the two barrels of powder which I had sent them at my coming away.

But however, they resolved not to change their habitation, yet they agreed, that as I had carefully covered it first with a wall or fortification, and then with a grove of trees, so seeing their safety consisted entirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced, they set to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before. To this purpose, as I had planted trees, (or rather thrust in stakes, which in time all grew up to be trees,) for some good distance before the entrance into my apartment, they went on in the same manner, and filled up the rest of that whole space of ground, from the trees I had set, quite down to the side of the creek, where, as I said, I landed my floats, and even in the very ooze where the tide flowed, not so much as leaving any place to land, or any sign that there had been any landing thereabout. These stakes also being of a wood very forward to grow, as I have noted formerly, they took care to have generally very much larger and taller than those which I had planted; and as they grew apace, so they planted them so very thick and close together, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any considerable way into the plantation. And as for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh; and among them they placed so many other short ones, and so thick, that, in a word, it stood like a palisado, a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impossible to penetrate it, but with a little army to cut it all down; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they stood so close.

But this was not all, for they did the same by all the ground to the right hand, and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill, leaving no way, not so much as for themselves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the side of the hill, and then lifted up, and placed again from the first stage up to the top; which ladder, when it was taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to assist it, could come at them.

This was excellently well contrived; nor was it less than what they afterwards found occasion for, which served to convince me, that as human prudence has the authority of Providence to justify it, so it has, doubtless, the direction of Providence to set it to work; and would we listen carefully to the voice of it, I am fully persuaded we might prevent many of the disasters, which our lives are now by our own negligence, subjected to. But this by the way.

I return to the story. They lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages. They had indeed an alarm given them one morning, which put them into a great consternation; for some of the Spaniards being out early one morning on the west side, or rather the end of the island, which by the way was that end where I never went, for fear of being discovered, they were surprised with seeing above twenty canoes of Indians just coming on shore.

They made the best of their way home, in hurry enough; and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night, to make observation: but they had the good luck to be mistaken; for, wherever the savages went, they did not land at that time on the island, but pursued some other design.

And now they had another broil with the three Englishmen; one of which, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three slaves, which I had mentioned they had taken, because the fellow had not done something right which he bid him do, and seemed a little untractable in his showing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog-belt, in which he wore it by his side, and fell upon the poor savage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards, who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but struck into his shoulder, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and entreating him not to murder the poor man, clapt in between him and the savage, to prevent the mischief.

The fellow being enraged the more at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel which he had in his hand (for they were all working in the field about their corn-land) knocked the brute down. Another of the Englishmen running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down; and then two Spaniards more came in to help their man, and a third Englishman fell in upon them. They had none of them any firearms, or any other weapons but hatchets

and other tools, except this third Englishman; he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the two last Spaniards, and wounded them both. This fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Englishmen prisoners. The next question was, what should be done with them, they had been so often mutinous, and were so furious, so desperate, and so idle withal, they knew not what course to take with them; for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did to any man; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The Spaniard, who was governor, told them in so many words, that if they had been of his own country, he would have hanged them; for all laws and all governors were to preserve society; and those who were dangerous to the society ought to be expelled out of it; but as they were Englishmen, and that it was to the generous kindness of an Englishman that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and would leave them to the judgment of the other two Englishmen, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honest Englishmen stood up, and said, they desired it might not be left to them; 'for,' says he, 'I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows;' and with that he gives an account how Will Atkins, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five Englishmen join together, and murder all the Spaniards when they were in their sleep.

When the Spaniard governor heard this, he calls to Will Atkins, 'How, Seignior Atkins, would you murder us all? What have you to say to that?' That hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true, and, G—d d—n him, if they would not do it still, before they had done with them. 'Well, but Seignior Atkins,' says the Spaniard, 'what have we done to you, that you would kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what must we do to prevent your killing us? Must we kill you, or you will kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Seignior Atkins?' says the Spaniard very calmly and smiling. Seignior Atkins was in such a rage at the Spaniard's making a jest of it, that had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapon with him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the Spaniard in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brained carriage obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done. The two Englishmen and the Spaniard who saved the poor savage, were of the opinion that they should hang one of the three, for an example to the rest, and that, particularly, it should be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet: and indeed there was some reason to believe he had done it, for the poor savage was in such a miserable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor Spaniard still said no, it was an Englishman that had saved all their lives, and he would never consent to put an Englishman to death, though he had murdered half of them; nay, he said, if he had been killed himself by an Englishman, and had time left to speak, it should be, that they would pardon him.

This was so positively insisted on by the governor Spaniard, that there was no gainsaying it; and as merciful counsels are most apt to prevail where they are so earnestly pressed, so they all came into it; but then it was to be considered what should be done to keep them from doing the mischief they designed; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be used for preserving the society from danger. After a long debate, it was agreed, first, that they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or shot, or sword, or any weapon, and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they would, by themselves; but that none of the rest, either Spaniards or English, should converse with them, speak with them, or have anything to do with them; that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any disorder, so as to spoil, burn, kill, or destroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the society, they should die without mercy, and they would shoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, musing upon the sentence, considered a little upon it, and turning to the two honest Englishmen, said, 'Hold, you must reflect, that it will be long ere they can raise corn and cattle of their own, and they must not starve: we must therefore allow them provisions;' so he caused to be added, that they should have a proportion of corn given to them to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own; that they should have six milch goats, four he-goats, and six kids given them, as well for present subsistence, as for a store; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the fields, such as six hatchets, an adze, a saw, and the like: but they should have none of these tools or provisions, unless they would swear solemnly that they would not hurt or injure any of the Spaniards with them, or of their fellow-Englishmen.

Thus they dismissed them the society, and turned them out to shift for themselves. They went away sullen and refractory, as neither content to go away or to stay; but as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and choose a place where they would settle themselves, to plant and live by themselves; and some provisions were given them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for some victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out a habitation and plantation; and it was a very convenient place, indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N.E., much about the place where I landed in my first voyage when I was driven out to sea, the Lord knows whither, in my attempt to steer round the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, and contrived them, in a manner, like my first habitation, being close under the side of a hill, having some trees growing already on three sides of it, so that by planting others it would be very easily covered from the sight, unless narrowly searched for. They desired some dried goats' skins for beds and covering, which were given them; and upon giving their words that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets, and what other tools they could spare; some peas, barley, and rice, for sowing, and, in a word, anything they wanted, but arms and ammunition.

They lived in this separate condition about six months, and had got in their first harvest, though the quantity was but small, the parcel of land they had planted being but little; for indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands: and when they came

to make boards, and pots, and such things, they were quite out of their element, and could make nothing of it; and when the rainy season came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of spoiling; and this humbled them much; so they came and begged the Spaniards to help them, which they very readily did, and in four days worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, big enough to secure their corn and other things from the rain; but it was but a poor place, at best, compared to mine; and especially as mine was then, for the Spaniards had greatly enlarged it, and made several new apartments in it.

About three-quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolic took these rogues, which, together with the former villany they had committed, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony. The three new associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumstances; and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent, from whence the savages came, and would try if they could seize upon some prisoners among the natives there, and bring them home, so to make them do the laborious part of the work for them.

The project was not so preposterous, if they had gone no farther; but they did nothing, and proposed nothing, but had either mischief in the design, or mischief in the event: and if I may give my opinion, they seemed to be under a blast from Heaven; for if we will not allow a visible curse to pursue visible crimes, how shall we reconcile the events of things with the divine justice? It was certainly an apparent vengeance on their crime of mutiny and piracy, that brought them to the state they were in; and as they showed not the least remorse for the crime, but added new villanies to it, such as, particularly, the piece of monstrous cruelty of wounding a poor slave, because he did not, or perhaps could not, understand to do what he was directed; and to wound him in such a manner, as, no question, made him a cripple all his life; and in a place where no surgeon or medicine could be had for his cure; and what was still worse, the murderous intent, or, to do justice to the crime, the intentional murder, for such, to be sure, it was, as was afterwards the formed design they all laid, to murder the Spaniards in cold blood, and in their sleep.

But I leave observing, and return to the story. The three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and in very humble terms desired to be admitted to speak with them; the Spaniards very readily heard what they had to say, which was this, That they were tired of living in the manner they did; and that they were not handy enough to make the necessaries they wanted, and that having no help, they found they should be starved: but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main and seek their fortunes, and so deliver them from the trouble of supplying them with any other provisions.

The Spaniards were glad enough to be rid of them, but yet very honestly represented to them the certain destruction they were running into; told them they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit of prophecy, tell them, that they would be starved, or be murdered, and bade them consider of it.

The men replied audaciously, they should be starved if they stayed here, for they could not work, and would not work; and they could but be starved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them; and in short, insisted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them any arms or no.

The Spaniards told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves; and that though they could ill spare their firearms, having not enough for themselves, yet they would let them have two muskets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought was sufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer, and having baked them bread enough to serve them a month, and given them as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid alive, to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least 40 miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would very well have carried fifteen or twenty men, and, therefore, was rather too big for them to manage: but as they had a fair breeze, and the flood tide with them, they did well enough. They had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat-skins dried, which they had sewed or laced together; and away they went merrily enough; the Spaniards called after them, *Bon veyajo;* and no man ever thought of seeing them any more.

The Spaniards would often say to one another, and to the two honest Englishmen who remained behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived now these three turbulent fellows were gone; as for their ever coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts that could be imagined; when behold, after two and twenty days' absence, one of the Englishmen being abroad upon his planting work, sees three strange men coming towards him at a distance, with guns upon their shoulders.

Away runs the Englishman, as if he was bewitched, comes frighted and amazed to the governor Spaniard, and tells him they were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island, he could not tell who. The Spaniard, pausing a while, says he to him, 'How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are the savages, to be sure.' 'No, no,' says the Englishman, 'they are men in clothes, with arms.' 'Nay, then,' says the Spaniard, 'why are you concerned? If they are not savages, they must be friends, for there is no Christian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm.'

While they were debating thus, comes the three Englishmen, and standing without the wood, which was new planted, hallooed to them; they presently knew their voices, and so all the wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question, viz. What could be the matter, and what made them come back again?

It was not long before they brought the men in, and inquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing, they gave them a full account of their voyage in a few words, viz. That they reached the land in two days, or something less, but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came

to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island; that entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand north, and several more west; and being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore; that they found the people very courteous and friendly to them, and that they gave them several roots and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable; and the women, as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with anything they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and inquired as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way and that way; and were told of several fierce and terrible people that lived almost every way, who, as they made signs to them, used to eat men. But as for themselves, they said, they never ate men or women, except only such as they took in the wars, and then they owned that they made a great feast, and ate their prisoners.

The Englishmen inquired when they had had a feast of that kind, and they told them about two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war; and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous of seeing those prisoners, but the others mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising, which was to signify, that the next morning at sunrising they would bring some for them; and accordingly the next morning they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Englishmen, to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a seaport town to victual a ship.

As brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do; to refuse the prisoners, would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them; and what to do with them they knew not. However, upon some debates, they resolved to accept of them, and in return they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets, which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with: and then tying the poor creatures' hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the poor prisoners into the boat for our men.

The Englishmen were obliged to come away as soon as they had them, or else they that gave them this noble present would certainly have expected that they should have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner.

But having taken their leave with all the respects and thanks that could well pass between people, where on either side they understood not one word they could say, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island, where, when they arrived, they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occasion.

In their voyage, they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners, but it was impossible to make them understand anything; nothing they could say to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going to murder them. They first of all unbound them, but the poor creatures screamed at that, especially the women, as if they had just felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpose to be killed.

If they gave them anything to eat, it was the same thing; they then concluded it was for fear they should sink in flesh, and so not be fat enough to kill. If they looked at one of them more particularly, the party presently concluded it was to see whether he or she was fattest, and fittest to kill. Nay, after they had brought them quite over, and begun to use them kindly, and treat them well, still they expected every day to make a dinner or supper for their new masters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history or journal of their voyage, the Spaniard asked them, where their new family was? and being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come up to beg some victuals for them, they (the Spaniards) and the other two Englishmen, that is to say, the whole colony, resolved to go all down to the place and see them, and did so, and Friday's father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound; for when they had brought them on shore, they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat and make their escape. There, I say, they sat, all of them stark naked. First, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well-shaped, straight and fair limbs, about thirty to thirty-five years of age; and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty, two more not above four or five and twenty, and the fifth, a tall comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen. The women were well-favoured, agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny, and two of them, had they been perfect white, would have passed for very handsome women even in London itself, having pleasant agreeable countenances, and of a very modest behaviour; especially when they came afterwards to be clothed and dressed, as they called it, though the dress was very indifferent, it must be confessed; of which hereafter.

The sight, you may be sure, was something uncouth to our Spaniards, who were (to give them a just character) men of the best behaviour, of the most calm, sedate tempers, and perfect good humour, that ever I met with, and, in particular, of the most modesty, as will presently appear: I say, the sight was very uncouth, to see three naked men and five naked women, all together bound, and in the most miserable circumstances that human nature could be supposed to be, viz. to be expecting every moment to be dragged out, and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a dainty.

The first thing they did, was to cause the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in and see first, if he knew any of them, and then if he understood any of their speech. As soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them; neither could any of them understand a word he said, or a sign he could make, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to answer the end, which was to satisfy them that the men into whose hands they were fallen, were Christians; that they abhorred eating of men or women, and that they might be sure they would not be killed. As soon as they were assured of this, they discovered such joy, and by such awkward, and

several ways, as is hard to describe; for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman, who was their interpreter, was bid in the next place to ask them, if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away, to save their lives; at which they all fell a dancing; and presently one fell to taking up this, and another that, or anything that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them would presently be attended with some inconvenience, and might occasion some strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men what they intended to do with these women, and how they intended to use them; whether as servants or as women. One of the Englishmen answered very boldly and readily, that they would use them as both. To which the governor said, I am not going to restrain you from it, you are your own masters as to that: but this I think is but just, for avoiding disorders and quarrels among you, and I desire it of you for that reason only, viz. that you will all engage, that if any of you take any of these women, as a woman or wife, that he shall take but one; and that having taken one, none else shall touch her; for though we cannot marry any one of you, yet it is but reasonable that while you stay here, the woman any of you takes should be maintained by the man that takes her, and should be his wife; I mean, says he, while he continues here, and that none else shall have anything to do with her. All this appeared so just, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the Englishmen asked the Spaniards if they designed to take any of them? But every one of them answered, No: some of them said they had wives in Spain, and the others did not like women that were not Christians; and all together declared that they would not touch one of them; which was an instance of such virtue as I have not met with in all my travels. On the other hand, to be short, the five Englishmen took them every one a wife, that is to say, a temporary wife; and so they set up a new form of living; for the Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within. The three servants which were taken in the late battle of the savages lived with them; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplied all the rest with food, and assisted them in anything as they could, or as they found necessity required.

But the wonder of the story was, how five such refractory, ill-matched fellows should agree about these women, and that two of them should not pitch upon the same woman, especially seeing two or three of them were, without comparison, more agreeable than the other: but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themselves; for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them, who should choose first.

He that drew to choose first, went away by himself to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he chose; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first took her that was reckoned the homeliest and the oldest of the five, which made mirth enough among the rest; and even the Spaniards laughed at it: but the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business they were to expect assistance in, as much as anything else; and she proved the best wife of all the parcel.

When the poor women saw themselves set in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed that they were now going to be devoured; accordingly, when the English sailor came in and fetched out one of them, the rest set up a most lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with such agonies and such affection, as would have grieved the hardest heart in the world; nor was it possible for the Englishmen to satisfy them, that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, Friday's father, who immediately let them know that the five men, who had fetched them out one by one, had chosen them for their wives.

When they had done, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them; and in a few hours they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart; for those they had already were crowded with their tools, household stuff, and provisions. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that they continued separated as before. And thus my island was peopled in three places; and, as I might say, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here it is very well worth observing, that as it often happens in the world (what the wise ends of God's providence are in such a disposition of things, I cannot say) the two honest fellows had the two worst wives, and the three reprobates, that were scarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither seemed born to do themselves good, or any one else, had three clever, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives; not that the two first were ill wives as to their temper or humour; for all the five were most willing, quiet, passive, and subjected creatures, rather like slaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or industrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

Another observation I must make, to the honour of a diligent application on one hand, and to the disgrace of a slothful, negligent, idle temper, on the other, that when I came to the place, and viewed the several improvements, plantings, and management of the several little colonies, the two men had so far outgone the three, that there was no comparison. They had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted; and the reason was, because, according to my rule, nature dictated that it was to no purpose to sow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and, indeed, of everything else, was easy to be seen at first view.

The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, so that when you came to the place, nothing was to be seen but a wood, and though they had twice had their plantation demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as shall be shown in its place, yet they had restored all again, and everything was thriving and flourishing about them; they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themselves never seen anything of that kind; and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes were as good again as any of the others. They had also found themselves out a retreat in the thickest part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found, yet they made one with incessant labour of their hands, and where, when the mischief which followed happened, they

secured their wives and children, so as they could never be found; they having by sticking innumerable stakes and poles of the wood, which, as I said, grew so easily, made the wood unpassable, except in some places, where they climbed up to get over the outside part, and then went on by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I justly call them, though they were much civilised by their new settlement, compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity; yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true, they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them, 'I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was all overgrown with thorns;' for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds. The hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in and eaten up the corn; perhaps, here and there, a dead bush was crammed in, to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable-door after the steed was stolen. Whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did; there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges: and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place, that 'the diligent hand maketh rich;' for everything grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the other, more utensils and necessaries within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors, and having learned the English ways of dressing and cooking from one of the other Englishmen, who, as I said, was cook's mate on board the ship, they dressed their husbands' victuals very nicely and well; whereas the other could not be brought to understand it; but then the husband, who, as I say, had been cook's mate, did it himself. But as for the husbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtles' eggs, and caught fish and birds: in a word, anything but labour, and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably, and the slothful lived hard and beggarly; and so I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

But I now come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or to me; and the original of the story was this.

Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians or savages, call them which you please; and there is no room to doubt they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves: but that part was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it, as I did; but having been made sensible, by their experience, that their only business was to lie concealed, and that if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being any inhabitants in the island; I say, having been made sensible of this, they had nothing to do but give notice to all the three plantations, to keep within doors, and not show themselves, only placing a scout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went to sea again.

This was, without doubt, very right; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among the savages that there were inhabitants there, which was, in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again, and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing: here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground; it was supposed they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that, like beasts, they were asleep, and would not stir when the others went, or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do. The Spaniard governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was asked, but he professed he knew not what to do; as for slaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that. The Spaniard governor told me, they could not think of shedding innocent blood, for as to them, the poor creatures had done them no wrong, invaded none of their property, and they thought they had no just quarrel against them, to take away their lives.

And here I must, in justice to these Spaniards, observe, that let the accounts of Spanish cruelty in Mexico and Peru be what they will, I never met with seventeen men of any nation whatsoever, in any foreign country, who were so universally modest, temperate, virtuous, so very good-humoured, and so courteous as these Spaniards; and as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature, no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous passions, and yet all of them men of great courage and spirit.

Their temper and calmness had appeared in their bearing the insufferable usage of the three Englishmen; and their justice and humanity appeared now in the case of the savages, as above. After some consultation, they resolved upon this, that they would lie still a while longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone; but then the governor Spaniard recollected, that the three savages had no boat, and that if they were left to rove about the island, they would certainly discover that there were inhabitants in it, and so they should be undone that way.

Upon this, they went back again, and there lay the fellows fast asleep still; so they resolved to waken them, and take them prisoners, and they did so. The poor fellows were strangely frighted when they were seized upon and bound, and afraid, like the women, that they should be murdered and eaten; for it seems those people think all the world does as they do, eating men's flesh; but they were soon made easy as to that, and away they carried them.

It was very happy to them that they did not carry them home to their castle, I mean to my palace under the hill; but they carried them first to the bower, where was the chief of their country work, such as the keeping the goats, the planting the corn, &c., and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Englishmen.

Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do; and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away, and taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after, in some other boats or canoes of savages who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two days' time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they con-

cluded, and that not without good cause indeed, that if this fellow came home safe among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how few and weak they were; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told, and it was very happy he had not, how many there were, or where they lived; nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shown him any of their other retired places; such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two Englishmen had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had that this fellow had given intelligence of them, was, that about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven, eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about an hour after sunrise, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept. As the Spaniard governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped; but the case differed now very much, for two men to fifty was too much odds. The two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed, and as they landed a mile from their huts, it was some time before they could come at them. Now having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did, was to bind the two slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men whom they brought with the women, who it seems proved very faithful to them, to lead them, with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired places in the woods, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard further.

In the next place, seeing the savages were all come on shore, and that they had bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where their milch goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle in the woods, whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild; but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all; for they went directly to the place.

When the two poor frighted men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the Spaniards, with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help; and, in the meantime, they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood, where their wives were sent, keeping at a distance, yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far, but that, from a rising ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more, could see all their huts and household stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loss, to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept their station for a while, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way and every place they could think of, in search for prey, and in particular for the people, of whom it now plainly appeared they had intelligence.

The two Englishmen seeing this, thinking themselves not secure where they stood, because as it was likely some of the wild people might come that way, so they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick-grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was hollow and vastly large; and in this tree they both took their standing, resolving to see there what might offer.

They had not stood there long, but two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they already had notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way farther, they espied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way; besides which, they saw seven or eight more at a distance, running another way; for in a word, they ran every way like sportsmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they should stand up and keep their posture, or fly: but after a very short debate with themselves, they considered, that if the savages ranged the country thus before help came, they might perhaps find out their retreat in the woods, then all would be lost; so they resolved to stand them there: and if they were too many to deal with, then they would get up to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themselves, fire excepted, as long as their ammunition lasted, though all the savages that were landed, which was near fifty, were to attack them.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the first two, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party, by which the two and the five that followed would be separated; and they resolved to let the first two pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The first two savages also confirmed them in this regulation, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forwards directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there.

Seeing them come so straight toward them, they resolved to take them in a line, as they came; and as they resolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the first shot might hit them all three. To which purpose, the man who was to fire put three or four small bullets into his piece, and having a fair loophole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the runaway savage that had escaped from them, and they both knew him distinctly, and resolved that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot, he should be sure to have a second.

But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim; for as the savages kept near one another, a little behind, in a line, he fired, and hit two of them directly: the foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head: the second, which was the runaway Indian, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead: and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second, and being dreadfully frighted, though not so much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frighted with the noise than sensible of the danger, stood still at first; for the woods made the sound a thousand times bigger than it really was, the echoes rattling from one side to another, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming, and making every sort a different kind of noise, according to their kind, just as it was when I fired the first gun that perhaps was ever shot off in that place since it was an island.

However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned, till they came to the place where their companions lay in a condition miserable enough: and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and who, it is very rational to believe, told them, that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods, had killed two and wounded him: this, I say, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they saw no man near them, so they had never heard a gun in all their lives, or so much as heard of a gun; neither knew they anything of killing or wounding at a distance, with fire and bullets; if they had, one might reasonably believe, they would not have stood so unconcerned in viewing the fate of their fellows, without some apprehension of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger; yet having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them; and singling out, by agreement, which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded four of them; the fifth frighted even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest: so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed, made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns, which was a wrong step; and they were under some surprise when they came to the place, and found no less than four of the men alive, and of them two very little hurt, and one not at all; this obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their muskets; and first they made sure of the runaway savage, that had been the cause of all the mischief, and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain; then the man that was not hurt at all, came and kneeled down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moans to them, by gestures and signs, for his life; but could not say one word to them that they could understand.

However, they signed to him to sit down at the foot of a tree thereby; and one of the Englishmen, with a piece of rope twine which he had, by great chance, in his pocket, tied his two feet fast together, and his two hands behind him, and there they left him; and with what speed they could made after the other two, which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives, and the few goods they had left, lay. They came once in sight of the two men, but it was at a great distance; however, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley towards the sea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of; and being satisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner, who, as they supposed, was delivered by his comrades; for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they bound him, lay just at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great concern as before, not knowing what course to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; so they resolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to see if all was well there, and to make them easy, who were in fright enough, to be sure; for though the savages were their own country-folk, yet they were most terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more, for the knowledge they had of them.

When they came there, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near that place, but had not found it; for it was indeed inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, as before, had not the persons seeking it been directed by those that knew it, which these did not; they found therefore everything very safe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were here, they had the comfort to have seven of the Spaniards come to their assistance; the other ten, with their servants, and old Friday, I mean Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that was kept there, in case the savages should have roved over to that side of the country; but they did not spread so far. With the seven Spaniards came one of the three savages, who, as I said, were their prisoners formerly; and with them also came the savage whom the Englishmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it seems they came that way, saw the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them; where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had the two others, who were left when the third ran away.

The prisoners now began to be a burden to them; and they were so afraid of their escaping, that they were once resolving to kill them all, believing they were under an absolute necessity to do so, for their own preservation. However, the Spaniard governor would not consent to it, but ordered for the present, that they should be sent out of the way, to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there, with two Spaniards to guard them, and give them food for their subsistence, which was done; and they were bound that hand and foot for that night.

When the Spaniards came, the two Englishmen were so encouraged, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there; but taking five of the Spaniards and themselves, with four muskets and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter-staves, away they went in quest of the savages. And first they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was easy to see that some more of the savages had been there; for they had attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over. From thence they advanced to the first rising ground, where they stood and saw their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see some of the smoke; but neither could they here see any of the savages. They then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation. But a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarking again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They seemed sorry at first; and there was no way to come at them, to give them a parting

blow; but upon the whole, they were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Englishmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvements destroyed, the rest all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the least inclination to any good, yet as soon as they heard of it (for they living remote eastward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over) came and offered their help and assistance, and did very friendly work for several days, to restore their habitation, and make necessaries for them: and thus, in a little time, they were set upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the farther satisfaction of seeing three of the savages' canoes come driving on shore, and at some distance from them, two drowned men; by which they had reason to believe, that they had met with a storm at sea, and had overset some of them; for it had blown very hard the very night after they went off.

However, as some might miscarry, so on the other hand, enough of them escaped to inform the rest, as well of what they had done, as of what had happened to them; and to whet them on to another enterprise of the same nature, which they, it seems, resolved to attempt, with sufficient force to carry all before them; for except what the first man had told them of inhabitants, they could say little of it of their own knowledge; for they never saw one man, and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witness to confirm it to them.

It was five or six months after this, before they heard any more of the savages; in which time our men were in hopes they had either forgot their former bad luck, or given over the hopes of better; when on a sudden they were invaded with the most formidable fleet, of no less than eight and twenty canoes full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such-like engines of war; and they brought such numbers with them, that in short, it put all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they came on shore in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do; and, in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed, was their only safety before, and would be much more so now, while the number of their enemies was so great, they therefore resolved first of all to take down the huts which were built for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither, as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flocks of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the Spaniards; and in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants anywhere as was possible; and the next morning early they posted themselves with all their force at the plantation of the two men, waiting for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened: these new invaders leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small, indeed; but that which was worse, they had not arms for all their number neither. The whole account, it seems, stood thus. First, as to the men.

17 Spaniards.
5 Englishmen.
1 Old Friday, or Friday's father.
3 The three slaves taken with the women, who proved very faithful.
3 Other slaves who lived with the Spaniards.

To arm these, they had,

11 Muskets.
5 Pistols.
3 Fowling-pieces.
5 Muskets or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen, whom I reduced.
2 Swords. 3 old halberds.

To their slaves they did not give either musket or fusee, but they had every one a halberd, or a long staff, like a quarter-staff, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet; also every one of our men had a hatchet. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon but they would come into the fight; and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the savages, when the first action happened, which I have spoken of, where the Indians fought with one another, and the women had hatchets too.

The Spaniard governor, whom I have described so often, commanded the whole; and Will Atkins, who, though a dreadful fellow for wickedness, was a most daring bold fellow, commanded under him. The savages came forward like lions, and our men, which was the worst of their fate, had no advantage in their situation; only that Will Atkins, who now proved a most useful fellow, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first of them pass by, and then fire into the middle of them, and as soon as he had fired, to make his retreat as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the Spaniards where they stood, having a thicket of trees also before them.

When the savages came on, they ran straggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order, and William Atkins let about fifty of them pass by him; then seeing the rest come in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their muskets with six or seven bullets apiece, about as big as large pistol-bullets. How many they killed or wounded they knew not, but the consternation and surprise was inexpressible among the savages; they were frighted to the last degree to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others hurt, but see nobody that did it; when in the middle of their fright, William Atkins and his other three, let fly again among the thickest of them; and in less than a minute the first three, being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had William Atkins and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do, or had the rest of the body been at hand to have poured in their shot continually, the savages had been effectually routed; for the terror that was among them came principally from this, viz. that they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them; but William Atkins, staying to load again, discovered the cheat. Some of the savages, who were at a distance spying them, came upon them behind, and though Atkins and his men fired at them also, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow-Englishmen with their

to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island; that entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand north, and several more west; and being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore; that they found the people very courteous and friendly to them, and that they gave them several roots and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable; and the women, as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with anything they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and inquired as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way and that way; and were told of several fierce and terrible people that lived almost every way, who, as they made signs to them, used to eat men. But as for themselves, they said, they never ate men or women, except only such as they took in the wars, and then they owned that they made a great feast, and ate their prisoners.

The Englishmen inquired when they had had a feast of that kind, and they told them about two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war; and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous of seeing those prisoners, but the others mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising, which was to signify, that the next morning at sunrising they would bring some for them; and accordingly the next morning they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Englishmen, to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a seaport town to victual a ship.

As brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do; to refuse the prisoners, would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them; and what to do with them they knew not. However, upon some debates, they resolved to accept of them, and in return they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets, which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with: and then tying the poor creatures' hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the poor prisoners into the boat for our men.

The Englishmen were obliged to come away as soon as they had them, or else they that gave them this noble present would certainly have expected that they should have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner.

But having taken their leave with all the respects and thanks that could well pass between people, where on either side they understood not one word they could say, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island, where, when they arrived, they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occasion.

In their voyage, they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners, but it was impossible to make them understand anything; nothing they could say to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going to murder them. They first of all unbound them, but the poor creatures screamed at that, especially the women, as if they had just felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpose to be killed.

If they gave them anything to eat, it was the same thing; they then concluded it was for fear they should sink in flesh, and so not be fat enough to kill. If they looked at one of them more particularly, the party presently concluded it was to see whether he or she was fattest, and fittest to kill. Nay, after they had brought them quite over, and begun to use them kindly, and treat them well, still they expected every day to make a dinner or supper for their new masters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history or journal of their voyage, the Spaniard asked them, where their new family was? and being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come up to beg some victuals for them, they (the Spaniards) and the other two Englishmen, that is to say, the whole colony, resolved to go all down to the place and see them, and did so, and Friday's father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound; for when they had brought them on shore, they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat and make their escape. There, I say, they sat, all of them stark naked. First, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well-shaped, straight and fair limbs, about thirty to thirty-five years of age; and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty, two more not above four or five and twenty, and the fifth, a tall comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen. The women were well-favoured, agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny, and two of them, had they been perfect white, would have passed for very handsome women even in London itself, having pleasant agreeable countenances, and of a very modest behaviour; especially when they came afterwards to be clothed and dressed, as they called it, though the dress was very indifferent, it must be confessed; of which hereafter.

The sight, you may be sure, was something uncouth to our Spaniards, who were (to give them a just character) men of the best behaviour, of the most calm, sedate tempers, and perfect good humour, that ever I met with, and, in particular, of the most modesty, as will presently appear: I say, the sight was very uncouth, to see three naked men and five naked women, all together bound, and in the most miserable circumstances that human nature could be supposed to be, viz. to be expecting every moment to be dragged out, and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a dainty.

The first thing they did, was to cause the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in and see first, if he knew any of them, and then if he understood any of their speech. As soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them; neither could any of them understand a word he said, or a sign he could make, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to answer the end, which was to satisfy them that the men into whose hands they were fallen, were Christians; that they abhorred eating of men or women, and that they might be sure they would not be killed. As soon as they were assured of this, they discovered such joy, and by such awkward, and

several ways, as is hard to describe; for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman, who was their interpreter, was bid in the next place to ask them, if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away, to save their lives; at which they all fell a dancing; and presently one fell to taking up this, and another that, or anything that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them would presently be attended with some inconvenience, and might occasion some strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men what they intended to do with these women, and how they intended to use them; whether as servants or as women. One of the Englishmen answered very boldly and readily, that they would use them as both. To which the governor said, I am not going to restrain you from it, you are your own masters as to that: but this I think is but just, for avoiding disorders and quarrels among you, and I desire it of you for that reason only, viz. that you will all engage, that if any of you take any of these women, as a woman or wife, that he shall take but one; and that having taken one, none else shall touch her; for though we cannot marry any one of you, yet it is but reasonable that while you stay here, the woman any of you takes should be maintained by the man that takes her, and should be his wife; I mean, says he, while he continues here, and that none else shall have anything to do with her. All this appeared so just, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the Englishmen asked the Spaniards if they designed to take any of them? But every one of them answered, No: some of them said they had wives in Spain, and the others did not like women that were not Christians; and all together declared that they would not touch one of them; which was an instance of such virtue as I have not met with in all my travels. On the other hand, to be short, the five Englishmen took them every one a wife, that is to say, a temporary wife; and so they set up a new form of living; for the Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within. The three servants which were taken in the late battle of the savages lived with them; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplied all the rest with food, and assisted them in anything as they could, or as they found necessity required.

But the wonder of the story was, how five such refractory, ill-matched fellows should agree about these women, and that two of them should not pitch upon the same woman, especially seeing two or three of them were, without comparison, more agreeable than the other: but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themselves; for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them, who should choose first.

He that drew to choose first, went away by himself to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he chose; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first took her that was reckoned the homeliest and the oldest of the five, which made mirth enough among the rest; and even the Spaniards laughed at it: but the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business they were to expect assistance in, as much as anything else; and she proved the best wife of all the parcel.

When the poor women saw themselves set in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed that they were now going to be devoured; accordingly, when the English sailor came in and fetched out one of them, the rest set up a most lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with such agonies and such affection, as would have grieved the hardest heart in the world; nor was it possible for the Englishmen to satisfy them, that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, Friday's father, who immediately let them know that the five men, who had fetched them out one by one, had chosen them for their wives.

When they had done, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them; and in a few hours they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart; for those they had already were crowded with their tools, household stuff, and provisions. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that they continued separated as before. And thus my island was peopled in three places; and, as I might say, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here it is very well worth observing, that as it often happens in the world (what the wise ends of God's providence are in such a disposition of things, I cannot say) the two honest fellows had the two worst wives, and the three reprobates, that were scarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither seemed born to do themselves good, or any one else, had three clever, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives; not that the two first were ill wives as to their temper or humour; for all the five were most willing, quiet, passive, and subjected creatures, rather like slaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or industrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

Another observation I must make, to the honour of a diligent application on one hand, and to the disgrace of a slothful, negligent, idle temper, on the other, that when I came to the place, and viewed the several improvements, plantings, and management of the several little colonies, the two men had so far outgone the three, that there was no comparison. They had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted; and the reason was, because, according to my rule, nature dictated that it was to no purpose to sow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and, indeed, of everything else, was easy to be seen at first view.

The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, so that when you came to the place, nothing was to be seen but a wood, and though they had twice had their plantation demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as shall be shown in its place, yet they had restored all again, and everything was thriving and flourishing about them; they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themselves never seen anything of that kind; and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes were as good again as any of the others. They had also found themselves out a retreat in the thickest part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found, yet they made one with incessant labour of their hands, and where, when the mischief which followed happened, they

secured their wives and children, so as they could never be found; they having by sticking innumerable stakes and poles of the wood, which, as I said, grew so easily, made the wood unpassable, except in some places, where they climbed up to get over the outside part, and then went on by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I justly call them, though they were much civilised by their new settlement, compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity; yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true, they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them, 'I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was all overgrown with thorns;' for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds. The hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in and eaten up the corn; perhaps, here and there, a dead bush was crammed in, to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable-door after the steed was stolen. Whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did; there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges: and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place, that 'the diligent hand maketh rich;' for everything grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the other, more utensils and necessaries within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors, and having learned the English ways of dressing and cooking from one of the other Englishmen, who, as I said, was cook's mate on board the ship, they dressed their husbands' victuals very nicely and well; whereas the other could not be brought to understand it; but then the husband, who, as I say, had been cook's mate, did it himself. But as for the husbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtles' eggs, and caught fish and birds: in a word, anything but labour, and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably, and the slothful lived hard and beggarly; and so I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

But I now come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or to me; and the original of the story was this.

Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians or savages, call them which you please; and there is no room to doubt they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves: but that part was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it, as I did; but having been made sensible, by their experience, that their only business was to lie concealed, and that if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being any inhabitants in the island; I say, having been made sensible of this, they had nothing to do but give notice to all the three plantations, to keep within doors, and not show themselves, only placing a scout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went to sea again.

This was, without doubt, very right; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among the savages that there were inhabitants there, which was, in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again, and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing: here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground; it was supposed they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that, like beasts, they were asleep, and would not stir when the others went, or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do. The Spaniard governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was asked, but he professed he knew not what to do; as for slaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that. The Spaniard governor told me, they could not think of shedding innocent blood, for as to them, the poor creatures had done them no wrong, invaded none of their property, and they thought they had no just quarrel against them, to take away their lives.

And here I must, in justice to these Spaniards, observe, that let the accounts of Spanish cruelty in Mexico and Peru be what they will, I never met with seventeen men of any nation whatsoever, in any foreign country, who were so universally modest, temperate, virtuous, so very good-humoured, and so courteous as these Spaniards; and as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature, no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous passions, and yet all of them men of great courage and spirit.

Their temper and calmness had appeared in their bearing the insufferable usage of the three Englishmen; and their justice and humanity appeared now in the case of the savages, as above. After some consultation, they resolved upon this, that they would lie still a while longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone; but then the governor Spaniard recollected, that the three savages had no boat, and that if they were left to rove about the island, they would certainly discover that there were inhabitants in it, and so they should be undone that way.

Upon this, they went back again, and there lay the fellows fast asleep still; so they resolved to waken them, and take them prisoners, and they did so. The poor fellows were strangely frighted when they were seized upon and bound, and afraid, like the women, that they should be murdered and eaten; for it seems those people think all the world does as they do, eating men's flesh; but they were soon made easy as to that, and away they carried them.

It was very happy to them that they did not carry them home to their castle, I mean to my palace under the hill; but they carried them first to the bower, where was the chief of their country work, such as the keeping the goats, the planting the corn, &c., and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Englishmen.

Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do; and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away, and taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after, in some other boats or canoes of savages who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two days' time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they con-

cluded, and that not without good cause indeed, that if this fellow came home safe among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how few and weak they were; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told, and it was very happy he had not, how many there were, or where they lived; nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shown him any of their other retired places; such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two Englishmen had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had that this fellow had given intelligence of them, was, that about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven, eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about an hour after sunrise, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept. As the Spaniard governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped; but the case differed now very much, for two men to fifty was too much odds. The two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed, and as they landed a mile from their huts, it was some time before they could come at them. Now having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did, was to bind the two slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men whom they brought with the women, who it seems proved very faithful to them, to lead them, with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired places in the woods, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard further.

In the next place, seeing the savages were all come on shore, and that they had bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where their milch goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle in the woods, whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild; but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all; for they went directly to the place.

When the two poor frighted men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the Spaniards, with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help; and, in the meantime, they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood, where their wives were sent, keeping at a distance, yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far, but that, from a rising ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more, could see all their huts and household stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loss, to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept their station for a while, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way and every place they could think of, in search for prey, and in particular for the people, of whom it now plainly appeared they had intelligence.

The two Englishmen seeing this, thinking themselves not secure where they stood, because as it was likely some of the wild people might come that way, so they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick-grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was hollow and vastly large; and in this tree they both took their standing, resolving to see there what might offer.

They had not stood there long, but two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they already had notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way farther, they espied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way; besides which, they saw seven or eight more at a distance, running another way; for in a word, they ran every way like sportsmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they should stand up and keep their posture, or fly: but after a very short debate with themselves, they considered, that if the savages ranged the country thus before help came, they might perhaps find out their retreat in the woods, then all would be lost; so they resolved to stand them there: and if they were too many to deal with, then they would get up to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themselves, fire excepted, as long as their ammunition lasted, though all the savages that were landed, which was near fifty, were to attack them.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the first two, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party, by which the two and the five that followed would be separated; and they resolved to let the first two pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The first two savages also confirmed them in this regulation, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forwards directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there.

Seeing them come so straight toward them, they resolved to take them in a line, as they came; and as they resolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the first shot might hit them all three. To which purpose, the man who was to fire put three or four small bullets into his piece, and having a fair loophole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the runaway savage that had escaped from them, and they both knew him distinctly, and resolved that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot, he should be sure to have a second.

But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim; for as the savages kept near one another, a little behind, in a line, he fired, and hit two of them directly: the foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head: the second, which was the runaway Indian, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead: and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second, and being dreadfully frighted, though not so much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frighted with the noise than sensible of the danger, stood still at first; for the woods made the sound a thousand times bigger than it really was, the echoes rattling from one side to another, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming, and making every sort a different kind of noise, according to their kind, just as it was when I fired the first gun that perhaps was ever shot off in that place since it was an island.

However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned, till they came to the place where their companions lay in a condition miserable enough: and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and who, it is very rational to believe, told them, that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods, had killed two and wounded him: this, I say, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they saw no man near them, so they had never heard a gun in all their lives, or so much as heard of a gun; neither knew they anything of killing or wounding at a distance, with fire and bullets; if they had, one might reasonably believe, they would not have stood so unconcerned in viewing the fate of their fellows, without some apprehension of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger; yet having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them; and singling out, by agreement, which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded four of them; the fifth frighted even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest: so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed, made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns, which was a wrong step; and they were under some surprise when they came to the place, and found no less than four of the men alive, and of them two very little hurt, and one not at all; this obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their muskets; and first they made sure of the runaway savage, that had been the cause of all the mischief, and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain; then the man that was not hurt at all, came and kneeled down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moans to them, by gestures and signs, for his life; but could not say one word to them that they could understand.

However, they signed to him to sit down at the foot of a tree thereby; and one of the Englishmen, with a piece of rope twine which he had, by great chance, in his pocket, tied his two feet fast together, and his two hands behind him, and there they left him; and with what speed they could made after the other two, which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives, and the few goods they had left, lay. They came once in sight of the two men, but it was at a great distance; however, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley towards the sea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of; and being satisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner, who, as they supposed, was delivered by his comrades; for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they bound him, lay just at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great concern as before, not knowing what course to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; so they resolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to see if all was well there, and to make them easy, who were in fright enough, to be sure; for though the savages were their own country-folk, yet they were most terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more, for the knowledge they had of them.

When they came there, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near that place, but had not found it; for it was indeed inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, as before, had not the persons seeking it been directed by those that knew it, which these did not; they found therefore everything very safe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were here, they had the comfort to have seven of the Spaniards come to their assistance; the other ten, with their servants, and old Friday, I mean Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that was kept there, in case the savages should have roved over to that side of the country; but they did not spread so far. With the seven Spaniards came one of the three savages, who, as I said, were their prisoners formerly; and with them also came the savage whom the Englishmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it seems they came that way, saw the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them; where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had the two others, who were left when the third ran away.

The prisoners now began to be a burden to them; and they were so afraid of their escaping, that they were once resolving to kill them all, believing they were under an absolute necessity to do so, for their own preservation. However, the Spaniard governor would not consent to it, but ordered for the present, that they should be sent out of the way, to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there, with two Spaniards to guard them, and give them food for their subsistence, which was done; and they were bound there hand and foot for that night.

When the Spaniards came, the two Englishmen were so encouraged, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there; but taking five of the Spaniards and themselves, with four muskets and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter-staves, away they went in quest of the savages. And first they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was easy to see that some more of the savages had been there; for they had attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over. From thence they advanced to the first rising ground, where they stood and saw their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see some of the smoke; but neither could they here see any of the savages. They then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation. But a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarking again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They seemed sorry at first; and there was no way to come at them, to give them a parting

blow; but upon the whole, they were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Englishmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvements destroyed, the rest all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the least inclination to any good, yet as soon as they heard of it (for they living remote eastward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over) came and offered their help and assistance, and did very friendly work for several days, to restore their habitation, and make necessaries for them: and thus, in a little time, they were set upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the farther satisfaction of seeing three of the savages' canoes come driving on shore, and at some distance from them, two drowned men; by which they had reason to believe, that they had met with a storm at sea, and had overset some of them; for it had blown very hard the very night after they went off.

However, as some might miscarry, so on the other hand, enough of them escaped to inform the rest, as well of what they had done, as of what had happened to them; and to whet them on to another enterprise of the same nature, which they, it seems, resolved to attempt, with sufficient force to carry all before them; for except what the first man had told them of inhabitants, they could say little of it of their own knowledge; for they never saw one man, and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witness to confirm it to them.

It was five or six months after this, before they heard any more of the savages; in which time our men were in hopes they had either forgot their former bad luck, or given over the hopes of better; when on a sudden they were invaded with the most formidable fleet, of no less than eight and twenty canoes full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such-like engines of war; and they brought such numbers with them, that in short, it put all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they came on shore in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do; and, in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed, was their only safety before, and would be much more so now, while the number of their enemies was so great, they therefore resolved first of all to take down the huts which were built for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither, as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flocks of goats that they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the Spaniards; and in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants anywhere as was possible; and the next morning early they posted themselves with all their force at the plantation of the two men, waiting for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened: these new invaders leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small, indeed; but that which was worse, they had not arms for all their number neither. The whole account, it seems, stood thus. First, as to the men.

17 Spaniards.
5 Englishmen.
1 Old Friday, or Friday's father.
3 The three slaves taken with the women, who proved very faithful.
3 Other slaves who lived with the Spaniards.

To arm these, they had,

11 Muskets.
5 Pistols.
3 Fowling-pieces.
5 Muskets or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen, whom I reduced.
2 Swords. 3 old halberds.

To their slaves they did not give either musket or fusee, but they had every one a halberd, or a long staff, like a quarter-staff, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet; also every one of our men had a hatchet. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon but they would come into the fight; and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the savages, when the first action happened, which I have spoken of, where the Indians fought with one another, and the women had hatchets too.

The Spaniard governor, whom I have described so often, commanded the whole; and Will Atkins, who, though a dreadful fellow for wickedness, was a most daring bold fellow, commanded under him. The savages came forward like lions, and our men, which was the worst of their fate, had no advantage in their situation; only that Will Atkins, who now proved a most useful fellow, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first of them pass by, and then fire into the middle of them, and as soon as he had fired, to make his retreat as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the Spaniards where they stood, having a thicket of trees also before them.

When the savages came on, they ran straggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order, and William Atkins let about fifty of them pass by him; then seeing the rest come in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their muskets with six or seven bullets apiece, about as big as large pistol-bullets. How many they killed or wounded they knew not, but the consternation and surprise was inexpressible among the savages; they were frighted to the last degree to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others hurt, but see nobody that did it; when in the middle of their fright, William Atkins and his other three, let fly again among the thickest of them; and in less than a minute the first three, being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had William Atkins and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do, or had the rest of the body been at hand to have poured in their shot continually, the savages had been effectually routed; for the terror that was among them came principally from this, viz. that they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them; but William Atkins, staying to load again, discovered the cheat. Some of the savages, who were at a distance spying them, came upon them behind, and though Atkins and his men fired at them also, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow-Englishmen with their

arrows, as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women. This slave was a most gallant fellow, and fought most desperately, killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon, but one of the armed staves and a hatchet.

Our men being thus hard laid at, Atkins wounded, and two other men killed, retreated to a rising ground in the wood; and the Spaniards, after firing three volleys upon them, retreated also; for their number was so great, and they were so desperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more than so many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud; and it was observed that their wounded men, who were not quite disabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the Spaniard and the Englishman that was killed behind them; and the savages, when they came up to them, killed them over again in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads, with their clubs and wooden swords, like true savages: but finding our men were gone, they did not seem to pursue them, but drew themselves up in a ring, which is, it seems, their custom, and shouted twice in token of their victory; after which, they had the mortification to see several of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loss of blood.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together upon a rising ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, would have had them marched and charged again all together at once: but the Spaniard replied, 'Seignior Atkins, you see how their wounded men fight, let them alone till morning; all these wounded men will be stiff and sore with their wounds, and faint with the loss of blood; and so we shall have the fewer to engage.'

The advice was good: but William Atkins replied merrily, 'That is true, seignior, and so shall I too; and that is the reason I would go on while I am warm.' 'Well, Seignior Atkins,' says the Spaniard, 'you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on; but I think it best to stay till morning:' so they waited.

But as it was a clear moonlight night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great noise and hurry among them where they lay, they afterwards resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they could come to give them but one volley before they were discovered, which they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the Englishmen, in whose quarter it was where the fight began, led them round between the woods and sea-side westward, and then turning short south, they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen or heard, eight of them fired in among them, and did dreadful execution upon them. In half a minute more, eight others fired after them, pouring in their small shot in such quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to see who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, and resolved to fall in among them altogether. They had in each body eight persons, that is to say, 24, whereof were 22 men, and the two women, who by the way fought desperately.

They divided the firearms equally in each party, and so of the halberds and staves. They would have had the women keep back, but they said, they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the teeth of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could. The savages stood all together, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together; they would have fought if they had seen us. And as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerously. But our men gave them no time; but running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the butt-end of their muskets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets, and laid about them so well, that in a word, they set up a dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives, which way soever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution; and killed or mortally wounded in the two fights about 180 of them; the rest, being frighted out of their wits, scoured through the woods and over the hills, with all the speed and fear that nimble feet could help them to do; and as we did not trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got all together to the sea-side where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet; for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the seaward, so that it was impossible for them to go off; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore, that it required infinite toil to get them off; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach, or against one another.

Our men, though glad of their victory, yet got little rest that night; but having refreshed themselves as well as they could, they resolved to march to that part of the island where the savages were fled, and see what posture they were in. This necessarily led them over the place where the fight had been, and where they found several of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet past recovering life; a sight disagreeable enough to generous minds; for a truly great man, though obliged by the law of battle to destroy his enemy, takes no delight in his misery.

However, there was no need to give any orders in this case; for their own savages, who were their servants, dispatched those poor creatures with their hatchets.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miserable remains of the savages' army lay, where there appeared about a hundred still; their posture was generally sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head put between the two hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two musket-shots of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two muskets to be fired without ball, to alarm them: this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect, viz. whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten, as to be dispirited and discouraged, and so he might manage accordingly.

This stratagem took; for, as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up upon their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable; and as our men advanced swiftly toward them, they all ran screaming and yawling away, with a kind of a howling noise, which our men did not under-

stand, and had never heard before: and thus they ran up the hills into the country.

At first, our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to sea: but they did not then consider that this might probably have been the occasion of their coming again in such multitudes, as not to be resisted, or, at least, to come so many, and so often, as would quite desolate the island, and starve them. Will Atkins therefore, who, notwithstanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the best counsellor in this case: his advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and so deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this, and some were against it, for fear of making the wretches fly to the woods and live there desperate; and so they should have them to hunt like wild beasts, be afraid to stir out about their business, and have their plantations continually rifled, all their tame goats destroyed, and, in short, be reduced to a life of continual distress.

Will Atkins told them they had better have to do with a hundred men, than with a hundred nations: that as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he showed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all came into it; so they went to work immediately with the boats, and getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire, but they were so wet that they would not burn; however, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats. When the Indians saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods, and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down, and cried, *Oa, Oa, Waramokoa*, and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood anything of; but as they made pitiful gestures and strange noises, it was easy to understand, they begged to have their boats spared, and that they would be gone, and never come there again.

But our men were now satisfied, that they had no way to preserve themselves, or to save their colony, but effectually to prevent any of these people from ever going home again; depending upon this, that if ever so much as one of them got back into their country to tell the story, the colony was undone; so that letting them know that they should not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and destroyed them every one, that the storm had not destroyed before; at the sight of which, the savages raised a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough; after which, they ran about the island like distracted men; so that, in a word, our men did not really know at first what to do with them.

Nor did the Spaniards, with all their prudence, consider, that while they made these people thus desperate, they ought to have kept good guard at the same time upon their plantations; for though it is true, they had driven away their cattle, and the Indians did not find out their main retreat, I mean my old castle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley, yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot: tore up the vines and grapes, being just then almost ripe, and did to our men an inestimable damage, though to themselves not one farthing's worth of service.

Though our men were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up and down; for as they were too nimble of foot for our men, when they found them single, so our men durst not go about single, for fear of being surrounded with their numbers. The best was, they had no weapons; for though they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any, nor had they any edge-tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to was great, and indeed deplorable; but at the same time, our men were also brought to very bad circumstances by them; for though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled, and what to do, or which way to turn themselves, they knew not. The only refuge they had now, was the stock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there; and the plantation of the three Englishmen, Will Atkins and his comrades, who were now reduced to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which struck him on the side of his head, just under the temple, so that he never spoke more; and it was very remarkable, that this was the same barbarous fellow who cut the poor savage slave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered all the Spaniards.

I looked upon this case to have been worse at this time than mine was at any time, after I first discovered the grains of barley and rice, and got into the manner of planting and raising my corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may say, a hundred wolves upon the island, which would devour everything they could come at, yet could very hardly be come at themselves.

The first thing they concluded, when they saw what their circumstances were, was that they would, if possible, drive them up to the farther part of the island, south-west, that if any more savages came on shore, they might not find one another. Then, that they would daily hunt and harass them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced their number; and if they could at last tame them, and bring them to anything, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this, they so followed them, and so terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and so dreadfully frighted they were, that they kept out of sight farther and farther, till at last our men following them, and every day almost killing and wounding some of them, they kept up in the woods and hollow places so much, that it reduced them to the utmost misery for want of food, and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them; especially the Spaniard governor, who was the most gentlemanly generous-minded man that I ever met with in my life; and he proposed, if possible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to understand what they meant, so far as to be able to act as interpreter, and to go among them, and see if they might be brought to some conditions, that might be depended upon, to save their lives, and do us no spoil.

It was some while before any of them could be taken; but being weak and half-starved, one of them was at last surprised and made a prisoner:

he was sullen at first, and would neither eat nor drink; but finding himself kindly used, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him, he at last grew tractable, and came to himself.

They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the other would be to them all; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them a part of the island to live in, provided they would give satisfaction that they would keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond it, to injure or prejudice others, and that they should have corn given them, to plant and make it grow for their bread, and some bread given them for their present subsistence; and old Friday bade the fellow go and talk with the rest of his countrymen, and see what they said to it, assuring them, that if they did not agree immediately, they should be all destroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-seven, closed with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food given them; upon which, twelve Spaniards and two Englishmen, well armed, with three Indian slaves and old Friday, marched to the place where they were; the three Indian slaves carried them a large quantity of bread, some rice boiled up to cakes and dried in the sun, and three live goats; and they were ordered to go to the side of a hill, where they sat down, ate the provisions very thankfully, and were the most faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of; for except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds; and there they lived when I came to the island, and I went to see them.

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them; they wanted nothing but wives, and they soon would have been a nation. They were confined to a neck of land, surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island: they had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful; about a mile and a half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself, and gave among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; and there they lived, the most subjected innocent creatures that ever were heard of.

After this, the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity with respect to the savages, till I came to revisit them, which was above two years: not but that now and then some canoes of savages came on shore for their triumphal unnatural feasts; but as they were of several nations, and perhaps had never heard of those that came before, or the reason of it, they did not make any search or inquiry after their countrymen; and if they had, it would have been very hard to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them, to my return, at least that was worth notice. The Indians or savages were wonderfully civilised by them, and they frequently went among them, but forbade, on pain of death, any of the Indians coming to them, because they would not have their settlement betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, viz. that they taught the savages to make wicker-work, or baskets; but they soon outdid their masters; for they made abundance of most ingenious things in wicker-work; particularly, all sorts of baskets, sieves, bird-cages, cupboards, &c., as also chairs to sit on, stools, beds, couches, and abundance of other things, being very ingenious at such work, when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to these people, because we furnished them with knives, scissors, spades, shovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of these tools they were so very handy, that they came at last to build up their huts, or our houses, very handsomely; raddling or working it up like basket-work all the way round, which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd, but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat, as against all sorts of vermin; and our men were so taken with it, that they got the wild savages to come and do the like for them; so that when I came to see the two Englishmen's colonies, they looked, at a distance, as if they lived all like bees in a hive. And as for Will Atkins, who was now become a very industrious, necessary, and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket-work, as I believe was never seen; it was 120 paces round in the outside, as I measured by my steps; the walls were as close worked as a basket in panels or squares, of 32 in number, and very strong, standing about seven feet high. In the middle was another not above 22 paces round, but built stronger, being eight square in its form; and in the eight corners stood eight very strong posts, round the top of which he laid strong pieces pinned together with wooden pins, from which he raised a pyramid for the roof, of eight rafters, very handsome, I assure you, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron spikes, which he made himself too, out of the old iron that I had left there; and indeed this fellow showed abundance of ingenuity in several things, which he had no knowledge of. He made him a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire; he made himself charcoal for his work, and he formed out of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon; in this manner he made many things, but especially hooks, staples and spikes, bolts and hinges. But to return to the house; after he had pitched the roof of his innermost tent, he worked it up between the rafters with basket-work, so firm, and thatched that over again so ingeniously with rice-straw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, which covered the top, that his house was as dry as if it had been tiled or slated. Indeed he owned that the savages made the basket-work for him.

The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the two and thirty angles to the top of the posts of the inner house, being about twenty feet distance; so that there was a space like a walk within the outer wicker wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided it into six apartments, so that he had six rooms on a floor; and out of every one of these there was a door, first into the entry or coming into the main tent, and another door into the space or walk that was round it; so that walk was also divided into six equal parts, which served not only for retreat, but to store up any necessaries which the family had occasion for. These six spaces not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered. As soon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a short passage straight before you to the door of the inner house, but on either side was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went, first into a large room or storehouse, twenty feet wide, and about

thirty feet long, and through that into another not quite so long; so that in the outer circle were ten handsome rooms, six of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, and served as closets or retiring rooms to the respective chambers of the inner circle; and four large warehouses or barns, or what you please to call them, which went in through one another, two on either hand of the passage, that led through the outer door to the inner tent.

Such a piece of basket-work, I believe, was never seen in the world, nor a house, or tent, so neatly contrived, much less, so built. In this great bee-hive lived the three families, that is to say, Will Atkins and his companion; the third was killed, but his wife remained, with three children; for she was, it seems, big with child when he died, and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full share of everything, I mean, as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c., and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the shore; so that they all lived well enough, though it was true, they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, viz. that is for religion, I do not know that there was anything of that kind among them; they pretty often indeed put one another in mind that there was a God, by the very common method of seamen, viz. swearing by his name: nor were their poor ignorant savage wives much the better for having been married to Christians, as we must call them; for as they knew very little of God themselves, so they were utterly incapable of entering into any discourse with their wives about a God, or to talk anything to them concerning religion.

The utmost of all the improvement which I can say the wives had made from them, was, that they had taught them to speak English pretty well, and all the children they had, which were near 20 in all, were taught to speak English too, from their first learning to speak, though they at first spoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. There were none of these children above six years old when I came thither, for it was not much above seven years that they had fetched these five savage ladies over, but they had all been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or less: I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her sixth child; and the mothers were all a good sort of well-governed, quiet, laborious women, modest and decent, helpful to one another; mighty observant and subject to their masters, I cannot call them husbands, and wanted nothing but to be well instructed in the Christian religion, and to be legally married; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or, at least, in consequence of my coming among them.

Having thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my five runagate Englishmen, I must say something of the Spaniards, who were the main body of the family; and in whose story there are some incidents also remarkable enough.

I had a great many discourses with them about their circumstances when they were among the savages: they told me readily, that they had no instances to give of their application or ingenuity in that country; that they were a poor, miserable, dejected handful of people; that if means had been put into their hands, they had yet so abandoned themselves to despair, and so sunk under the weight of their misfortunes, that they thought of nothing but starving. One of them, a grave and very sensible man, told me, he was convinced they were in the wrong; that it was not the part of wise men to give up themselves to their misery, but always to take hold of the helps which reason offered, as well for present support, as for future deliverance. He told me that grief was the most senseless insignificant passion in the world; for that it regarded only things past, which were generally impossible to be recalled, or to be remedied, but had no views to things to come, and had no share in anything that looked like deliverance, but rather added to the affliction, than proposed a remedy: and upon this he repeated a Spanish proverb; which though I cannot repeat in just the same words that he spoke in, yet I remember I made it into an English proverb of my own, thus:

> In trouble to be troubled,
> Is to have your trouble doubled.

He ran on then in remarks upon all the little improvements I had made in my solitude; my unwearied application, as he called it, and how I had made a condition, which, in its circumstances, was at first much worse than theirs a thousand times, more happy than theirs was, even now, when they were all together. He told me, it was remarkable, that Englishmen had a greater presence of mind in their distress, than any people that ever he met with; that their unhappy nation, and the Portuguese, were the worst men in the world to struggle with misfortunes; for their first step in dangers, after the common efforts are over, was always to despair, lie down under it, and die, without rousing their thoughts up to proper remedies for escape.

I told him, their case and mine differed exceedingly, that they were cast upon the shore without necessaries, without supply of food, or present sustenance, till they could provide: that it is true, I had this disadvantage and discomfort, that I was alone; but then the supplies I had providentially thrown into my hands, by the unexpected driving of the ship on shore, was such a help, as would have encouraged any creature in the world to have applied himself as I had done. 'Seignior,' says the Spaniard, 'had we poor Spaniards been in your case, we should never have gotten half those things out of the ship, as you did: nay,' says he, 'we should never have found means to have gotten a raft to carry them, or to have gotten the raft on shore without boat or sail; and how much less should we have done,' said he, 'if any of us had been alone?' Well, I desired him to abate his compliment, and go on with the history of their coming on shore, where they landed. He told me they unhappily landed at a place where there were people without provisions; whereas, had they had the common sense to have put off to sea again, and gone to another island a little farther, they had found provisions, though without people; there being an island that way, as they had been told, where there were provisions, though no people; that is to say, that the Spaniards of Trinidad had frequently been there, and had filled the island with goats and hogs at several times; where they have bred in such multitudes, and where turtle and sea-fowls were in such plenty, that they could have been in no want of flesh, though they had found no bread; whereas here, they were only sustained with a few roots and herbs which they understood not, and which had no substance in them, and which the inhabitants gave them sparingly enough, and who could treat them no better, unless they would turn cannibals, and eat men's flesh, which was the great dainty of their country.

They gave me an account how many ways they strove to civilise the savages they were with, and to teach them rational customs in the ordinary way of living, but in vain; and how they retorted it upon them, as unjust, that they who came there for assistance and support, should attempt to set up for instructors of those that gave them bread; intimating, it seems, that none should set up for the instructors of others, but those who could live without them.

They gave me dismal accounts of the extremities they were driven to; how sometimes they were many days without any food at all; the island they were upon being inhabited by a sort of savages that lived more indolent, and for that reason were less supplied with the necessaries of life, than they had reason to believe others were in the same part of the world; and yet they found, that these savages were less ravenous and voracious, than those who had better supplies of food.

Also they added, that they could not but see with what demonstrations of wisdom and goodness the governing providence of God directs the events of things in the world; which they said, appeared in their circumstances; for if, pressed by the hardships they were under, and the barrenness of the country where they were, they had searched after a better to live in, they had then been out of the way of the relief that happened to them by my means.

Then they gave me an account, how the savages whom they lived among, expected them to go out with them into their wars: and it was true, that, as they had firearms with them, had they not had the disaster to lose their ammunition, they should not have been serviceable only to their friends, but have made themselves terrible both to friends and enemies; but being without powder and shot, and yet in a condition, that they could not in reason deny to go out with their landlords to their wars, when they came into the field of battle they were in a worse condition than the savages themselves; for they had neither bows or arrows, nor could they use those the savages gave them; so that they could do nothing but stand still, and be wounded with arrows, till they came up to the teeth of their enemy; and then indeed the three halberds they had, were of use to them; and they would often drive a whole little army before them with those halberds and sharpened sticks put into the muzzles of their muskets: but that for all this, they were sometimes surrounded with multitudes, and in great danger from their arrows, till at last they found the way to make themselves large targets of wood, which they covered with skins of wild beasts, whose names they knew not; and these covered them from the arrows of the savages; that notwithstanding these, they were sometimes in great danger, and were once five of them knocked down together with the clubs of the savages, which was the time when one of them was taken prisoner; that is to say, the Spaniard, whom I had relieved, that at first they thought had been killed: but when afterwards they heard he was taken prisoner, they were under the greatest grief imaginable, and would willingly have ventured their lives to have rescued him.

They told me, that when they were so knocked down, the rest of their company rescued them, and stood over them, fighting till they were come to themselves, all but him who they thought had been dead; and then they made their way with their halberds and pieces, standing close together in a line, through a body of above a thousand savages, beating down all that came in their way, got the victory over their enemies, but to their great sorrow, because it was with the loss of their friend; whom, the other party, finding him alive, carried off with some others, as I gave an account in my former.

They described most affectionately, how they were surprised with joy at the return of their friend and companion in misery, who they thought had been devoured by wild beasts of the worst kind, viz. by wild men; and yet how more and more they were surprised with the account he gave them of his errand, and that there was a Christian in any place near, much more one that was able, and had humanity enough to contribute to their deliverance.

They described how they were astonished at the sight of the relief I sent them, and at the appearance of loaves of bread, things they had not seen since their coming to that miserable place; how often they crossed it, and blessed it, as bread sent from Heaven; and what a reviving cordial it was to their spirits to taste it; as also of the other things I had sent for their supply. And after all, they would have told me something of the joy they were in, at the sight of a boat and pilots to carry them away to the person and place from whence all these new comforts came; but they told me it was impossible to express it by words, for their excessive joy, naturally driving them to unbecoming extravagances, they had no way to describe them, but by telling me that they bordered upon lunacy, having no way to give vent to their passion, suitable to the sense that was upon them; that in some it worked one way, and in some another; and that some of them, through a surprise of joy, would burst out into tears; others be stark mad, and others immediately faint. This discourse extremely affected me, and called to my mind Friday's ecstasy, when he met his father, and the poor people's ecstasy, when I took them up at sea, after their ship was on fire; the mate of the ship's joy when he found himself delivered in the place where he expected to perish; and my own joy, when, after 28 years' captivity, I found a good ship ready to carry me to my own country. All these things made me more sensible of the relation of these poor men, and more affected with it.

Having thus given a view of the state of things, as I found them, I must relate the heads of what I did for these people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion and mine too, that they would be troubled no more with the savages; or that if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before; so they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard, whom I call governor, about their stay in the island; for as I was not come to carry any of them off, so it would not be just to carry off some, and leave others, who perhaps would be unwilling to stay, if their strength was diminished.

On the other hand, I told them, I came to establish them there, not to remove them; and then I let them know, that I had brought with me relief of sundry kinds for them; that I had been at a great charge to supply them with all things necessary, as well for their convenience, as their defence; and that I had such and such particular persons with me, as well to increase and recruit their number, as by the particular necessary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to assist them in those things, in which, at present, they were to seek.

They were all together when I talked thus to them, and before I delivered to them the stores I

had brought, I asked them one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the first animosities that had been among them, and would shake hands with one another, and engage in a strict friendship and union of interest, that so there might be no more misunderstandings or jealousies.

William Atkins, with abundance of frankness and good humour, said, they had met with afflictions enough to make them all sober, and enemies enough to make them all friends; that for his part, he would live and die with them; and was so far from designing anything against the Spaniards, that he owned they had done nothing to him, but what his own mad humours made necessary, and what he would have done, and perhaps much worse in their case; and that he would ask them pardon, if I desired it, for the foolish and brutish things he had done to them; and was very willing and desirous of living in terms of entire friendship and union with them; and would do anything that lay in his power to convince them of it; and as for going to England, he cared not if he did not go thither these twenty years.

The Spaniards said, they had indeed at first disarmed and excluded William Atkins and his two countrymen for their ill conduct, as they had let me know; and they appealed to me for the necessity they were under to do so: but that William Atkins had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight they had with the savages, and on several occasions since; and had showed himself so faithful to, and concerned for the general interest of them all, that they had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms, and supplied with necessaries as any of them; and they had testified their satisfaction in him, by committing the command to him, next to the governor himself. And as they had an entire confidence in him and all his countrymen, so they acknowledged they had merited that confidence by all the methods that honest men could merit to be valued and trusted; and they most heartily embraced the occasion of giving me this assurance, that they would never have any interest separate from one another.

Upon these frank and open declarations of friendship, we appointed the next day to dine all together; and indeed we made a splendid feast: I caused the ship's cook and his mate to come on shore and dress our dinner; and the old cook's mate we had on shore, assisted. We brought on shore six pieces of good beef, and four pieces of pork out of the ship's provision, with our punch-bowl, and materials to fill it; and in particular, gave them ten bottles of French claret, and ten bottles of English beer; things that neither the Spaniards nor the Englishmen had tasted for many years, and which, it may be supposed, they were exceeding glad of.

The Spaniards added to our feast five whole kids, which the cooks roasted; and three of them were sent covered up close on board the ship, to the seamen, that they might feast on fresh meat from on shore, as we did with their salt meat from on board.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods, wherein, that there might be no dispute about dividing, I showed them that there was sufficient for them all; and desired that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing; that is to say, equal when made up; as first, I distributed linen sufficient to make every one of them four shirts; and at the Spaniards' request afterwards, made them up six; these were exceeding comfortable to them, having been what, as I may say, they had long since forgot the use of, or what it was to wear them.

I allotted the thin English stuffs, which I mentioned before, to make every one a light coat, like a frock, which I judged fittest for the heat of the season, cool and loose, and ordered, that whenever they decayed, they should make more, as they thought fit: the like for pumps, shoes, stockings, and hats, &c.

I cannot express what pleasure, what satisfaction, sat upon the countenances of all these poor men, when they saw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furnished them; they told me, I was a father to them, and that having such a correspondent as I was, in so remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a desolate place; and they all voluntarily engaged to me not to leave the place without my consent.

Then I presented to them the people I had brought with me, particularly the tailor, the smith, and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary people; but above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name anything that was more useful to them. And the tailor, to show his concern for them, went to work immediately, and, with my leave, made them every one a shirt the first thing he did; and which was still more, he taught the women, not only how to sew and stitch, and use the needle, but made them assist to make the shirts for their husbands, and for all the rest.

As to the carpenters, I scarce need mention how useful they were, for they took in pieces all my clumsy unhandy things, and made them clever convenient tables, stools, bedsteads, cupboards, lockers, shelves, and everything they wanted of that kind.

But, to let them see how nature made artificers at first, I carried the carpenter to see William Atkins' basket-house, as I called it, and they both owned they never saw an instance of such natural ingenuity before; nor anything so regular, and so handily built, at least of its kind: and one of them, when he saw it, after musing a good while, turning about to me, 'I am sure,' says he, 'that man has no need of us, you need do nothing but give him tools.'

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a digging-spade, a shovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows or ploughs; and to every separate place, a pick-axe, crow, a broad axe, and a saw; always appointing, that as often as any were broken, or worn out, they should be supplied without grudging, out of the general stores that I left behind.

Nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chisels, knives, scissors, and all sorts of tools, and iron-work, they had without tale, as they required, for no man would take more than they wanted, and he must be a fool that would waste or spoil them, on any account whatever; and for the use of the smith, I left two tons of unwrought iron for a supply.

My magazine of powder and arms, which I brought them, was such, even to profusion, that they could not but rejoice at them; for now they could march as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion, and were able to fight a thousand savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation, which also they could not miss of, if they had occasion.

I carried on shore with me the young man, whose mother was starved to death, and the maid also; she was a sober, well-educated, vell-

gious young woman, and behaved so inoffensively, that every one gave her a good word; she had indeed an unhappy life with us, there being no woman in the ship but herself; but she bore it with patience. After a while seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving upon my island, and considering that they had neither business nor acquaintance in the East Indies, or reason for taking so long a voyage: I say, considering all this, both of them came to me, and desired I would give them leave to remain on the island, and be entered among my family, as they called it.

I agreed to it readily, and they had a little plot of ground allotted to them, where they had three tents or houses set up, surrounded with a basket-work, pallisadoed like Atkins', adjoining to his plantation: their tents were contrived so, that they had each of them a room apart to lodge in, and a middle tent like a great storehouse to lay their goods in, and to eat and drink in. And now the other two Englishmen removed their habitation to the same place, and so the island was divided into three colonies, and no more, viz. the Spaniards with old Friday, and the first servants, at my old habitation under the hill; which was, in a word, the capital city; and where they had so enlarged and extended their works, as well under, as on the outside of the hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large. Never was there such a little city in a wood, and so hid, I believe, in any part of the world; for I verily believe, a thousand men might have ranged the island a month, and if they had not known there was such a thing, and looked on purpose for it, they would not have found it; for the trees stood so thick, and so close, and grew so fast matted into one another, that nothing but cutting them down first could discover the place; except the only two narrow entrances, where they went in and out, could be found, which was not very easy. One of them was just down at the water-edge of the creek, and it was afterwards above two hundred yards to the place; and the other was up a ladder at twice, as I have already formerly described it; and they had a large wood thick planted, also, on the top of the hill, which contained above an acre, which grew apace, and covered the place from all discovery there, with only one narrow place between two trees, not easy to be discovered, to enter on that side.

The other colony was that of Will. Atkins, where there were four families of Englishmen, I mean those I had left there, with their wives and children; three savages that were slaves; the widow and the children of the Englishman that was killed, the young man and the maid; and by the way, we made a wife of her also, before we went away. There were also the two carpenters and the tailor, whom I brought with me for them; also the smith, who was a very necessary man to them, especially as a gunsmith, to take care of their arms; and my other man, whom I called Jack-of-all-trades, who was in himself as good almost as 20 men; for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but a very merry fellow, and before I went away we married him to the honest maid that came with the youth in the ship I mentioned before.

And now I speak of marrying, it brings me naturally to say something of the French ecclesiastic that I had brought with me out of the ship's crew whom I took up at sea. It is true, this man was a Roman, and perhaps it may give offence to some hereafter, if I leave anything extraordinary upon record of a man, whom, before I begin, I must, (to set him out in just colours) represent in terms very much to his disadvantage, in the account of Protestants; as first, that he was a Papist; secondly, a Popish priest; and thirdly, a French Popish priest.

But justice demands of me to give him a due character; and I must say, he was a grave, sober, pious, and most religious person; exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplary in almost everything he did. What then can any one say, against being very sensible of the value of such a man, notwithstanding his profession? Though it may be my opinion, perhaps, as well as the opinion of others, who shall read this, that he was mistaken.

The first hour that I began to converse with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the East Indies, I found reason to delight exceedingly in his conversation; and he first began with me about religion, in the most obliging manner imaginable.

'Sir,' says he, 'you have not only, under God,' (and at that he crossed his breast) 'saved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ship, and by your obliging civility have taken me into your family, giving me an opportunity of free conversation. Now sir,' says he, 'you see by my habit what my profession is, and I guess by your nation, what yours is: I may think it is my duty, and doubtless it is so, to use my utmost endeavours, on all occasions, to bring all the souls I can to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace the Catholic doctrine; but as I am here under your permission, and in your family, I am bound in justice to your kindness, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government; and therefore I shall not, without your leave, enter into any debates on the points of religion, in which we may not agree, farther than you shall give me leave.'

I told him his carriage was so modest, that I could not but acknowledge it; that it was true, we were such people as they called heretics; but that he was not the first Catholic I had conversed with, without falling into inconveniences, or carrying the questions to any height in debate: that he should not find himself the worse used for being of a different opinion from us, and if we did not converse without any dislike on either side upon that score, it should be his fault, not ours.

He replied, that he thought all our conversation might be easily separated from disputes: that it was not his business to cap principles with every man he discoursed with; and that he rather desired me to converse with him as a gentleman, than as a *religieuse;* that if I would give him leave at any time to discourse upon religious subjects, he would readily comply with it; and that then, he did not doubt but I would allow him also to defend his own opinions, as well as he could; but that without my leave he would not break in upon me with any such thing.

He told me farther, that he would not cease to do all that became him in his office, as a priest, as well as a private Christian, to procure the good of the ship, and the safety of all that was in her; and though perhaps we would not join with him, and he could not pray with us, he hoped he might pray for us, which he would do upon all occasions. In this manner we conversed; and as he was of the most obliging gentleman-like behaviour, so he was, if I may be allowed to say so, a man of good sense, and as I believe, of great learning.

He gave me a most diverting account of his

life, and of the many extraordinary events of it; of many adventures which had befallen him in the few years that he had been abroad in the world; and particularly this was very remarkable, viz. that in the voyage he was now engaged in, he had had the misfortune to be five times shipped and unshipped, and never to go to the place whither any of the ships he was in, were at first designed: that his first intent was to have gone to Martinico, and that he went on board a ship bound thither, at St. Malo: but being forced into Lisbon by bad weather, the ship received some damage by running aground in the mouth of the river Tagus, and was obliged to unload her cargo there: that finding a Portuguese ship there bound to the Madeiras, and ready to sail, and supposing he should easily meet with a vessel there bound to Martinico, he went on board, in order to sail to the Madeiras. But the master of the Portuguese ship being but an indifferent mariner, had been out in his reckoning, and they drove to Fayal; where, however, he happened to find a very good market for his cargo, which was corn, and therefore resolved not to go to the Madeiras, but to load salt at the Isle of May, and to go away to Newfoundland. He had no remedy in this exigence, but to go with the ship, and had a pretty good voyage as far as the Banks, so they call the place where they catch the fish, where meeting with a French ship, bound from France to Quebec, in the river of Canada, and from thence to Martinico, to carry provisions, he thought he should have an opportunity to complete his first design: but when he came to Quebec, the master of the ship died, and the ship proceeded no farther; so the next voyage he shipped himself for France, in the ship that was burned, when we took them up at sea, and then shipped with us for the East Indies, as I have already said. Thus he had been disappointed in five voyages, all, as I may call it, in one voyage, besides what I shall have occasion to mention farther of the same person.

But I shall not make digression into other men's stories, which have no relation to my own. I return to what concerns our affairs in the island. He came to me one morning, for he lodged among us all the while we were upon the island, and it happened to be just when I was going to visit the Englishmen's colony, at the farthest part of the island; I say, he came to me, and told me with a very grave countenance, that he had for two or three days desired an opportunity of some discourse with me, which he hoped would not be displeasing to me, because he thought it might in some measure correspond with my general design, which was, the prosperity of my new colony, and perhaps might put it, at least more than he yet thought it was, in the way of God's blessing.

I looked a little surprised at the last part of his discourse, and turning a little short, 'How, sir,' said I, 'can it be said that we are not in the way of God's blessing, after such visible assistances and wonderful deliverances, as we have seen here, and of which I have given you a large account?'

'If you had pleased sir,' said he, with a world of modesty, and yet with great readiness, 'to have heard me, you would have found no room to have been displeased, much less to think so hard of me, that I should suggest that you have not had wonderful assistances and deliverances; and I hope, on your behalf, that you are in the way of God's blessing, and your design is exceeding good, and will prosper: but, sir, though it were more so, than is even possible to you, yet there may be some among you that are not equally right in their actions: and you know, that in the story of the children of Israel, one Achan in the camp, removed God's blessing from them, and turned his hand so against them, that six and thirty of them, though not concerned in the crime, were the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of that punishment.'

I was sensibly touched with his discourse, and told him his inference was just, and the whole design seemed so sincere, and was really so religious in its own nature, that I was very sorry I had interrupted him, and begged him to go on; and in the meantime, because it seemed, that what we had both to say might take up some time, I told him I was going to the Englishmen's plantations, and asked him to go with me, and we might discourse of it by the way: he told me, he would more willingly wait on me thither, because there partly the thing was acted, which he desired to speak to me about; so we walked on; and I pressed him to be free and plain with me in what he had to say.

'Why then, sir,' says he, 'be pleased to give me leave to lay down a few propositions as the foundation of what I have to say, that we may not differ in the general principles, though we may be of some differing opinions in the practice of particulars. First, sir, though we differ in some of the doctrinal articles of religion; and it is very unhappy that it is so, especially in the case before us, as I shall show afterwards; yet there are some general principles in which we both agree, viz. first, that there is a God; and that this God having given us some stated general rules for our service and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend Him; either by neglecting to do what He has commanded, or by doing what He has expressly forbidden: and let our different religions be what they will, this general principle is readily owned by us all, that the blessing of God does not ordinarily follow a presumptuous sinning against his command; and every good Christian will be affectionately concerned to prevent any that are under his care, living in a total neglect of God and his commands. It is not your men being Protestants, whatever my opinion may be of such, that discharges me from being concerned for their souls, and from endeavouring, if it lies before me, that they should live in as little distance from and enmity with their Maker, as possible, especially if you give me leave to meddle so far in your circuit.'

I could not yet imagine what he aimed at, and told him, I granted all he had said, and thanked him, that he would so far concern himself for us; and begged he would explain the particulars of what he had observed, that, like Joshua, to take his own parable, I might put away the accursed thing from us.

'Why then, sir,' says he, 'I will take the liberty you give me; and there are three things, which, if I am right, must stand in the way of God's blessing upon your endeavours here, and which I should rejoice for your sake, and their own, to see removed. And, sir,' says he, 'I promise myself, that you will fully agree with me in them all, as soon as I name them; especially because I shall convince you, that every one of them may, with great ease, and very much to your satisfaction, be remedied.'

He gave me no leave to put in any more civilities, but went on. 'First, sir,' says he, 'you have here four Englishmen, who have fetched women from among the savages, and have taken them as their wives, and have had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any stated

legal manner, as the laws of God and man require; and therefore are yet, in the sense of both, no less than adulterers, if not living in adultery. To this, sir,' says he, 'I know you will object, that there was no clergyman or priest of any kind, or of any profession, to perform the ceremony; nor any pen and ink, or paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it signed between them. And I know also, sir, what the Spaniard governor has told you; I mean of the agreement that he obliged them to make, when they took those women, viz. that they should choose them out by consent, and keep separately to them; which, by the way, is nothing of a marriage, no agreement with the women, as wives, but only an agreement among themselves, to keep them from quarrelling.

'But, sir, the essence of the sacrament of matrimony' (so he called it, being a Roman) 'consists not only in the mutual consent of the parties to take one another, as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation, that there is in the contract, to compel the man and woman, at all times, to own and acknowledge each other, obliging the men to abstain from all other women, to engage in no other contract while these subsist, and on all occasions, as ability allows, to provide honestly for them and their children, and to oblige the women to the same, or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their side.

'Now, sir,' says he, 'these men may, when they please, or when occasion presents, abandon these women, disown their children, leave them to perish, and take other women, and marry them whilst these are living.' And here he added, with some warmth, 'How, sir, is God honoured in this unlawful liberty? and how shall a blessing succeed your endeavours in this place? however good in themselves, and however sincere in your design, while these men, who at present are your subjects, under your absolute government and dominion, are allowed by you to live in open adultery?'

I confess, I was struck with the thing itself, but much more with the convincing arguments he supported it with; for it was certainly true, that though they had no clergyman upon the spot, yet a formal contract on both sides, made before witnesses, and confirmed by any token, which they had all agreed to be bound by, though it had been but breaking a stick between them, engaging the men to own these women for their wives, upon all occasions, and never to abandon them or their children, and the women to the same with their husbands, had been an effectual lawful marriage in the sight of God; and it was a great neglect that it was not done.

But I thought to have gotten off my young priest, by telling him, that all that part was done when I was not here, and they had lived so many years with them now, that if it was an adultery, it was past remedy, they could do nothing in it now.

'Sir,' says he, 'asking your pardon for such freedom, you are right in this, that it being done in your absence, you could not be charged with that part of the crime: but, I beseech you, flatter not yourself that you are not therefore under an obligation to do your utmost now to put an end to it. How can you think, but that, let the time past lie on whom it will, all the guilt, for the future, will lie entirely upon you? because it is certainly in your power now to put an end to it, and in nobody's power but yours.'

I was so dull still, that I did not take him right; but I imagined, that by putting an end to it, he meant that I should part them, and not suffer them to live together any longer; and I said to him, I could not do this by any means, for that it would put the whole island into confusion. He seemed surprised that I should so far mistake him. 'No, sir,' says he, 'I do not mean, that you should now separate them, but legally and effectually marry them now; and so, sir, my way of marrying them may not be so easy to reconcile them to, though it will be as effectual, even by your own laws, so your way may be as well before God, and as valid among men; I mean, by a written contract, signed by both man and woman, and by all the witnesses present, which all the laws of Europe would decree to be valid.'

I was amazed to see so much true piety, and so much sincerity of zeal, besides the unusual impartiality in his discourse, as to his own party or church, and such true warmth for the preserving people that he had no knowledge of, or relation to; I say, for preserving them from transgressing the laws of God; the like of which I had indeed not met with anywhere. But recollecting what he had said, of marrying them by a written contract, which I knew would stand too; I returned it back upon him, and told him, I granted all that he had said to be just, and on his part very kind, that I would discourse with the men upon the point now, when I came to them. And I knew no reason why they should scruple to let him marry them all, which I knew well enough would be granted to be as authentic and valid in England, as if they were married by one of our own clergymen. What was afterwards done in this matter, I shall speak of by itself.

I then pressed him to tell me what was the second complaint which he had to make, acknowledging, that I was very much his debtor for the first, and thanked him heartily for it. He told me, he would use the same freedom and plainness in the second, and hoped I would take it as well. And this was, that notwithstanding these English subjects of mine, as he called them, had lived with those women for almost seven years, had taught them to speak English, and even to read it; and that they were, as he perceived, women of tolerable understanding, and capable of instruction; yet they had not to this hour taught them anything of the Christian religion, no, not so much as to know that there was a God, or a worship, or in what manner God was to be served, or that their own idolatry, and worshipping they knew not whom, was false and absurd.

This, he said, was an unaccountable neglect, and what God would certainly call them to account for, and perhaps at last take the work out of their hands. He spoke this very affectionately and warmly. 'I am persuaded,' says he, 'had those men lived in a savage country, whence their wives came, the savages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolaters, and to worship the devil, than any of these men, so far as I can see, have taken with them to teach them the knowledge of the true God. Now, sir,' said he, 'though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we should be glad to see the devil's servants, and the subjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion; that they might, at least, hear of God, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state, things which we all believe; they had at least been so much nearer coming into the bosom of the true church, than they are now, in the public profession of idolatry and devil-worship.'

I could hold no longer; I took him in my arms, and embraced him with an excess of passion. 'How far,' said I to him, 'have I been from

understanding the most essential part of a Christian, viz. to love the interest of the Christian church, and the good of other men's souls. I scarce have known what belongs to being a Christian.' 'O, sir, do not say so,' replied he, 'this thing is not your fault.' 'No,' says I, 'but why did I never lay it to heart as well as you?' 'It is not too late yet,' said he, 'be not too forward to condemn yourself.' 'But what can be done now,' said I, 'you see I am going away?' 'Will you give me leave,' said he, 'to talk with these poor men about it?' 'Yes, with all my heart,' said I, 'and I will oblige them to give heed to what you say too.' 'As to that,' said he, 'we must leave them to the mercy of Christ; but it is our business to assist them, encourage them, and instruct them; and if you will give me leave, and God his blessing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant souls shall be brought home into the great circle of Christianity, into the particular faith that we all embrace, and that even while you stay here.' Upon this, I said, 'I shall not only give you leave, but give you a thousand thanks for it.' What followed on this account, I shall mention also again in its place.

I now pressed him for the third article, in which we were to blame. 'Why really,' says he, 'it is of the same nature; and I will proceed, asking your leave, with the same plainness as before. It is about your poor savages, who are, as I may say, your conquered subjects. It is a maxim, sir, that is, or ought to be received among all Christians of what church or pretended church soever, viz. The Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all possible occasions. It is on this principle that our church sends missionaries into Persia, India, and China, and that our clergy, even of the superior sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous voyages, and the most dangerous residence among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith. Now, sir, you have such an opportunity here, to have six or seven and thirty poor savages brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of God their Maker and Redeemer, that I wonder how you can pass such an occasion of doing good, which is really worth the expense of a man's whole life.'

I was now struck dumb indeed, and had not one word to say. I had here a spirit of true Christian zeal for God and religion before me, let his particular principle be of what kind soever. As for me, I had not so much as entertained a thought of this in my heart before, and I believe should not have thought of it; for I looked upon these savages as slaves, and people, whom, had we any work for them to do, we would have used as such, or would have been glad to have transported them to any other part of the world; for our business was to get rid of them, and we would all have been satisfied, if they had been sent to any country, so they had never seen their own. But to the case I say, I was confounded at his discourse, and knew not what answer to make him. He looked earnestly at me, seeing me in some disorder, 'Sir,' says he, 'I shall be very sorry, if what I have said gives you any offence.' 'No, no,' says I, 'I am offended with nobody but myself; but I am perfectly confounded, not only to think that I should never take any notice of this before, but with reflecting what notice I am able to take of it now. You know, sir,' said I, 'what circumstances I am in; I am bound to the East Indies, in a ship freighted by merchants, and to whom it would be an insufferable piece of injustice to detain their ship here, the men lying all this while at victuals and wages upon the owners' account. It is true, I agreed to be allowed twelve days here, and if I stay more, I must pay £3 sterling *per diem* demurrage, nor can I stay upon demurrage above eight days more, and I have been here thirteen already, so that I am perfectly unable to engage in this work, unless I would suffer myself to be left behind here again, in which case, if this single ship should miscarry in any part of her voyage, I should be just in the same condition that I was left in here at first, and from which I have been so wonderfully delivered.'

He owned the case was very hard upon me, as to my voyage, but laid it home upon my conscience, whether the blessing of saving seven and thirty souls was not worth my venturing all I had in the world for? I was not so sensible of that as he was. I returned upon him thus. 'Why, sir, it is a valuable thing, indeed, to be an instrument in God's hand to convert seven and thirty heathens to the knowledge of Christ, but as you are an ecclesiastic, and are given over to the work, so that it seems so naturally to fall into the way of your profession; how is it, that you do not rather offer yourself to undertake it, than press me to it?'

Upon this he faced about, just before me, as he walked along, and putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow. 'I most heartily thank God and you, sir,' says he, 'for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work; and if you think yourself discharged from it, and desire me to undertake it, I will most readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of such a broken disappointed voyage as I have met with, that I may be dropped at last into so glorious a work.'

I discovered a kind of rapture in his face while he spoke this to me; his eyes sparkled like fire, his face glowed, and his colour came and went, as if he had been falling into fits. In a word, he was fired with the joy of being embarked in such a work. I paused a considerable while before I could tell what to say to him, for I was really surprised to find a man of such sincerity and zeal, and carried out in his zeal beyond the ordinary rate of men, not of his profession only, but even of any profession whatsoever. But after I had considered it awhile, I asked him seriously if he was in earnest, and that he would venture on the single consideration of any attempt on those poor people, to be locked up in an unplanted island for, perhaps, his life, and at last might not know whether he should be able to do them any good or not?

He turned short upon me, and asked me what I called a venture? 'Pray, sir,' said he, 'what do you think I consented to go in your ship to the East Indies for?' 'Nay,' said I, 'that I know not, unless it was to preach to the Indians.' 'Doubtless it was,' said he; 'and do you think, if I can convert these seven and thirty men to the faith of Christ, it is not worth my time, though I should never be fetched off the island again; nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to save so many souls, than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the same profession? Yes, sir,' says he, 'I would give Christ and the blessed Virgin thanks all my days, if I could be made the least happy instrument of saving the souls of those poor men, though I was never to set my foot off this island, or see my native country any more. But since you will honour me,' says he, 'with putting me into this work, for which I will pray for you all the days of my life, I have one humble petition to you,' said he, 'besides.' 'What is that?'

said I. 'Why,' says he, 'it is, that you will leave your man Friday with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me; for without some help I cannot speak to them, or they to me.'

I was sensibly troubled at his requesting Friday, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons; he had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but sincerely affectionate to the last degree, and I had resolved to do something considerable for him, if he outlived me, as it was probable he would. Then I knew that, as I had bred Friday up to be a Protestant, it would quite confound him to bring him to embrace another profession; and he would never, while his eyes were open, believe that his old master was a heretic, and would be damned; and this might in the end ruin the poor fellow's principles, and so turn him back again to his first idolatry.

However, a sudden thought relieved me in this strait, and it was this; I told him, I could not say that I was willing to part with Friday on any account whatever, though a work that to him was of more value than his life, ought to be to me of much more value than the keeping or parting with a servant. But on the other hand, I was persuaded, that Friday would by no means consent to part with me, and I could not force him to it without his consent, without manifest injustice, because I had promised and engaged him to me, that he would never leave me, unless I put him away.

He seemed very much concerned at it, for he had no rational access to these poor people, seeing he did not understand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him, Friday's father had learned Spanish, which I found he also understood, and he should serve him for an interpreter; so he was much better satisfied, and nothing could persuade him, but he would stay to endeavour to convert them; but Providence gave another and very happy turn to all this.

I come back now to the first part of his objections. When we came to the Englishmen, I sent for them all together, and after some account given them of what I had done for them, viz. what necessary things I had provided for them, and how they were distributed, which they were very sensible of, and very thankful for; I began to talk to them of the scandalous life they led, and gave them a full account of the notice the clergyman had already taken of it, and arguing how unchristian and irreligious a life it was. I first asked them if they were married men or bachelors? They soon explained their condition to me, and showed me that two of them were widowers, and the other three were single men or bachelors. I asked them with what conscience they could take those women, and lie with them, as they had done, call them their wives, and have so many children by them, and not be married lawfully to them.

They all gave me the answer I expected, viz. that there was nobody to marry them; that they agreed before the governor to keep them as their wives; and to keep them and own them as their wives; and they thought, as things stood with them, they were as legally married as if they had had been married by a parson, and with all the formalities in the world.

I told them, that no doubt they were married in the sight of God, and were bound in conscience to keep them as their wives, but that the laws of men being otherwise, they might pretend that they were not married, and so desert the poor women and children hereafter; and that their wives being poor desolate women, friendless and moneyless, would have no way to help themselves. I therefore told them, that unless I was assured of their honest intent, I could do nothing for them; but would take care that what I did should be for the women and their children without them; and that unless they would give some assurances that they would marry the women, I could not think it was convenient they should continue together as man and wife, for that it was both scandalous to men, and offensive to God, who they could not think would bless them, if they went on thus.

All this went on as I expected, and they told me, especially Will Atkins, who seemed now to speak for the rest, that they loved their wives as well, as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever; and they did verily believe their wives were as virtuous and modest, and did to the utmost of their skill, as much for them, and for their children, as any women could possibly do, and they would not part with them on any account. And Will Atkins for his own particular added, if any man would take him away, and offer to carry him home to England, and make him captain of the best man-of-war in the navy, he would not go with him, if he might not carry his wife and children with him; and if there was a clergyman in the ship, he would be married to her now with all his heart.

This was just as I would have it; the priest was not with me at that moment, but was not far off: so to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and if he was sincere, I would have him married next morning, and bade him consider of it, and talk with the rest. He said, as for himself, he need not consider of it at all, for he was very ready to do it, and was glad I had a minister with me, and he believed they would be all willing also. I then told him that my friend the minister, was a Frenchman, and could not speak English, but I would act the clerk between them: he never so much as asked me whether he was Papist or Protestant, which was indeed what I was afraid of; but, I say, they never inquired about it. So we parted, I went back to my clergyman, and Will Atkins went in to talk with his companions. I desired the French gentleman not to say anything to them, till the business was thorough ripe, and I told him what answer the men had given me.

Before I went from their quarter, they all came to me, and told me, they had been considering what I had said; that they were very glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company, and they were very willing to give me the satisfaction I desired, and to be formally married as soon as I pleased; for they were far from desiring to part with their wives, and that they meant nothing but what was very honest when they chose them: so I appointed them to meet me the next morning, and that in the meantime they should let their wives know the meaning of the marriage law; and that it was not only to prevent any scandal, but also to oblige them, that they should not forsake them, whatever might happen.

The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it, as, indeed, they had reason to be; so they failed not to attend all together at my apartment the next morning, where I brought out my clergyman; and though he had not on a minister's gown, after the manner of England, or the habit of a priest, after the manner of France; yet having a black vest something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike

a minister; and as for his language, I was his interpreter.

But the seriousness of his behaviour to them, and the scruples he made of marrying the women, because they were not baptized, and professed Christians, gave them an exceeding reverence for his person; and there was no need after that, to inquire whether he was a clergyman or no.

Indeed, I was afraid his scruple would have been carried so far, as that he would not have married them at all; nay, notwithstanding all I was able to say to him, he resisted me, though modestly, yet very steadily, and at last refused absolutely to marry them, unless he had first talked with the men and the women too; and though at first I was a little backward to it, yet at last I agreed to it with a good will, perceiving the sincerity of his design.

When he came to them, he let them know, that I had acquainted him with their circumstances, and with the present design: that he was very willing to perform that part of his function, and marry them as I had desired; but that before he could do it, he must take the liberty to talk with them. He told them, that in the sight of all indifferent men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived all this while in an open adultery; and that it was true, that nothing but the consenting to marry, or effectually separating them from one another now, could now put an end to it; but there was a difficulty in it too, with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, which he was not fully satisfied about, viz. that of marrying one that is a professed Christian, to a savage, an idolater and a heathen, one that is not baptized; and yet that he did not see that there was time left for it to endeavour to persuade the women to be baptized, or to profess the name of Christ, whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptized.

He told them, he doubted they were but indifferent Christians themselves; that they had but little knowledge of God, or of his ways; and therefore he could not expect that they had said much to their wives on that head yet; but that unless they would promise him to use their endeavour with their wives to persuade them to become Christians, and would, as well as they could, instruct them in the knowledge and belief of God that made them, and to worship Jesus Christ that redeemed them, he could not marry them; for he would have no hand in joining Christians with savages; nor was it consistent with the principles of the Christian religion; and was indeed expressly forbidden in God's law.

They heard all this very attentively, and I delivered it very faithfully to them, from his mouth, as near his own words as I could, only sometimes adding something of my own to convince them how just it was, and how I was of his mind; and I always very faithfully distinguished between what I said for myself, and what were the clergyman's words. They told me, it was very true, what the gentleman said, that they were very indifferent Christians themselves, and that they never talked to their wives about religion. 'Lord, sir!' says Will Atkins, 'how should we teach them religion? why, we know nothing ourselves; and besides, sir,' said he, 'should we go to talk to them of God, and Jesus Christ, and heaven and hell, it would be to make them laugh at us, and ask us, what we believe ourselves? And if we should tell them we believe all the things we speak of to them, such as of good people going to heaven, and wicked people to the devil, they would ask us, where we intend to go ourselves, that believe all this, and are such wicked fellows as we indeed are? Why, sir, 'tis enough to give them a surfeit of religion at first hearing. Folks must have some religion themselves, before they pretend to teach other people.' 'Will Atkins,' said I to him, 'though I am afraid what you say has too much truth in it, yet can you not tell your wife that she is in the wrong? that there is a God, and a religion better than her own; that her gods are idols, that they can neither hear nor speak; that there is a great Being that made all things, and that can destroy all that He had made; that He rewards the good, and punishes the bad; and, that we are to be judged by Him at last for all we do here. You are not so ignorant, but even nature itself will teach you that all this is true, and I am satisfied you know it all to be true, and believe it yourself.'

'That's true, sir,' said Atkins; 'but with what face can I say anything to my wife of all this, when she will tell me immediately it cannot be true?'

'Not true!' said I, 'what do you mean by that?' 'Why, sir,' said he, 'she will tell me it cannot be true, that this God I shall tell her of can be just, or can punish, or reward, since I am not punished, and sent to the devil, that have been such a wicked creature as she knows I have been, even to her, and to everybody else; and that I should be suffered to live, that have been always acting so contrary to what I must tell her is good, and to what I ought to have done!'

'Why, truly, Atkins,' said I, 'I am afraid thou speakest too much truth:' and with that I let the clergyman know what Atkins had said, for he was impatient to know. 'O!' said the priest, 'tell him there is one thing will make him the best minister in the world to his wife, and that is, repentance; for none teach repentance like true penitents. He wants nothing but to repent, and then he will be so much the better qualified to instruct his wife. He will then be able to tell her, that there is not only a God, and that He is the just rewarder of good and evil; but that He is a merciful Being, and with infinite goodness and long-suffering forbears to punish those that offend, waiting to be gracious, and willing not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return and live: that oftentimes suffers wicked men to go a long time, and even reserves damnation to the general day of retribution. That it is a clear evidence of God and of a future state, that righteous men receive not their reward, or wicked men their punishment, till they come into another world; and this will lead him to teach his wife the doctrine of the resurrection and of the last judgment: let him but repent for himself, he will be an excellent preacher of repentance to his wife.'

I repeated all this to Atkins, who looked very serious all the while, and who, we could easily perceive, was more than ordinarily affected with it: when being eager, and hardly suffering me to make an end, 'I know all this, master,' says he, 'and a great deal more; but I have not the impudence to talk thus to my wife, when God and my own conscience know, and my wife will be an undeniable evidence against me, that I have lived, as I had never heard of a God, or future state, or anything about it: and to talk of my repenting, alas!' and with that he fetched a deep sigh, and I could see that the tears stood in his eyes, 'tis past all that with me.' 'Past it! Atkins,' said I, 'what dost thou mean by that?' 'I know well enough what I mean,' says he, 'I mean 'tis too late, and that is too true.'

I told my clergyman, word for word, what he

said. The poor zealous priest, (I must call him so; for, be his opinion what it will, he had certainly a most singular affection for the good of other men's souls; and it would be hard to think he had not the like for his own) I say, this zealous, affectionate man could not refrain tears also; but, recovering himself, he said to me, 'Ask him but one question, Is he easy that it is too late, or is he troubled, and wishes it were not so?' I put the question fairly to Atkins, and he answered with a great deal of passion, 'How could any man be easy in a condition that must certainly end in eternal destruction?' that he was far from being easy, but that, on the contrary, he believed it would one time or other ruin him.

'What do you mean by that?' said I. Why, he said, he believed he should, one time or other, cut his throat to put an end to the terror of it.

The clergyman shook his head with great concern in his face, when I told him all this: but turning quick to me upon it, says he, 'If that be his case, you may assure him it is not too late; Christ will give him repentance: but pray,' says he, 'explain this to him, that as no man is saved but by Christ and the merits of his passion, procuring divine mercy for him, how can it be too late for any man to receive mercy? Does he think he is able to sin beyond the power or reach of divine mercy? Pray tell him, there may be a time when provoked mercy will no longer strive, and when God may refuse to hear, but that it is never too late for men to ask mercy; and we that are Christ's servants are commanded to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jesus Christ, to all those that sincerely repent; so that it is never too late to repent.'

I told Atkins all this, and he heard me with great earnestness: but it seemed as if he turned off the discourse to the rest; for he said to me he would go and have some talk with his wife; so he went out awhile, and we talked to the rest. I perceived they were all stupidly ignorant as to matters of religion, much as I was when I went rambling away from my father; and yet there were none of them backward to hear what had been said; and all of them seriously promised that they would talk with their wives about it, and do their endeavours to persuade them to turn Christians.

The clergyman smiled upon me, when I reported what answer they gave, but said nothing a good while; but at last, shaking his head, 'We that are Christ's servants,' says he, 'can go no farther than to exhort and instruct; and when men comply, submit to the reproof, and promise what we ask, 'tis all we can do: we are bound to accept their good words. But, believe me, sir,' said he, 'whatever you may have known of the life of that man you call Will Atkins, I believe he is the only sincere convert among them; I take that man to be a true penitent; I will not despair of the rest, but that man is apparently struck with the sense of his past life, and I doubt not, when he comes to talk religion to his wife, he will talk himself effectually into it; for attempting to teach others, is sometimes the best way of teaching ourselves. I know a man, who having nothing but a summary notion of religion himself, and being wicked and profligate to the last degree in his life, made a thorough reformation in himself, by labouring to convert a Jew. If that poor Atkins begins but once to talk seriously of Jesus Christ to his wife, my life for it, he talks himself into a thorough convert, makes himself a penitent: and who knows what may follow?'

Upon this discourse, however, and their promising, as above, to endeavour to persuade their wives to embrace Christianity, he married the other three couple; but Will Atkins and his wife were not yet come in. After this, my clergyman, waiting awhile, was curious to know where Atkins was gone; and, turning to me, says he, 'I entreat you, sir, let us walk out of your labyrinth here, and look; I dare say, we shall find this poor man somewhere or other talking seriously to his wife, and teaching her already something of religion.' I began to be of the same mind; so we went out together, and I carried him a way which none knew but myself, and where the trees were so thick set that it was not easy to see through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to see in, than to see out; when, coming to the edge of the wood, I saw Atkins and his tawny savage wife sitting under the shade of a bush, very eager in discourse. I stoppel short till my clergyman came up to me; and then having showed him where they were, we stood and looked very steadily at them a good while.

We observed him very earnest with her, pointing up to the sun, and to every quarter of the heavens, then down to the earth, then out to the sea, then to himself, then to her, to the woods, to the trees. 'Now,' says the clergyman, 'you see my words are made good, the man preaches to her; mark him now, he is telling her that our God has made him and her, and the heavens, the earth, the sea, the woods, the trees, &c.' 'I believe he is,' said I. Immediately we perceived Will Atkins start up upon his feet, fall down on his knees, and lift up both his hands: we supposed he said something, but we could not hear him, it was too far for that. He did not continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and sits down again by his wife, and talks to her again. We perceived then the woman very attentive, but whether she said anything or no, we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could see the tears run plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks, and I could hardly forbear myself; but it was a great affliction to us both that we were not near enough to hear anything that passed between them.

Well, however, we could come no nearer, for fear of disturbing them, so we resolved to see an end to this piece of still conversation, and it spoke loud enough to us without the help of voice. He sat down again, as I have said, close by her, and talked again earnestly to her, and two or three times we could see him embrace her most passionately: another time we saw him take out his handkerchief and wipe her eyes, and then kiss her again with a kind of transport very unusual; and after several of these things, we saw him, on a sudden, jump up again, and lend her his hand to help her up, when immediately, leading her by the hand a step or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued so about two minutes.

My friend could bear it no longer, but cries out aloud, 'St. Paul, St. Paul! behold he prayeth;' I was afraid Atkins would hear him, therefore I entreated him to withhold himself a while, that we might see an end of the scene, which to me, I must confess, was the most affecting, and yet the most agreeable that ever I saw in my life. Well, he strove with himself, and contained himself for a while, but was in such raptures of joy, to think that the poor heathen woman was become a Christian, that he was not able to contain himself. He wept several times, then throwing up his hands and crossing his breast, said over several things ejaculatory, and by way of giving God thanks for so miraculous a testimony of the

success of our endeavours. Some he spoke softly, and I could not well hear, others audibly, some in Latin, some in French; then two or three times the tears would interrupt him, that he could not speak at all: but I begged that he would contain himself, and let us more narrowly and fully observe what was before us, which he did for a time, and the scene was not ended there yet; for after the poor man and his wife were risen again from their knees, we observed he stood talking still eagerly to her; and we observed by her motion, that she was greatly affected with what he said, by her frequently lifting up her hands, laying her hand to her breast, and such other postures, as usually express the greatest seriousness and attention. This continued about half a quarter of an hour, and then they walked away too; so that we could see no more of them in that situation.

I took this interval to talk with my clergyman: and first, I told him I was glad to see the particulars we had both been witnesses to; that though I was hard enough of belief in such cases, yet that I began to think it was all very sincere here, both in the man and his wife, however ignorant they might both be; and I hoped such a beginning would have a yet more happy end: 'And who knows,' said I, 'but these two may in time, by instruction and example, work upon some of the others?' 'Some of them!' said he, turning quick upon me, 'ay, upon all of them; depend upon it, if those two savages, for he has been but little better, as you relate it, should embrace Jesus Christ, they will never leave till they work upon all the rest; for true religion is naturally communicative, and he that is once made a Christian, will never leave a pagan behind him, if he can help it.' I owned it was a most Christian principle to think so, and a testimony of a true zeal, as well as a generous heart in him: 'But, my friend,' said I, 'will you give me leave to start one difficulty here? I cannot tell how to object the least thing against that affectionate concern, which you show for the turning the poor people from their paganism to the Christian religion: but how does this comfort you, while these people are in your account out of the pale of the Catholic Church, without which you believe there is no salvation; so that you esteem these but heretics, and for other reasons as effectually lost as the pagans themselves?'

To this he answered with abundance of candour and Christian charity thus: 'Sir, I am a Catholic of the Roman Church, and a priest of the order of St. Benedict, and I embrace all the principles of the Roman faith: but yet if you will believe me, and that I do not speak in compliment to you, or in respect to my circumstances and your civilities; I say, nevertheless, I do not look upon you, who call yourselves reformed, without some charity: I dare not say, though I know it is our opinion in general, I say, I dare not say, that you cannot be saved: I will by no means limit the mercy of Christ so far, as to think that He cannot receive you into the bosom of his church in a manner to us unperceivable, and which it is impossible for us to know, and I hope you have the same charity for us. I pray daily for your being all restored to Christ's church, by whatsoever methods He, who is all-wise, is pleased to direct: in the meantime, sure you will allow it to consist with me, as a Roman, to distinguish far between a Protestant and a pagan; between one that calls on Jesus Christ, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith, and a savage, a barbarian, that knows no God, no Christ, no Redeemer; and if you are not within the pale of the Catholic Church, we hope you are nearer being restored to it than those that know nothing of God or his church: and I rejoice therefore when I see this poor man, who you say has been a profligate, and almost a murderer, kneel down and pray to Jesus Christ, as we suppose he did, though not fully enlightened; believing that God, from whom every such work proceeds, will sensibly touch his heart, and bring him to the further knowledge of that truth in his own time; and if God shall influence this poor man to convert and instruct the ignorant savage his wife, I can never believe that he shall be cast away himself. And have I not reason then to rejoice, the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Christ, though they may not be brought quite home into the bosom of the Catholic Church, just in the time when I may desire it? leaving it to the goodness of Christ to perfect his work in his own time, and in his own way. Certainly I would rejoice if all the savages in America were brought like this poor woman to pray to God, though they were to be all Protestants at first, rather than they should continue pagans and heathens; firmly believing, that He that had bestowed the first light to them, would further illuminate them with a beam of his heavenly grace, and bring them into the pale of his church when He should see good.'

I was astonished at the sincerity and temper of this truly pious Papist, as much as I was oppressed by the power of his reasoning; and it presently occurred to my thoughts, that if such a temper was universal, we might be all Catholic Christians, whatever church or particular profession we joined to, or joined in; that a spirit of charity would soon work us all up into right principles. And in a word, as he thought, that the like charity would make us all Catholics, so I told him, I believed, had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would soon be all Protestants. And there we left that part, for we never disputed at all.

However, I talked to him another way, and taking him by the hand, 'My friend,' says I, 'I wish all the clergy of the Romish Church were blest with such moderation, and had an equal share of your charity. I am entirely of your opinion; but I must tell you, that if you should preach such doctrine in Spain or Italy, they would put you into the Inquisition.'

'It may be so,' said he, 'I know not what they might do in Spain or Italy, but I will not say they would be the better Christians for that severity, for I am sure there is no heresy in too much charity.'

Well, as Will Atkins and his wife were gone, our business there was over, so we went back our own way; and when we came back, we found them waiting to be called in; observing this, I asked my clergyman, if we should discover to him that we had seen him under the bush, or no? and it was his opinion we should not; but that we should talk to him first, and hear what he would say to us. So we called him in alone, nobody being in the place but ourselves: and I began with him thus.

'Will Atkins,' said I, 'prithee what education had you? What was your father?'

W. A. A better man than ever I shall be. Sir, my father was a clergyman.

R. C. What education did he give you?

W. A. He would have taught me well, sir; but I despised all education, instruction, or correction, like a beast as I was.

R. C. It is true, Solomon says, 'He that despises reproof is brutish.'

W. A. Ay, sir, I was brutish indeed, for I murdered my father: for God's sake, sir, talk no more about that, sir; I murdered my poor father.

PR. Ha! a murderer!

Here the priest started (for I interpreted every word as he spoke) and looked pale. It seems he believed that Will had really killed his father.

R. C. No, no, sir, I do not understand him so. Will Atkins, explain yourself. You did not kill your father, did you, with your own hand?

W. A. No, sir, I did not cut his throat, but I cut the thread of all his comforts, and shortened his days; I broke his heart by the most ungrateful, unnatural return, for the most tender affectionate treatment that ever father gave, or child could receive.

R. C. Well, I did not ask you about your father, to extort this confession; I pray God give you repentance for it, and forgive that, and all your other sins; but I asked you, because I see, that though you have not much learning, yet you are not so ignorant as some are in things that are good; that you have known more of religion a great deal than you have practised.

W. A. Though you, sir, did not extort the confession that I made about my father, conscience does; and whenever we come to look back upon our lives, the sins against our indulgent parents are certainly the first that touch us; the wounds they make lie the deepest, and the weight they leave will lie heaviest upon the mind, of all the sins we can commit.

R. C. You talk too feelingly and sensibly for me, Atkins; I cannot bear it.

W. A. You bear it, master! I dare say you know nothing of it.

R. C. Yes, Atkins, every shore, every hill, nay, I may say, every tree in this island, is witness to the anguish of my soul, for my ingratitude and base usage of a good tender father; a father much like yours, by your description; and I murdered my father as well as you, Will Atkins; but I think, for all that, my repentance is short of yours too by a great deal.

I would have said more, if I could have restrained my passions; but I thought this poor man's repentance was so much sincerer than mine, that I was going to leave off the discourse and retire, for I was surprised with what he had said; and thought, that instead of my going about to teach and instruct him, the man was a teacher and instructor to me, in a most surprising and unexpected manner.

I laid all this before the young clergyman, who was greatly affected with it, and said to me, 'Did I not say, sir, that when this man was converted, he would preach to us all? I tell you, sir, if this one man be made a true penitent, here will be no need of me, he will make Christians of all in the island.' But having a little composed myself, I renewed my discourse with Will Atkins.

'But, Will,' said I, 'how comes the sense of this matter to touch you just now?'

W. A. Sir, you have set me about a work that has struck a dart through my very soul. I have been talking about God and religion to my wife, in order, as you directed me, to make a Christian of her, and she has preached such a sermon to me, as I shall never forget while I live.

R. C. No, no, it is not your wife has preached to you; but when you were moving religious arguments to her, conscience has flung them back upon you.

W. A. Ay, sir, with such force as is not to be resisted.

R. C. Pray, Will, let us know what passed between you and your wife, for I know something of it already.

W. A. Sir, it is impossible to give you a full account of it; I am too full to hold it, and yet have no tongue to express it; but let her have said what she will, and though I cannot give you an account of it, this I can tell you of it, that I resolve to amend and reform my life.

R. C. But tell us some of it. How did you begin, Will? For this has been an extraordinary case, that is certain. She has preached a sermon, indeed, if she has wrought this upon you.

W. A. Why, I first told her the nature of our laws about marriage, and what the reasons were, that men and women were obliged to enter into such compacts, as it was neither in the power of one or other to break; that otherwise, order and justice could not be maintained, and men would run from their wives, and abandon their children, mix confusedly with one another, and neither families be kept entire, or inheritances be settled by legal descent.

R. C. You talk like a civilian, Will; could you make her understand what you meant by inheritance and families? They know no such things among the savages, but marry anyhow, without regard to relation, consanguinity, or family; brother and sister, nay, as I have been told, even the father and daughter, and the son and the mother.

W. A. I believe, sir, you are misinformed, and my wife assures me of the contrary, and that they abhor it; perhaps, for any farther relations, they may not be so exact as we are: but she tells me they never touch one another in the near relations you speak of.

R. C. Well, what did she say, to what you told her?

W. A. She said, she liked it very well, and it was much better than in her country.

R. C. But did you tell her what marriage was?

W. A. Ay, ay, there began our dialogue. I asked her if she would be married to me our way? She asked me what way that was? I told her marriage was appointed by God; and here we had a strange talk together, indeed, as ever man and wife had, I believe.

N. B. This dialogue between W. Atkins and his wife, as I took it down in writing, just after he told it me, was as follows.

WIFE. Appointed by your God! Why, have you a God in your country?

W. A. Yes, my dear, God is in every country.

WIFE. No you God in my country; my country have the great old Benamuckee God.

W. A. Child, I am very unfit to show you who God is. God is in heaven, and made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is.

WIFE. No makee de earth; no you God make all earth, no make my country.

W. A. laughed a little at her expression, of God not making her country.

WIFE. No laugh, why laugh me? This nothing to laugh.

He was justly reproved by his wife, for she was more serious than he at first.

W. A. That's true indeed, I will not laugh any more, my dear.

WIFE. Why you say, you God make all?

W. A. Yes, child, our God made the whole world, and you, and me, and all things; for He is the only true God. There is no God but Him; He lives for ever in heaven.

WIFE. Why you no tell me long ago?

W. A. That's true indeed, but I have been a wicked wretch, and have not only forgotten to acquaint thee with anything before, but have lived without God in the world myself.

WIFE. What have you de great God in your country, you no know Him? No say O to Him? No do good thing for Him? That no possible!

W. A. It is too true; though for all that, we live as if there was no God in heaven, or that He had no power on earth.

WIFE. But why God let you do so? Why He no makee you good live?

W. A. It is all our own fault.

WIFE. But you say me, He is great, much great, have much great power; can makee kill, when He will; why He no makee kill when you no serve Him? No say O to Him? No be good mans.

W. A. That is true; He might strike me dead, and I ought to expect it; for I have been a wicked wretch, that is true; but God is merciful, and does not deal with us as we deserve.

WIFE. But then, do you not tell God tankee for that too?

W. A. No, indeed, I have not thanked God for his mercy, any more than I have feared God for his power.

WIFE. Then you God no God; me no think, believe, He be such one, great much power, strong; no makee kill you though you makee Him much angry.

W. A. What! will my wicked life hinder you from believing in God? What a dreadful creature am I; and what a sad truth is it, that the horrid lives of Christians hinders the conversion of heathens!

WIFE. How me tink you have great much God (she points up to heaven) up there, and yet no do well, no do good thing? Can He tell? Sure He no tell what you do?

W. A. Yes, yes, He knows and sees all things; He hears us speak, sees what we do, knows what we think, though we do not speak.

WIFE. What! He no hear you swear, curse, speak the great damn?

W. A. Yes, yes, he hears it all.

WIFE. Where be then the muchee great power strong?

W. A. He is merciful, that's all we can say for it; and this proves Him to be the true God; He is God and not man; and therefore we are not consumed.

Here Will Atkins told us he was struck with horror, to think how he could tell his wife so clearly that God sees, and hears, and knows the secret thoughts of the heart, and all that we do; and yet that he had dared to do all the vile things he had done.

WIFE. Merciful! What you call that?

W. A. He is our Father and Maker, and He pities and spares us.

WIFE. So then He never makee kill, never angry when you do wicked; then He no good himself, or no great able.

W. A. Yes, yes, my dear, He is infinitely good and infinitely great, and able to punish too, and sometimes to show his justice and vengeance, He lets fly his anger to destroy sinners, and make examples; many are cut off in their sins.

WIFE. But no make kill you yet, then He tell you, may be, that He no make you kill, so you make de bargain with Him, you do bad thing, He no be angry at you, when He be angry at other mans.

W. A. No, indeed, my sins are all presumptions upon his goodness; and He would be infinitely just if He destroyed me, as He has done other men.

WIFE. Well, and yet no kill, no makee you dead, what you say to Him for that, you no tell Him tankee for all that too?

W. A. I am an unthankful, ungrateful dog, that's true.

WIFE. Why? He no makee you much good better, you say He makee you.

W. A. He made me as He made all the world; it is I have deformed myself, and abused his goodness, and made myself an abominable wretch.

WIFE. I wish you makee God know me, I no makee Him angry, I no do bad wicked thing.

Here Will Atkins said his heart sunk within him, to hear a poor untaught creature desire to be taught to know God, and he such a wicked wretch, that he could not say one word to her about God, but what the reproach of his own carriage would make most irrational to her to believe; nay, that already she had told him, that she could not believe in God, because he that was so wicked, was not destroyed.

W. A. My dear, you mean, you wish I could teach you to know God, not God to know you; for He knows you already, and every thought in your heart.

WIFE. Why then He know what I say to you now? He know me wish to know Him; how shall me know who makee me?

W. A. Poor creature, He must teach thee, I cannot teach thee; I'll pray to Him to teach thee to know Him, and to forgive me that I am unworthy to teach thee.

The poor fellow was in such an agony at her desiring him to make her know God, and her wishing to know Him, that, he said, he fell down on his knees before her, and prayed to God to enlighten her mind with the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to pardon his sins, and accept of his being the unworthy instrument of instructing her in the principles of religion; after which, he sat down by her again, and their dialogue went on. *N. B.* This was the time when we saw him kneel down, and lift up his hands.

WIFE. What you put down the knee for? What you hold up the hand for? What you say? Who you speak to? What is all that?

W. A. My dear, I bow my knees in token of my submission to Him that made me; I said O to Him, as you call it, and as you say, your old men do their idol Benamuckee; that is, I prayed to Him.

WIFE. What you say O to Him for?

W. A. I prayed to Him to open your eyes, and your understanding, that you may know Him, and be accepted by Him.

WIFE. Can He do that too?

W. A. Yes, He can, He can do all things.

WIFE. But now He hear what you say?

W. A. Yes, He has bid us pray to Him, and promised to hear us.

WIFE. Bid you pray? When He bid you? How He bid you? What! you hear Him speak?

W. A. No, we do not hear Him speak, but He has revealed himself in many ways to us.

Here he was at a great loss to make her understand that God has revealed himself to us by his word, and what his word was: but at last he told it her thus.

W. A. God has spoken to some good men in former days, even from heaven, by plain words; and God has inspired good men by his Spirit; and they have written all his laws down in a book.

WIFE. Me no understand that, where is book?

W. A. Alas, my poor creature, I have not this book; but I hope I shall one time or other get it for you, and help you to read it.

Here he embraced her with great affection; but with inexpressible grief, that he had not a Bible.

WIFE. But how you makee me know, that God teachee them to write that book?

W. A. By the same rule that we know Him to be God.

WIFE. What rule, what way you know Him?

W. A. Because He teaches and commands nothing but what is good, righteous, and holy; and tends to make us perfectly good, as well as perfectly happy; and because He forbids and commands us to avoid all that is wicked, that is evil in itself, or evil in its consequence.

WIFE. That me would understand, that me fain see; if He teachee all good thing, forbid all wicked thing, He reward all good thing, punish all wicked thing, He make all thing, He give all thing, He hear me when I say O to Him, as you do just now; He makee me good, if I wish be good, He spare me, no makee kill me, when I no be good; all this you say He do, yet He be great God; me take, think, believe Him be great God; me say O to Him with you, my dear.

Here the poor man could forbear no longer; but raising her up, made her kneel by him, and he prayed to God aloud to instruct her in the knowledge of himself by his Spirit, and that by some good providence, if possible, she might some time or other come to have a Bible, that she might read the word of God, and be taught by it to know Him.

This was the time that we saw him lift her up by the hand, and saw him kneel down by her, as above.

They had several other discourses, it seems, after this, too long to be set down here; and particularly she made him promise, that since he confessed his own life had been a wicked abominable course of provocation against God, that he would reform it, and not make God angry any more, lest He should make him dead, as she called it, and then she would be left alone, and never be taught to know this God better; and lest he should be miserable, as he had told her wicked men should be after death.

This was a strange account, and very affecting to us both, but particularly to the young clergyman; he was indeed wonderfully surprised with it, but under the greatest affliction imaginable, that he could not talk to her, that he could not speak English to make her understand him; and as she spoke but very broken English, he could not understand her. However, he turned himself to me, and told me, that he believed that there must be more to do with this woman than to marry her. I did not understand him at first, but at length he explained himself, viz. that she ought to be baptized.

I agreed with him in that part readily, and was for going about it presently. 'No, no, hold, sir,' said he, 'though I would have her be baptized by all means, yet I must observe, that Will Atkins, her husband, has indeed brought her in a wonderful manner to be willing to embrace a religious life, and has given her just ideas of the being of a God, of his power, justice, and mercy; yet I desire to know of him, if he has said anything to her of Jesus Christ, and of the salvation of sinners, of the nature of faith in Him, and redemption by Him, of the Holy Spirit, the resurrection, the last judgment, and a future state.'

I called Will Atkins again, and asked him; but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears, and told us he had said something to her of all those things, but that he was himself so wicked a creature, and his own conscience so reproached him with his horrid ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehensions, that her knowledge of him should lessen the attention she should give to those things, and make her rather contemn religion than receive it: but he was assured, he said, that her mind was so disposed to receive due impressions of all those things, that if I would but discourse with her, she would make it appear to my satisfaction, that my labour would not be lost upon her.

Accordingly I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter between my religious priest and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her; but sure such a sermon was never preached by a Popish priest in these latter ages of the world; and, as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the sincerity of a Christian, without the error of a Roman Catholic; and that I took him to be such a clergyman, as the Roman bishops were before the Church of Rome assumed spiritual sovereignty over the consciences of men.

In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by Him, not with wonder and astonishment only, as she did the first notions of a God, but with joy and faith, with an affection and a surprising degree of understanding, scarce to be imagined, much less to be expressed; and at her own request she was baptized.

When he was preparing to baptize her, I entreated him, that he would perform that office with some caution, that the man might not perceive he was of the Roman Church, if possible, because of other ill consequences which might attend a difference among us in that very religion, which we were instructing the other in. He told me, that as he had no consecrated chapel, no proper things for the office, I should see he would do it in a manner that I should not know by it, that he was a Roman Catholic myself, if I had not known it before: and so he did; for saying only some words over to himself in Latin, which I could not understand, he poured a whole dishful of water upon the woman's head, pronouncing in French, very loud, 'Mary,' which was the name her husband desired me to give her; for I was her godfather, 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;' so that none could know anything by it, what religion he was of: he gave the benediction afterwards in Latin; but either Will Atkins did not know but it was French, or else did not take notice of it at that time.

As soon as this was over, we married them; and after the marriage was over, he turned him-

self to Will Atkins, and in a very affectionate manner exhorted him, not only to persevere in that good disposition he was in, but to support the convictions that were upon him by a resolution to reform his life; told him it was in vain to say he repented, if he did not forsake his crimes; represented to him, how God had honoured him with being the instrument of bringing his wife to the knowledge of the Christian religion, and that he should be careful he did not dishonour the grace of God, and that if he did, he would see the heathen a better Christian than himself, the savage converted, and the instrument cast away.

He said a great many good things to them both, and then recommending them in a few words to God's goodness, gave them the benediction again, I repeating everything to them in English; and thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the most pleasant, agreeable day to me, that ever I passed in my whole life.

But my clergyman had not done yet; his thoughts hung continually upon the conversion of the seven and thirty savages, and fain he would have stayed upon the island to have undertaken it; but I convinced him, first, that his undertaking was impracticable in itself; and secondly, that perhaps I would put it into a way of being done in his absence to his satisfaction; of which by and by.

Having thus brought the affair of the island to a narrow compass, I was preparing to go on board the ship, when the young man, whom I had taken out of the famished ship's company, came to me, and told me, he understood I had a clergyman with me, and that I had caused the Englishmen to be married to the savages, whom they called wives; that he had a match too, which he desired might be finished before I went, between two Christians, which he hoped would not be disagreeable to me.

I knew this must be the young woman who was his mother's servant, for there was no other Christian woman on the island; so I began to persuade him not to do anything of that kind rashly, or because he found himself in this solitary circumstance. I represented to him, that he had some considerable substance in the world, and good friends, as I understood by himself, and his maid also; that his maid was not only poor, and a servant, but was unequal to him, she being six or seven and twenty years old, and he not above seventeen or eighteen; that he might very probably, with my assistance, make a remove from this wilderness, and come into his own country again, and that then it would be a thousand to one but he would repent his choice; and the dislike of that circumstance might be disadvantageous to both. I was going to say more, but he interrupted me, smiling, and told me, with a great deal of modesty, that I mistook in my guesses; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts, his present circumstance being melancholy and disconsolate enough; and he was very glad to hear that I had thoughts of putting them in a way to see their country again, and nothing should have put him upon staying there, but that the voyage I was going was so exceeding long and hazardous, and would carry him quite out of the reach of all his friends; that he had nothing to desire of me, but that I would settle him in some little property in the island where he was, give him a servant or two and some few necessaries, and he would settle himself here like a planter, waiting the good time, when, if ever I returned to England, I would redeem him, and hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I came into England; that he would give me some letters to his friends in London, to let them know how good I had been to him, and in what part of the world, and what circumstance I had left him in; that he promised me, that whenever I redeemed him, the plantation, and all the improvement he had made upon it, let the value be what it would, should be wholly mine.

His discourse was very prettily delivered, considering his youth, and was the more agreeable to me, because he told me positively the match was not for himself: I gave him all possible assurances, that if I lived to come safe to England, I would deliver his letter, and do his business effectually, and that he might depend I would never forget the circumstance I had left him in; but still I was impatient to know who were the persons to be married, upon which he told me, it was my Jack-of-all-trades, and his maid Susan.

I was most agreeably surprised, when he named the match, for indeed I thought it very suitable; the character of that man I have given already; and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious young woman, had a very good share of sense, was agreeable enough in her person, spoke very handsomely, and to the purpose, always with decency and good manners, and not backward to speak, when anything required it, or impertinently forward to speak, when it was not her business; very handy and housewifely in anything that was before her; an excellent manager, and fit indeed to have been governess to the whole island; she knew very well how to behave to all kind of folks she had about her, and to better, if she had found any there.

The match being proposed in this manner, we married them the same day, and as I was father at the altar, as I may say, and gave her away, so I gave her a portion; for I appointed her and her husband a handsome large space of ground for their plantation. And indeed this match, and the proposal the young gentleman made to give him a small property in the island, put me upon parcelling it out amongst them, that they might not quarrel afterwards about their situation.

This sharing out the land to them, I left to Will Atkins, who indeed was now grown a most sober, grave, managing fellow, perfectly reformed, exceeding pious and religious, and as far as I may be allowed to speak positively in such a case, I verily believe, was a true sincere penitent.

He divided things so justly, and so much to every one's satisfaction, that they only desired one general writing under my hand for the whole, which I caused to be drawn up, and signed and sealed to them, setting out the bounds and situation of every man's plantation, and testifying that I gave them thereby severally a right to the whole possession and inheritance of the respective plantations or farms, with their improvements to them and their heirs, reserving all the rest of the island as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation after eleven years, if I, or any one from me, or in my name came to demand it, producing an attested copy of the same writing.

As to the government and laws among them, I told them I was not capable of giving them better rules, than they were able to give themselves; only made them promise me to live in love and good neighbourhood with one another; and so I prepared to leave them.

One thing I must not omit, and that is, that being now settled in a kind of commonwealth among themselves, and having much business in hand, it was but odd to have seven and thirty

Indians live in a nook of the island independent, and indeed unemployed; for excepting the providing themselves food, which they had difficulty enough in too sometimes, they had no manner of business or property to manage. I proposed therefore to the governor Spaniard, that he should go to them with Friday's father, and propose to them to remove, and either plant for themselves, or take them into their several families as servants to be maintained for their labour, but without being absolute slaves; for I would not admit them to make them slaves by force by any means, because they had their liberty given them by capitulation, and as it were, articles of surrender, which they ought not to break.

They most willingly embraced the proposal, and came all very cheerfully along with him; so we allotted them land and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the rest chose to be employed as servants in the several families we had settled; and thus my colony was in a manner settled, as follows. The Spaniards possessed my original habitation, which was the capital city, and extended their plantations all along the side of the brook, which made the creek that I have so often described, as far as my bower; and as they increased their culture, it went always eastward. The English lived in the north-east part, where Will Atkins and his comrades began, and came on southward, and southwest, towards the back part of the Spaniards; and every plantation had a great addition of land to take in, if they found occasion, so that they need not jostle one another for want of room.

All the east end of the island was left uninhabited, that if any of the savages should come on shore there, only for their usual customary barbarities, they might come and go, if they disturbed nobody, nobody would disturb them; and no doubt but they were often ashore, and went away again, for I never heard that the planters were attacked or disturbed any more.

It now came into my thoughts, that I had hinted to my friend the clergyman, that the work of converting the savages, might perhaps be set on foot in his absence, to his satisfaction; and told him, that now I thought it was put in a fair way; for the savages being thus divided among the Christians, if they would but every one of them do their part with those which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect.

He agreed presently in that, 'if,' said he, 'they will do their part; but how,' says he, 'shall we obtain that of them?' I told him, we would call them all together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them one by one, which he thought best, so we divided it; he to speak to the Spaniards, who were all Papists, and I to the English, who were all Protestants; and we recommended it earnestly to them, and made them promise, that they never would make any distinction of Papist or Protestant, in their exhorting the savages to turn Christians; but teach them the general knowledge of the true God, and of their Saviour Jesus Christ; and they likewise promised us, that they would never have any differences or disputes one with another about religion.

When I came to Will Atkins's house, I may call it so, for such a house, or such a piece of basket-work, I believe, was not standing in the world again; I say, when I came there, I found the young woman I have mentioned above, and Will Atkins's wife, were become intimates; and this prudent religious young woman had perfected the work Will Atkins had begun; and though it was not above four days after what I have related, yet the new baptized savage woman was made such a Christian, as I have seldom heard of any like her in all my observation, or conversation, in the world.

It came next into my mind in the morning before I went to them, that amongst all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left them a Bible, in which, I showed myself less considering for them, than my good friend the widow was for me, when she sent me the cargo of a hundred pounds from Lisbon, where she packed up 3 Bibles and a prayer-book: however, the good woman's charity had a greater extent than ever she imagined; for they were reserved for the comfort and instruction of those, that made much better use of them than I had done.

I took one of the Bibles in my pocket, and when I came to Will Atkins's tent or house, and found the young woman, and Atkins's baptized wife, had been discoursing of religion together; for Will Atkins told it me with a great deal of joy; I asked if they were together now, and he said, yes; so I went into the house, and he with me, and we found them together very earnest in discourse. 'O sir!' says Will Atkins, 'when God has sinners to reconcile to himself, and aliens to bring home, He never wants a messenger; my wife has got a new instructor! I knew I was unworthy, as I was incapable of that work. That young woman has been sent hither from heaven; she is enough to convert a whole island of savages!' The young woman blushed, and rose up to go away, but I desired her to sit still; I told her, she had a good work upon her hands, and I hoped God would bless her in it.

We talked a little, and I did not perceive they had any book among them, though I did not ask; but I put my hand into my pocket, and pulled out my Bible; 'Here,' says I to Atkins, 'I have brought you an assistant that perhaps you had not before.' The man was so confounded, that he was not able to speak for some time; but recovering himself, he takes it with both his hands, and turning to his wife, 'Here, my dear,' says he, 'did not I tell you, our God, though He lives above, could hear what we said? Here's the book I prayed for, when you and I kneeled down under the bush; now God has heard us, and sent it.' When he had said so, the man fell into such transports of a passionate joy, that between the joy of having it, and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child that was crying.

The woman was surprised, and was like to have run into a mistake, that none of us were aware of; for she firmly believed God had sent the book upon her husband's petition. It is true, that providentially it was so, and might be taken so in a consequent sense; but I believe it would have been no difficult matter at that time, to have persuaded the poor woman to have believed, that an express messenger came from heaven, on purpose to bring that individual book; but it was too serious a matter, to suffer any delusion to take place; so I turned to the young woman, and told her we did not desire to impose upon the new convert, in her first, and more ignorant understanding of things; and begged her to explain to her, that God may be very properly said to answer our petitions, when in the course of his providence, such things are in a particular manner brought to pass, as we petitioned for; but we did not expect returns from heaven, in a miraculous and particular manner, and that it is our mercy, that it is not so.

This the young woman did afterwards effec-

tually; so that there was, I assure you, no priest-craft used here; and I should have thought it one of the most justifiable frauds in the world, to have had it so. But the surprise of joy upon Will Atkins, is really not to be expressed; and there, we may be sure, there was no delusion. Sure, no man was ever more thankful in the world for anything of its kind, than he was for his Bible; nor I believe, never any man was glad of a Bible from a better principle: and though he had been a most profligate creature, desperate, headstrong, outrageous, furious, and wicked to a great degree, yet this man is a standing rule to us all, for the well instructing children, viz. that parents should never give over to teach and instruct, or ever despair of the success of their endeavours, let the children be ever so obstinate, refractory, or to appearance, insensible of instruction: for if ever God in his providence, touches the conscience of such, the force of their education returns upon them, and the early instruction of parents is not lost; though it may have been many years laid asleep; but some time or other, they may find the benefit of it.

Thus it was with this poor man, however ignorant he was, or divested of religion and Christian knowledge; he found he had some to do with now, more ignorant than himself; and that the least part of the instruction of his good father that could now come to his mind, was of use to him.

Among the rest it occurred to him, he said, how his father used to insist much upon the inexpressible value of the Bible, the privilege and blessing of it to nations, families, and persons; but he never entertained the least notion of the worth of it, till now; when being to talk to heathens, savages, and barbarians, he wanted the help of the written oracle for his assistance.

The young woman was glad of it also for the present occasion, though she had one, and so had the youth on board our ship among their goods, which were not yet brought on shore. And now having said so many things of this young woman, I cannot omit telling one story more of her, and myself, which has something in it very informing and remarkable.

I have related, to what extremity the poor young woman was reduced; how her mistress was starved to death, and did die on board that unhappy ship we met at sea; and how the whole ship's company, being reduced to the last extremity; the gentlewoman, and her son, and this maid, were first hardly used as to provisions, and at last totally neglected and starved; that is to say, brought to the last extremity of hunger.

One day being discoursing with her on the extremities they suffered, I asked her if she could describe by what she had felt, what it was to starve, and how it appeared; she told me, she believed she could; and she told her tale very distinctly thus:

'First, sir,' said she, 'we had for some days fared exceeding hard, and suffered very great hunger; but now at last, we were wholly without food of any kind, except sugar, and a little wine, and a little water. The first day, after I had received no food at all, I found myself towards evening, first empty and sickish at my stomach, and nearer night mightily inclined to yawning, and sleepy. I lay down on a couch in the great cabin to sleep, and slept about three hours, and awaked a little refreshed; having taken a glass of wine when I lay down; after being about three hours awake, it being about five o'clock in the morning, I found myself empty, and my stomach sickish, and lay down again, but could not sleep at all, being very faint, and ill; and thus I continued all the second day, with a strange variety, first hungry, then sick again, with retchings to vomit. The second night being obliged to go to bed again, without any food, more than a draught of fair water, and being asleep, I dreamed I was at Barbadoes, and that the market was mightily stocked with provisions; that I bought some for my mistress, and went and dined very heartily.

'I thought my stomach was as full after this as any would have been after, or at a good dinner; but when I waked, I was exceedingly sunk in my spirits, to find myself in the extremity of famine. The last glass of wine we had, I drank, and put sugar in it, because of its having some spirit to supply nourishment; but there being no substance in the stomach for the digesting office to work upon, I found the only effect of the wine was, to raise disagreeable fumes from the stomach, into the head; and I lay, as they told me, stupid, and senseless, as one drunk for some time.

'The third day in the morning, after a night of strange and confused inconsistent dreams, and rather dozing than sleeping, I waked, ravenous and furious with hunger; and I question, had not my understanding returned and conquered it; I say, I question whether, if I had been a mother, and had had a little child with me, its life would have been safe or not?

'This lasted about three hours; during which time I was twice raging mad as any creature in Bedlam, as my young master told me, and as he can now inform you.

'In one of these fits of lunacy or distraction, whether by the motion of the ship, or some slip of my foot, I know not; I fell down, and struck my face against the corner of a pallet bed, in which my mistress lay; and with the blow, the blood gushed out of my nose; and the cabin-boy bringing me a little basin, I sat down and bled into it a great deal; and as the blood ran from me, I came to myself; and the violence of the flame of the fever I was in, abated, and so did the ravenous part of the hunger.

'Then I grew sick, and retched to vomit, but could not; for I had nothing in my stomach to bring up. After I had bled some time, I swooned, and they all believed I was dead; but I came to myself soon after, and then had a most dreadful pain in my stomach, not to be described; not like the colic, but a gnawing, eager pain for food: and towards night it went off with a kind of earnest wishing or longing for food; something like, as I suppose, the longing of a woman with child. I took another draught of water with sugar in it, but my stomach loathed the sugar, and brought it all up again; then I took a draught of water without sugar, and that stayed with me; and I laid me down upon the bed, praying most heartily, that it would please God to take me away; and composing my mind in hopes of it, I slumbered awhile, and then waking, thought myself dying, being light with vapours from an empty stomach, I recommended my soul then to God, and earnestly wished that somebody would throw me into the sea.

'All this while my mistress lay by me, just, as I thought, expiring, but bore it with much more patience than I, and gave the last bit of bread she had left to her child, my young master, who would not have taken it, but she obliged him to eat it; and I believe it saved his life.

'Towards the morning I slept again, and first when I awaked, I fell into a violent passion of crying, and after that had a second fit of violent hunger. I got up ravenous, and in a most dread-

ful condition. Had my mistress been dead, as much as I loved her, I am certain, I should have eaten a piece of her flesh, with as much relish, and as unconcerned, as ever I did the flesh of any creature appointed for food; and once or twice I was going to bite my own arm. At last, I saw the basin in which was the blood I had bled at my nose the day before. I ran to it, and swallowed it with such haste, and such a greedy appetite, as if I had wondered nobody had taken it before, and afraid it would be taken from me now.

'Though after it was down, the thoughts of it filled me with horror, yet it checked the fit of hunger, and I drank a draught of fair water, and was composed and refreshed for some hours after it. This was the 4th day, and thus I held it, till towards night, when within the compass of three hours, I had all these several circumstances over again, one after another, viz. sick, sleepy, eagerly hungry, pain in the stomach, then ravenous again, then sick again, then lunatic, then crying, then ravenous again; and so every quarter of an hour, and my strength wasted exceedingly. At night I laid me down, having no comfort, but in the hope that I should die before morning.

'All this night I had no sleep. But the hunger was now turned into a disease; and I had a terrible colic and griping, by wind, instead of food, having found its way into the bowels. And in this condition I lay till morning, when I was surprised a little with the cries and lamentations of my young master, who called out to me that his mother was dead. I lifted myself up a little; for I had not strength to rise, but found she was not dead, though she was able to give very little signs of life.

'I had then such convulsions in my stomach, for want of some sustenance, that I cannot describe, with such frequent throes and pangs of appetite, that nothing but the tortures of death can imitate: and in this condition I was, when I heard the seamen above cry out, "A sail, a sail," and halloo and jump about, as if they were distracted.

'I was not able to get off from the bed, and my mistress much less; and my young master was so sick, that I thought he had been expiring; so we could not open the cabin door, or get any account what it was that occasioned such a combustion, nor had we had any conversation with the ship's company for two days; they having told us, that they had not a mouthful of anything to eat in the ship; and they told us afterwards, they thought we had been dead.

'It was this dreadful condition we were in when you were sent to save our lives; and how you found us, sir, you know as well as I, and better too.'

This was her own relation, and is such a distinct account of starving to death, as I confess I never met with, and was exceeding entertaining to me. I am the rather apt to believe it to be a true account, because the youth gave me an account of a good part of it; though I must own, not so distinct and so feelingly as his maid; and the rather, because it seems his mother fed him at the price of her own life: but the poor maid, though her constitution being stronger than that of her mistress, who was in years, and a weakly woman too, she might struggle harder with it; I say, the poor maid might be supposed to feel the extremity something sooner than her mistress, who might be allowed to keep the last bit something longer than she parted with any to relieve the maid. No question, as the case is here related, if our ship, or some other, had not so providentially met them, a few days more would have ended all their lives, unless they had prevented it by eating one another; and even that, as their case stood, would have served them but a little while, they being 500 leagues from any land, or any possibility of relief, other than in the miraculous manner it happened: but this is by the way. I return to my disposition of things among the people.

And, first, it is to be observed here, that for many reasons I did not think fit to let them know anything of the sloop I had framed, and which I thought of setting up among them, for I found, at least at my first coming, such seeds of divisions among them, that I saw it plainly, had I set up the sloop, and left it among them, they would upon every light disgust have separated, and gone away from one another, or perhaps have turned pirates, and so made the island a den of thieves, instead of a plantation of sober and religious people, so as I intended it. Nor did I leave the two pieces of brass cannon that I had on board, or the two quarter-deck guns, that my nephew took extraordinarily, for the same reason. I thought it was enough to qualify them for a defensive war against any that should invade them; but not to set them up for an offensive war, or to encourage them to go abroad to attack others, which in the end would only bring ruin and destruction upon themselves and all their undertaking. I reserved the sloop therefore, and the guns, for their service another way, as I shall observe in its place.

I have now done with the island. I left them all in good circumstances, and in a flourishing condition, and went on board my ship again the fifth day of May, having been five and twenty days among them. And as they were all resolved to stay upon the island till I came to remove them, I promised to send some farther relief from the Brazils, if I could possibly find an opportunity: and particularly, I promised to send them some cattle, such as sheep, hogs, and cows. For as to the two cows and calves which I brought from England, we had been obliged by the length of our voyage to kill them at sea, for want of hay to feed them.

The next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the Bay of All Saints in the Brazils, in about 22 days: meeting nothing remarkable in our passage, but this, that about three days after we sailed, being becalmed, and the current setting strong to the E.N.E. running, as it were, into a bay or gulf on the land side, we were driven something out of our course, and once or twice our men cried out land to the eastward; but whether it was the continent or islands, we could not tell by any means.

But the third day towards evening, the sea smooth, and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were covered towards the land with something very black; not being able to discover what it was, till after some time, our chief mate going up the main shrouds a little way, and looking at them with a perspective, cried out it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and spoke a little hastily, calling the fellow a fool, or some such word: 'Nay, sir,' says he, 'don't be angry, for 'tis an army and a fleet too; for I believe there are a thousand canoes, and you may see them paddles along, and they are coming towards us too apace.'

I was a little surprised then indeed, and so was my nephew, the captain; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, and having

never been in those seas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but said, two or three times, we should all be devoured. I must confess, considering we were becalmed, and the current set strong towards the shore, I liked it the worse: however, I bade them not be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor, as soon as we came so near to know that we must engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us; so I gave order to come to an anchor, and furl all our sails: as for the savages, I told them they had nothing to fear but fire; and therefore they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture. This I did, that the men in the boats might be ready with sheets and buckets to put out any fire these savages would endeavour to fix to the outside of the ship.

In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us; but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians: my mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number, I mean of a thousand canoes; the most we could make of them when they came up, being about a hundred and six and twenty; and a great many of them too; for some of them had sixteen or seventeen men in them, and some more; and the least six or seven.

When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a sight which they had doubtless never seen before; nor could they at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up, however, very near to us, and seemed to go about to row round us; but we called to our men in the boats, not to let them come too near them.

This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our designing it; for five or six of their large canoes came so near our long-boat, that our men beckoned with their hands to keep them back; which they understood very well, and went back; but at their retreat, about 50 arrows came on board us from those boats; and one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded.

However, I called to them not to fire by any means; but we handed down some deal boards into the boat, and the carpenters presently set up a kind of fence, like waste boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half an hour afterwards they came all up in a body astern of us, and pretty near us, so near that we could easily discern what they were, though we could not tell their design: and I easily found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with; and in a little time more they rowed a little farther out to sea, till they came directly broadside with us, and then rowed down straight upon us, till they came so near, that they could hear us speak. Upon this I ordered all my men to keep close, lest they should shoot any more arrows, and make all our guns ready; but being so near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language to know what they meant, which accordingly he did; whether they understood him or not, that I knew not: but as soon as he had called to them, six of them, who were in the foremost or nighest boat to us, turned their canoes from us, and stooping down, showed us their naked backsides, just as if in English, saving your presence, they had bid us kiss ———.

Whether this was a defiance or challenge, we know not; or whether it was done in mere contempt, or as a signal to the rest; but immediately Friday cried out they were going to shoot, and unhappily for him, poor fellow, they let fly about three hundred of their arrows, and to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight.

The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him; such unlucky marksmen they were.

I was so enraged with the loss of my old servant, the companion of all my sorrows and solitudes, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great, and gave them such a broadside, as they had never heard in their lives before, to be sure.

They were not above half a cable length off when we fired; and our gunners took their aim so well, that three or four of their canoes were overset, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

The ill manners of turning up their bare backsides to us, gave us no great offence; neither did I know for certain whether that which would pass for the greatest contempt among us, might be understood so by them or not; therefore in return, I had only resolved to have fired four or five guns at them with powder only, which I knew would frighten them sufficiently: but when they shot at us directly with all the fury they were capable of, and especially as they had killed my poor Friday, whom I so entirely loved and valued, and who indeed so well deserved it; I not only had been justified before God and man, but would have been very glad, if I could, to have overset every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed, or how many we wounded at this broadside; but sure such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude; there were 13 or 14 of their canoes split and overset in all, and the men all set a swimming; the rest frighted out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot. So I suppose, that there were many of them lost; and our men took up one poor fellow swimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone.

Our small shot from our cannon must needs kill and wound a great many: but in short, we never knew anything how it went with them; for they fled so fast, that in three hours or thereabouts, we could not see above three or four straggling canoes; nor did we ever see the rest any more; for a breeze of wind springing up the same evening, we weighed and set sail for the Brazils.

We had a prisoner indeed; but the creature was so sullen, that he would neither eat or speak; and we all fancied he would starve himself to death: but I took a way to cure him; for I made them take him and turn him into the long-boat, and made him believe they would toss him into the sea again, and so leave him where they found him, if he would not speak: nor would that do; but they really did throw him into the sea, and came away from him; and then he followed them; for he swam like a cork, and called to them in his tongue, though they knew not one word of what he said: however, at last they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable; nor did I ever design they should drown him.

We were now under sail again; but I was the most disconsolate creature alive, for want of my

man Friday, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island, to have taken one of the rest from thence for my occasion, but it could not be; so we went on. We had one prisoner, as I have said; and it was a long time before we could make him understand anything: but, in time, our men taught him some English, and he began to be a little tractable; afterwards we inquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he said; for his speech was so odd, all gutturals, and spoke in the throat in such a hollow odd manner, that we could never form a word from him; and we were all of opinion, that they might speak that language as well, if they were gagged, as otherwise: nor could we perceive that they had any occasion, either for teeth, tongue, lips or palate; but formed their words, just as a hunting horn forms a tune with an open throat. He told us however, some time after, when we had taught him to speak a little English, that they were going with their kings to fight a great battle. When he said kings, we asked him how many kings? He said they were five nation, we could not make him understand the plural *s*, and that they all joined to go against two nation. We asked him, what made them come up to us? He said, 'To makee to great wonder look:' where it is to be observed, that all those natives, as also those of Africa, when they learn English, they always add two *e*'s at the end of the words where we use one, and make the accent upon them, as *makee*, *takee*, and the like; and we could not break them off it; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him; Poor honest Friday! We buried him with all the decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea: and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him; and so ended the life of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We went now away with a fair wind for Brazil, and in about twelve days' time we made land in the latitude of five degrees south of the line, being the north-eastermost land of all that part of America. We kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore four days, when we made Cape St. Augustine, and in three days came to an anchor off the Bay of All Saints, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Never ship came to this part that had less business than I had; and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the least correspondence on shore; not my partner himself, who was alive, and made a great figure among them; not my two merchant trustees, not the fame of my wonderful preservation in the island, could obtain me that favour: but my partner remembering that I had given 500 moidores to the prior of the monastery of the Augustines, and 272 to the poor, went to the monastery, and obliged the prior that then was, to go to the governor, and get leave for me personally, with the captain and one more, besides eight seamen, to come on shore, and no more; and this upon condition absolutely capitulated for, that we should not offer to land any goods out of the ship, or to carry any person away without licence.

They were so strict with us, as to landing any goods, that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on shore three bales of English goods, such as, fine broad-cloths, stuffs, and some linen, which I had brought for a present to my partner.

He was a very generous, broad-hearted man, though, like me, he came from little at first; and though he knew not that I had the least design of giving him anything, he sent me on board a present of fresh provisions, wine, and sweetmeats, worth above 30 moidores, including some tobacco, and three or four fine medals in gold: but I was even with him in my present, which, as I have said, consisted of fine broad-cloth, English stuffs, lace, and fine Hollands. Also I delivered him about the value of £100 sterling in the same goods, for other uses; and I obliged him to set up the sloop which I had brought with me from England, as I have said, for the use of my colony, in order to send the refreshments I intended to my plantation.

Accordingly, he got hands, and finished the sloop in a very few days, for she was ready framed; and I gave the master of her such instructions, as he could not miss the place, nor did he miss them, as I had an account from my partner afterwards. I got him soon loaded with the small cargo I sent them; and one of our seamen that had been on shore with me there, offered to go with the sloop, and settle there upon my letter to the governor Spaniard, to allot him a sufficient quantity of land for a plantation; and giving him some clothes, and tools for his planting work, which he said he understood, having been an old planter at Maryland, and a buccaneer into the bargain.

I encouraged the fellow, by granting all he desired; and, as an addition, I gave him the savage, which we had taken prisoner of war, to be his slave, and ordered the governor Spaniard to give him his share of everything he wanted with the rest.

When we came to fit this man out, my old partner told me, there was a certain very honest fellow, a Brazil planter of his acquaintance, who had fallen into the displeasure of the church; 'I know not what the matter is with him,' says he; 'but on my conscience, I think he is a heretic in his heart, and he has been obliged to conceal himself for fear of the Inquisition;' that he would be very glad of such an opportunity to make his escape, with his wife and two daughters; and if I would let them go to the island, and allot them a plantation, he would give them a small stock to begin with; for the officers of the Inquisition had seized all his effects and estate, and he had nothing left but a little household stuff, and two slaves. 'And,' adds he, 'though I hate his principles, yet I would not have him fall into their hands; for he would be assuredly burned alive if he does.'

I granted this presently, and joined my Englishman with them, and we concealed the man, and his wife and daughters on board our ship, till the sloop put out to go to sea; and then (having put all their goods on board the sloop some time before) we put them on board the sloop, after she was got out of the bay.

Our seaman was mightily pleased with this new partner; and their stock indeed was much alike rich in tools, in preparations, and a farm, but nothing to begin with, but as above: however, they carried over with them, which was worth all the rest, some materials for planting sugar-canes, with some plants of canes; which he, I mean the Portugal man, understood very well.

Among the rest of the supplies sent my tenants in the island, I sent them by the sloop three milch cows, and five calves, about 22 hogs among them, three sows big with pig, two mares, and a stone-horse.

For my Spaniards, according to my promise, I engaged three Portugal women to go, and re-

commended it to them to marry them, and use them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered, that the poor prosecuted man had two daughters, and there was but five of the Spaniards that wanted; the rest had wives of their own, though in another country.

All this cargo arrived safe, and as you may easily suppose, very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now, with this addition, between sixty and seventy people, besides little children; of which there was a great many. I found letters at London from them all by the way of Lisbon, when I came back to England; of which I shall also take some notice immediately.

I have now done with my island, and all manner of discourse about it; and whoever reads the rest of my memorandums, would do well to turn his thoughts entirely from it, and expect to read of the follies of an old man, not warned by his own harms, much less by those of other men, to beware of the like, not cooled by almost forty years' miseries and disappointments; not satisfied with prosperity beyond expectation, not made cautious by affliction and distress beyond imitation.

I had no more business to go to the East Indies, than a man at full liberty, and having committed no crime, has to go to the turnkey at Newgate, and desire him to lock him up among the prisoners there, and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel from England, and went directly to the island; had I loaded her, as I did the other vessel, with all the necessaries for the plantation, and for my people, took a patent from the governor here, to have secured my property, in subjection only to that of England; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, servants and people, to plant, and taken possession of the place, fortified and strengthened it in the name of England, and increased it with people, as I might easily have done; had I then settled myself there, and sent the ship back, loaden with good rice, as I might also have done in six months' time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out again for our supply; had I done this, and stayed there myself, I had, at least, acted like a man of common sense; but I was possessed with a wandering spirit, scorned all advantages; I pleased myself with being the patron of those people I placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty majestic way, like an old patriarchal monarch; providing for them, as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation. But I never so much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any prince, or to call my people subjects to any one nation more than another; nay, I never so much as gave the place a name, but left it as I found it, belonging to no man; and the people under no discipline or government but my own; who, though I had influence over them as father and benefactor, had no authority or power, to act or command one way or other, further than voluntary consent moved them to comply. Yet even this, had I stayed there, would have done well enough; but as I rambled from them, and came there no more, the last letters I had from any of them, was by my partner's means; who afterwards sent another sloop to the place, and who sent me word, though I had not the letter till five years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were malcontent with their long stay there; that Will Atkins was dead: that five of the Spaniards were come away, and that though they had not been much molested by the savages, yet they had had some skirmishes with them; and that they begged of him to write to me, to think of the promise I had made, to fetch them away, that they might see their own country again before they died.

But I was gone a wildgoose chase, indeed; and they that will have any more of me, must be content to follow me through a new variety of follies, hardships, and wild adventures; wherein the justice of Providence may be duly observed, and we may see how easily Heaven can gorge us with our own desires, make the strongest of our wishes be our affliction, and punish us most severely with those very things which we think it would be our utmost happiness to be allowed in.

Let no wise man flatter himself with the strength of his own judgment, as if he was able to choose any particular station of life for himself. Man is a short-sighted creature, sees but a very little way before him; and as his passions are none of his best friends, so his particular affections are generally his worst counsellors.

I say this with respect to the impetuous desire I had, from a youth, to wander into the world; and how evident it now was, that this principle was preserved in me for my punishment. How it came on, the manner, the circumstance, and the conclusion of it, it is easy to give you historically, and with its utmost variety of particulars: but the secret ends of divine power, in thus permitting us to be hurried down the stream of our own desires, is only to be understood of those who can listen to the voice of Providence, and draw religious consequences from God's justice, and their own mistakes.

Be it, I had business or no business, away I went. It is no time now to enlarge any farther upon the reason, or absurdity of my own conduct; but to come to the history, I was embarked for the voyage, and the voyage I went.

I should only add here, that my honest and truly pious clergyman left me here; a ship being ready to go to Lisbon, he asked me leave to go thither, being still, as he observed, bound never to finish any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me, if I had gone with him!

But it was too late now. All things Heaven appoints are best. Had I gone with him, I had never had so many things to be thankful for, and you had never heard of the Second Part of the Travels and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. So I must leave here the fruitless exclaiming at myself, and go on with my voyage.

From the Brazils, we made directly away over the Atlantic Sea, to *Cape de bonne Esperance*, or as we call it, the Cape of Good Hope, and had a tolerable good voyage, our course generally south-east; now and then a storm, and some contrary winds, but my disasters at sea were at an end; my future rubs and cross events were to befall me on shore; that it might appear the land was as well prepared to be our scourge, as the sea, when Heaven, who directs the circumstances of things, pleases to appoint it to be so.

Our ship was on a trading voyage, and had a supercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions after she arrived at the Cape; only being limited to certain numbers of days, for stay, by charter-party, at the several ports she was to go to. This was none of my business, neither did I meddle with it at all; my nephew, the captain, and the supercargo, adjusting all those things between them, as they thought fit.

We made no stay at the Cape longer than was needful, to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of Coromandel. We were indeed informed, that a French man-of-war of fifty guns, and two large merchant ships, were

gone for the Indies, and as I knew we were at war with France, I had some apprehensions of them: but they went their way, and we heard no more of them.

I shall not pester my account, or the reader, with descriptions of places, journals of our voyages, variations of the compass, latitudes, meridian-distances, trade-winds, situation of ports, and the like; such as almost all the histories of long navigation are full of, and makes the reading tiresome enough, and are perfectly unprofitable to all that read it, except only to those who are to go to those places themselves.

It is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at, and what occurred to us upon our passing from one to another. We touched first at the island of Madagascar; where, though the people are fierce and treacherous, and in particular, very well armed with lances and bows, which they use with inconceivable dexterity; yet we fared very well with them a while, they treated us very civilly; and for some trifles which we gave them, such as knives, scissors, &c., they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, middling in size, but very good in flesh; which we took in partly for fresh provisions for our present spending, and the rest, to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here some time after we had furnished ourselves with provisions; and I, that was always too curious, to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for going on shore as fast as I could. It was on the east side of the island that we went on shore one evening; and the people, who by the way are very numerous, came thronging about us, and stood gazing at us at a distance; but as we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly used, we thought ourselves in no danger: but when we saw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree, and stuck them up at a distance from us, which, it seems, is a mark in the country, not only of truce and friendship, but when it is accepted, the other side set up three poles or boughs, which is a signal, that they accept the truce too; but then, this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to pass beyond their three poles towards them, nor they to come past your three poles or boughs, towards you; so that you are perfectly secure within the three poles, and all the space between your poles and theirs, is allowed like a market, for free converse, traffic, and commerce. When you go there, you must not carry your weapons with you; and if they come into that space, they stick up their javelins and lances, all at the first poles, and come on unarmed; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles, and lay hold of their weapons, and then the truce is at an end.

It happened one evening when we went on shore, that a greater number of their people came down than usual, but all was very friendly and civil, and they brought in several kinds of provisions, for which we satisfied them, with such toys as we had; their women also brought us milk, and roots, and several things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet; and we made us a little tent or hut, of some boughs of trees, and lay on shore all night.

I knew not what was the occasion, but I was not so well satisfied to lie on shore as the rest; and the boat lying at an anchor, about a stone-cast from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made one of them come on shore, and getting some boughs of trees to cover us also in the boat, I spread the sail on the bottom of the boat, and lay under the cover of the branches of the trees all night in the boat.

About two o'clock in the morning, we heard one of our men make a terrible noise on the shore, calling out for God's sake, to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered; at the same time I heard the fire of five muskets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that, three times over; for it seems, the natives here were not so easily frighted with guns, as the savages were in America, where I had to do with them.

All this while, I knew not what was the matter; but rousing immediately from sleep with the noise, I caused the boat to be thrust in, and resolved, with three fusils we had on board, to land and assist our men.

We got the boat soon to the shore, but our men were in too much haste; for being come to the shore, they plunged into the water to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by between three and four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fusils with them; the rest had indeed pistols and swords, but they were of small use to them.

We took up seven of our men, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was still worse, was that while we stood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were in on shore; for they poured their arrows in upon us so thick, that we were fain to barricade the side of the boat up with the benches, and two or three loose boards, which to our great satisfaction we had by mere accident or providence in the boat.

And yet, had it been daylight, they are it seems such exact marksmen, that if they could have seen but the least part of any of us, they would have been sure of us. We had by the light of the moon a little sight of them, as they stood pelting us from the shore with darts and arrows; and having got ready our firearms, we gave them a volley, that we could hear by the cries of some of them, that we had wounded several: however, they stood thus in battle array on the shore till break of day, which we suppose was that they might see the better to take their aim at us.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh our anchor, or set up our sail, because we must needs stand up in the boat, and they were as sure to hit us, as we were to hit a bird in a tree with small shot. We made signals of distress to the ship, which, though she rode a league off, yet my nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and by glasses perceiving the posture we lay in, and that we fired towards the shore, pretty well understood us; and weighing anchor, with all speed, he stood as near the shore as he durst with the ship, and then sent another boat with ten hands in her to assist us; but we called to them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in: however, they stood in nearer to us; and one of the men taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, so that they could not perfectly see him, swam on board us, and made fast the line to the boat; upon which we slipped our little cable, and leaving our anchor behind, they towed us out of the reach of the arrows, we all the while lying close behind the barricado we had made.

As soon as we were got from between the ship and the shore, that she could lay her side to the shore, she ran along just by them, and we poured

in a broadside among them loaded with pieces of iron and lead, small bullets, and such stuff, besides the great shot, which made a terrible havoc among them.

When we were got on board, and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray; and indeed our supercargo, who had been often in those parts, put me upon it; for he said, he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us after we had made a truce, if we had not done something to provoke them to it. At length it came out, viz. that an old woman who had come to sell us some milk, had brought it within our poles, with a young woman with her, who also brought some roots or herbs; and while the old woman, whether she was mother to the young woman or no, they could not tell, was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the wench that was with her, at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's sight among the trees, it being almost dark. The old woman went away without her, and as we suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from; who upon notice, raised this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds, but we had been all destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance thrown at him just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent they had made; the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of all the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress; for we could not hear what became of him a great while. We lay upon the shore two days after, though the wind presented, and made signals for him; made our boat sail up shore and down shore, several leagues, but in vain; so we were obliged to give him over, and if he alone had suffered for it, the loss had been less.

I could not satisfy myself, however, without venturing on shore once more, to try if I could learn anything of him or them; it was the third night after the action, that I had a great mind to learn, if I could by any means, what mischief we had done, and how the game stood on the Indians' side: I was careful to do it in the dark, lest we should be attacked again; but I ought indeed to have been sure, that the men I went with had been under my command, before I engaged in a thing so hazardous and mischievous as I was brought into by it, without my knowledge or design.

We took twenty as stout fellows with us as any in the ship, besides the supercargo and myself, and we landed two hours before midnight, at the same place where the Indians stood drawn up the evening before. I landed here, because my design, as I have said, was chiefly to see if they had quitted the field, and if they had left any marks behind them of the mischief we had done them; and I thought, if we could surprise one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again by way of exchange.

We landed without any noise, and divided our men into two bodies, whereof the boatswain commanded one, and I the other; we neither saw or heard anybody stir when we landed, and we marched up one body at a distance from the other, to the place, but at first could see nothing, it being very dark; till by and by, our boatswain that led the first party, stumbled, and fell over a dead body. This made them halt awhile, for knowing by the circumstances that they were at the place, where the Indians had stood, they waited for my coming up. Here we concluded to halt till the moon began to rise, which we knew would be in less than an hour, when we could easily discern the havoc we had made among them; we told two and thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead: some had an arm, and some a leg shot off, and one his head; those that were wounded we supposed they had carried away.

When we had made, as I thought, a full discovery of all we could come at the knowledge of, I was resolved for going on board; but the boatswain and his party sent me word, that they were resolved to make a visit to the Indian town, where those dogs, as they called them, dwelt, and asked me to go along with them; and if they could find them, as still they fancied they should, they did not doubt getting a good booty, and it might be, they might find Tho. Jeffery there; that was the man's name we had lost.

Had they sent to ask my leave to go, I knew well enough what answer to have given them; for I would have commanded them instantly on board, knowing it was not a hazard fit for us to run, who had a ship, and ship-loading in our charge, and a voyage to make, which depended very much upon the lives of the men; but as they sent me word they were resolved to go, and only asked me and my company to go along with them, I positively refused it, and rose up, for I was sitting on the ground, in order to go to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go, and when I refused, positively began to grumble, and say that they were not under my command, and they would go: 'Come, Jack,' says one of the men, 'will you go with me? I'll go for one.' Jack said he would, and another followed, and then another: and in a word, they all left me but one, whom I persuaded to stay, and a boy left in the boat; so the supercargo and I, with the third man, went back to the boat, where we told them we would stay for them, and take care to take in as many of them as should be left; for I told them it was a mad thing they were going about, and supposed most of them would run the fate of Thomas Jeffery.

They told me, like seamen, they'd warrant it they would come off again, and they would take care, &c.; so away they went. I entreated them to consider the ship and voyage; that their lives were not their own, and that they were entrusted with the voyage in some measure; that if they miscarried, the ship might be lost for want of their help, and that they could not answer it to God or man. I said a great deal more to them on that head, but I might as well have talked to the mainmast of the ship; they were mad upon their journey, only they gave me good words, and begged I would not be angry; that they would be very cautious, and they did not doubt but they would be back again in about an hour at farthest; for the Indian town, they said, was not above half a mile off, though they found it above two miles before they got to it.

Well, they all went away as above; and though the attempt was desperate, and such as none but madmen would have gone about, yet to give them their due, they went about it as warily as boldly: they were gallantly armed, that's true; for they had every man a fusil or musket, a bayonet, and every man a pistol; some of them had broad cutlasses, some of them hangers, and the boatswain and two more, had poleaxes: besides all which, they had among them thirteen hand-grenadoes. Bolder fellows, and better provided, never went about any wicked work in the world.

When they went out, their chief design was

plunder, and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumstance, which none of them were aware of, set them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all. When they came to the few Indian houses which they thought had been the town, which was not above half a mile off, they were under a great disappointment; for there were not above 12 or 13 houses; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not. They consulted therefore what to do, and were some time before they could resolve: for if they fell upon these, they must cut all their throats, and it was ten to one but some of them might escape, it being in the night, though the moon was up; and if one escaped, he would run away, and raise all the town, so they should have a whole army upon them: again, on the other hand, if they went away, and left those untouched (for the people were all asleep), they could not tell which way to look for the town.

However, the last was the best advice; so they resolved to leave them, and look for the town as well as they could. They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree; this they presently concluded, would be a good guide to them; for they said, the cow certainly belonged to the town before them, or the town behind them; and if they untied her, they should see which way she went; if she went back, they had nothing to say to her; but if she went forward, they had nothing to do but to follow her: so they cut the cord, which was made of twisted flags, and the cow went on before them; in a word, the cow led them directly to the town, which, as they report, consisted of above 200 houses, or huts; and in some of these, they found several families living together.

Here they found all in silence, as profoundly secure, as sleep and a country that had never seen an enemy of that kind could make them; and first, they called another council, to consider what they had to do; and in a word, they resolved to divide themselves into three bodies, and to set three houses on fire in three parts of the town; and as the men came out, to seize them and bind them; if any resisted, they need not be asked what to do then, and so to search the rest of the houses for plunder; but they resolved to march silently first, through the town, and see what dimensions it was of, and if they might venture upon it or no.

They did so, and desperately resolved that they would venture upon them: but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them that were a little before the rest, called out aloud to them, and told them they had found Tom Jeffery; they all ran up to the place, and so it was indeed; for there they found the poor fellow hanged up naked by one arm, and his throat cut; there was an Indian house just by the tree, where they found sixteen or seventeen of the principal Indians who had been concerned in the fray with us before; and two or three of them wounded with our shot; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that house, but knew not their number.

The sight of their poor mangled comrade so enraged them, as before, that they swore to one another they would be revenged, and that not an Indian who came into their hands should have quarter; and to work they went immediately; and yet not so madly as by the rage and fury they were in might be expected. Their first care was to get something that would soon take fire; but after a little search, they found that would be to no purpose; for most of the houses were low, and thatched with flags or rushes, of which the country is full; so they presently made some wildfire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palms of their hands, and in a quarter of an hour they set the town on fire in four or five places; and particularly that house where the Indians were not gone to bed. As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frighted creatures began to rush out to save their lives; but met with their fate in the attempt, and especially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his poleaxe. The house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for a hand-grenado, and threw it among them, which at first frighted them; but when it burst, made such havoc among them, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In short, most of the Indians who were in the open part of the house, were killed or hurt with the grenado, except two or three more who pressed to the door, which the boatswain and two more kept with their bayonets on the muzzles of their pieces, and despatched all that came that way. But there was another apartment in the house, where the prince or king, or whatever he was, and several others were, and these they kept in till the house, which was by this time all of a light flame, fell in upon them, and they were smothered or burnt together.

All this while they fired not a gun, because they would not waken the people faster than they could master them; but the fire began to waken them fast enough, and our fellows were glad to keep a little together in bodies; for the fire grew so raging, all the houses being made of light combustible stuff, that they could hardly bear the street between them, and their business was to follow the fire for the surer execution. As fast as the fire either forced the people out of those houses which were burning, or frighted them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, still calling and hallooing one to another, to remember Thom. Jeffery.

While this was doing, I must confess I was very uneasy, and especially when I saw the flames of the town, which, it being night, seemed to be just by me.

My nephew, the captain, who was roused by his men too, seeing such a fire, was very uneasy, not knowing what the matter was, or what danger I was in; especially hearing the guns too; for by this time they began to use their firearms; a thousand thoughts oppressed his mind concerning me and the supercargo what would become of us: and at last, though he could ill spare any more men, yet not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with 13 men and himself, comes on shore to me.

He was surprised to see me and the supercargo in the boat with no more than two men; and though he was glad that we were well, yet he was in the same impatience with us to know what was doing; for the noise continued, and the flame increased: in short, it was next to an impossibility for any man in the world, to restrain their curiosity to know what had happened, or their concern for the safety of the men: in a word, the captain told me, he would go and help his men, let what would comé. I argued with him, as I did before with the men, the safety of the ship, the danger of the voyage, the interest of the owners and merchants, &c., and told him, I would go, and the two men, and only see if we could at a distance learn what was like to be the event, and come back and tell him.

It was all one, to talk to my nephew, as it was to talk to the rest before; he would go, he said, and he only wished he had left but ten men in the ship; for he could not think of having his men lost for want of help, he had rather lose the ship, the voyage, and his life and all; and away went he.

In a word, I was no more able to stay behind now, than I was to persuade them not to go; so in short, the captain ordered two men to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more, leaving the long-boat at an anchor, and that when they came back, six men should keep the two boats, and six more come after us; so that he left only 16 men in the ship; for the whole ship's company consisted of 65 men, whereof two were lost in the last quarrel, which brought this mischief on.

Being now on the march, you may be sure we felt little of the ground we trod on; and being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noise of the guns was surprising to us before, the cries of the poor people were now of quite another nature, and filled us with horror. I must confess, I was never at the sacking a city, or at the taking a town by storm. I had heard of Oliver Cromwell taking Drogheda in Ireland, and killing man, woman, and child: and I had read of Count Tilly, sacking the city of Magdeburg, and cutting the throats of 22,000 of all sexes. But I never had an idea of the thing itself before, nor is it possible to describe it, or the horror that was upon our minds at hearing it.

However, we went on, and at length came to the town, though there was no entering the streets of it for the fire. The first object we met with, was the ruins of a hut or house, or rather the ashes of it, for the house was consumed; and just before it, plain now to be seen by the light of the fire, lay four men and three women killed; and as we thought, one or two more lay in the heap among the fire. In short, there were such instances of a rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury, something beyond what was human, that we thought it impossible our men could be guilty of it, or if they were the authors of it, we thought they ought to be every one of them put to the worst of deaths. But this was not all, we saw the fire increased forward, and the cry went on just as the fire went on; so that we were in the utmost confusion. We advanced a little way farther, and behold, to our astonishment, three women naked, and crying in a most dreadful manner, come flying, as if indeed they had wings, and after them sixteen or seventeen men, natives, in the same terror and consternation, with three of our English butchers, for I can call them no better, in their rear, who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them, and one that was killed by their shot, fell down in our sight. When the rest saw us, believing us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them as well as those that pursued them, they set up a most dreadful shriek, especially the women; and two of them fell down, as if already dead with the fright.

My very soul shrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins, when I saw this; and I believe, had the three English sailors that pursued them come on, I had made our men kill them all. However, we took some ways to let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them, and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, made piteous lamentation to us to save them, which we let them know we would: whereupon they crept all together in a huddle close behind us, as for protection. I left my men drawn up together, and charged them to hurt nobody, but if possible to get at some of our people, and see what devil it was possessed them, and what they intended to do; and in a word, to command them off; assuring them, that if they stayed till daylight, they would have a hundred thousand men about their ears. I say, I left them, and went among those flying people, taking only two of our men with me; and there was indeed a piteous spectacle among them. Some of them had their feet terribly burned with trampling and running through the fire, others their hands burned; one of the women had fallen down in the fire, and was very much burned before she could get out again; and two or three of the men had cuts in their backs and thighs from our men pursuing; and another was shot through the body, and died while I was there.

I would fain have learned what the occasion of all this was, but I could not understand one word they said; though by signs I perceived some of them knew not what was the occasion themselves. I was so terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not stay there, but went back to my own men, and resolved to go into the middle of the town, through the fire, or whatever might be in the way, and put an end to it, cost what it would. Accordingly, as soon as I came back to my men, I told them my resolution, and commanded them to follow me, when in the very moment came four of our men with the boatswain at their head, roving over the heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and dust, as if they wanted more people to massacre, when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo, and with much ado one of them made them hear, so that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As soon as the boatswain saw us, he set up a halloo like a shout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come, and without bearing to hear me, 'Captain,' says he, 'noble captain, I am glad you are come! We have not half done yet, villanous hell-hound dogs! I'll kill as many of them as poor Tom has hairs upon his head. We have sworn to spare none of them, we'll root out the very nation of them from the earth.' And thus he ran on, out of breath too with action, and would not give us leave to speak a word.

At last, raising my voice, that I might silence him a little, 'Barbarous dog,' said I, 'what are you doing? I won't have one creature touched more, upon pain of death. I charge you upon your life, to stop your hands, and stand still here, or you are a dead man this minute.'

'Why, sir,' says he, 'do you know what you do, or what they have done? If you want a reason for what we have done, come hither.' And with that he showed me the poor fellow hanging with his throat cut.

I confess I was urged then myself, and at another time would have been forward enough; but I thought they had carried their rage too far, and I thought of Jacob's words to his sons Simeon and Levi, 'Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel.' But I had now a new task upon my hands; for when the men I carried with me saw the sight, as I had done, I had as much to do to restrain them, as I should have had with the other. Nay, my nephew himself fell in with them, and told me in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of the men being overpowered; for as to the people, he thought not one of them ought to live; for they had all glutted themselves with

the murder of the poor man, and that they ought to be used like murderers. Upon these words, away ran eight of my men with the boatswain and his crew, to complete their bloody work; and I seeing it quite out of my power to restrain them, came away pensive and sad; for I could not bear the sight, much less the horrible noise and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their hands.

I got nobody to come back with me but the supercargo and two men; and with these walked back to the boat. It was a very great piece of folly in me, I confess, to venture back, as it were alone, for as it began now to be almost day, and the alarm had run over the country, there stood about forty men armed with lances and bows at the little place where the 12 or 13 houses stood mentioned before; but by accident I missed the place, and came directly to the sea-side; and by the time I got to the sea-side it was broad day. Immediately I took the pinnace, and went aboard, and sent her back to assist the men in what might happen.

I observed about the time that I came to the boat's side, that the fire was pretty well out, and the noise abated; but in about half an hour after I got on board, I heard a volley of our men's firearms, and saw a great smoke; this, as I understood afterwards, was our men falling upon the men, who, as I said, stood at the few houses on the way, of whom they killed sixteen or seventeen, and set all the houses on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By that time the men got to the shore again with the pinnace, our men began to appear; they came dropping in, some and some, not in two bodies, and in form as they went, but all in heaps, straggling here and there in such a manner, that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off.

But the dread of them was upon the whole country; and the men were amazed and surprised, and so frighted, that I believe a hundred of them would have fled at the sight of but five of our men. Nor in all this terrible action was there a man who made any considerable defence, they were so surprised between the terror of the fire, and the sudden attack of our men in the dark, that they knew not which way to turn themselves; for if they fled one way, they were met by one party; if back again, by another; so that they were everywhere knocked down: nor did any of our men receive the least hurt, except one, who sprained his foot, and another had one of his hands very much burned.

I was very angry with my nephew the captain, and indeed with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular, as well for his acting so out of his duty, as commander of the ship, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting rather than cooling the rage of his men in so bloody and cruel an enterprise. My nephew answered me very respectfully; but told me, that when he saw the body of the poor seaman whom they had murdered in such a cruel and barbarous manner, he was not master of himself, neither could he govern his passion. He owned, he should not have done so, as he was commander of the ship; but as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the rest of the men, they were not subject to me at all, and they knew it well enough; so they took no notice of my dislike.

The next day we set sail, so we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they killed: some said one thing, some another; but according to the best of their accounts put all together, they killed or destroyed about 150 people, men, women, and children, and left not a house standing in the town.

As for the poor fellow Tho. Jeffery, as he was quite dead, for his throat was so cut, that his head was half off, it would do him no service to bring him away, so they left him where they found him, only took him down from the tree where he was hanged by one hand.

However just our men thought this action, I was against them in it; and I always, after that time, told them God would blast the voyage; for I looked upon all the blood they shed that night to be murder in them: for though it is true that they had killed Tho. Jeffery, yet, it was true, Jeffery was the aggressor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of theirs who came down to them innocently, and on the faith of their public capitulation.

The boatswain defended this quarrel when we were afterwards on board: he said, it is true, that we seemed to break the truce, but really had not, and that the war was begun the night before by the natives themselves, who had shot at us, and killed one of our men without any just provocation; so that as we were in a capacity to fight them now, we might also be in a capacity to do ourselves justice upon them in an extraordinary manner, that though the poor man had taken a little liberty with a wench, he ought not to have been murdered, and that in such a villanous manner; and that they did nothing but what was just, and what the laws of God allowed to be done to murderers.

One would think this should have been enough to have warned us against going on shore amongst heathens and barbarians: but it is impossible to make mankind wise, but at their own experience; and their experience seems to be always of most use to them, when it is dearest bought.

We were now bound to the Gulf of Persia, and from thence to the coast of Coromandel, only to touch at Surat: but the chief of the supercargo's design lay at the Bay of Bengal, where if he missed of his business outward bound, he was to go up to China, and return to the coast as he came home.

The first disaster that befell us, was in the Gulf of Persia, where five of our men venturing on shore on the Arabian side of the Gulf, were surrounded by the Arabians, and either all killed or carried away into slavery; the rest of the boat's crew were not able to rescue them, and had but just time to get off their boat. I began to upbraid them with the just retribution of Heaven in this case; but the boatswain very warmly told me, he thought I went farther in my censures than I could show any warrant for in Scripture, and referred to the 13 St. Luke, verse 4th, where our Saviour intimates, that those men, on whom the tower of Siloam fell, were not sinners above all the Galileans: but that which indeed put me to silence in the case, was, that not one of these five men, who were now lost, were of the number of those who went on shore to the massacre of Madagascar; (so I always called it, though our men could not bear to hear the word *massacre* with any patience): and indeed, this last circumstance, as I have said, put me to silence for the present.

But my frequent preaching to them on this subject had worse consequences than I expected; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me, he found, that I continually brought that affair upon the stage, that I made unjust reflections upon it, and had used the men very ill on that account, and himself in particular; that as

I was but a passenger, and had no command in the ship, or concern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know, but I might have some ill design in my head, and perhaps to call them to account for it, when they came to England; and that therefore, unless I would resolve to have done with it, and also, not to concern myself any farther with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ship; for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him, that I confessed I had all along opposed the massacre of Madagascar, for such I would always call it; and that I had on all occasions spoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the rest: that as to my having no command in the ship, that was true; nor did I exercise any authority, only took my liberty of speaking my mind in things which publicly concerned us all; and what concern I had in the voyage was none of his business; that I was a considerable owner of the ship; and in that claim, I conceived I had a right to speak even farther than I had yet done, and would not be accountable to him or any one else, and began to be a little warm with him. He made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought that affair had been over. We were at this time in the road at Bengal, and being willing to see the place, I went on shore with the supercargo in the ship's boat, to divert myself, and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told me, he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board any more. Any one may guess what a surprise I was in at so insolent a message; and I asked the man, who bade him deliver that message to me? He told me, the cockswain. I said no more to the fellow, but bade him let them know he had delivered his message, and that I had given him no answer to it.

I immediately went and found out the supercargo, and told him the story, adding what I presently foresaw, viz. that there would certainly be a mutiny in the ship, and entreated him to go immediately on board the ship in an Indian boat, and acquaint the captain of it: but I might have spared this intelligence; for before I had spoken to him on shore, the matter was effected on board. The boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter; and in a word, all the inferior officers, as soon as I was gone off in the boat, came up to the quarter-deck, and desired to speak with the captain; and there the boatswain, making a long harangue, for the fellow talked very well, and repeating all he had said to me, told the captain in few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loath to use any violence with me; which, if I had not gone on shore, they would otherwise have done, to oblige me to have gone: they therefore thought fit to tell him, that as they shipped themselves to serve in the ship under his command, they would perform it well and faithfully; but if I would not quit the ship, or the captain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ship, and sail no farther with him; and at that word, *all*, he turned his face towards the mainmast, which was it seems the signal agreed on between them; at which, all the seamen, being got together, they cried out, 'One and all, one and all.'

My nephew, the captain, was a man of spirit, and of great presence of mind; and though he was surprised, you may be sure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly, that he would consider of the thing, but that he could do nothing in it till he had spoken to me about it. He used some arguments with them, to show them the unreasonableness and injustice of the thing: but it was all in vain, they swore and shook hands round before his face, that they would go all on shore, unless he would engage to them, not to suffer me to come any more on board the ship.

This was a hard article upon him, who knew his obligation to me, and did not know how I might take it; so he began to talk cavalierly to them, told them that I was a very considerable owner of the ship, and that in justice he could not put me out of my own house; that this was next door to serving me, as the famous pirate Kidd had done, who made the mutiny in a ship, set the captain on shore in an uninhabited island, and ran away with the ship; that let them go into what ship they would, if ever they came to England again, it would cost them very dear; that the ship was mine, and that he could not put me out of it; and that he would rather lose the ship and the voyage too, than disoblige me so much; so they might do as they pleased: however, he would go on shore, and talk with me, on shore, and invited the boatswain to go with him, and perhaps they might accommodate the matter with me.

But they all rejected the proposal, and said, they would have nothing to do with me any more, neither on board, or on shore; and if I came on board, they would all go on shore. 'Well,' said the captain, 'if you are all of this mind, let me go on shore and talk with him;' so away he came to me with this account, a little after the message had been brought to me from the cockswain.

I was very glad to see my nephew, I must confess; for I was not without apprehensions, that they would confine him by violence, set sail, and run away with the ship, and then I had been stripped naked in a remote country, and nothing to help myself: in short, I had been in a worse case, than when I was all alone in the island.

But they had not come that length, it seems, to my great satisfaction; and when my nephew told me what they had said to him, and how they had sworn, and shook hands, that they would one and all leave the ship, if I was suffered to come on board, I told him, he should not be concerned at it at all, for I would stay on shore. I only desired he would take care and send me all my necessary things on shore, and leave me a sufficient sum of money, and I would find my way to England as well as I could.

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew; but there was no way to help it, but to comply with it; so, in short, he went on board the ship again, and satisfied the men, that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, and had sent for his goods from on board the ship; so that matter was over in a very few hours, the men returned to their duty, and I began to consider what course I should steer.

I was now alone in the remotest part of the world, as I think I may call it; for I was near three thousand leagues by sea farther off from England than I was at my island; only it is true, I might travel here by land over the Great Mogul's country to Surat, might go from thence to Bassora by sea, up the Gulf of Persia, and from thence might take the way of the caravans over the Desert of Arabia to Aleppo and Scanderoon; from thence by sea again to Italy, and so overland into France, and this put together might be at least, a full diameter of the globe; but if it were to be measured, I suppose it would appear to be a great deal more.

I had another way before me, which was to

wait for some English ships, which were coming to Bengal from Achin on the island of Sumatra, and get passage on board them for England: but as I came hither without any concern with the English East India Company, so it would be difficult to go from hence without their licence, unless with great favour of the captains of the ships, or the Company's factors, and to both I was an utter stranger.

Here I had the particular pleasure, speaking by contraries, to see the ship sail without me, a treatment I think a man in my circumstances scarce ever met with, except from pirates running away with a ship, and setting those that would not agree with their villany, on shore. Indeed, this was next door to it, both ways. However, my nephew left me two servants, or rather one companion, and one servant; the first was clerk to the purser, whom he engaged to go with me, and the other was his own servant. I took me also a good lodging in the house of an Englishwoman, where several merchants lodged; some French, two Italians, or rather Jews, and one Englishman: here I was handsomely enough entertained; and that I might not be said to run rashly upon anything, I stayed here above nine months, considering what course to take, and how to manage myself. I had some English goods with me of value, and a considerable sum of money, my nephew furnishing me with a thousand pieces of eight, and a letter of credit for more, if I had occasion, that I might not be straitened whatever might happen.

I quickly disposed of my goods, and to advantage too; and, as I originally intended, I bought here some very good diamonds, which, of all other things, was the most proper for me in my present circumstances, because I might always carry my whole estate about me.

After a long stay here, and many proposals made for my return to England, but none falling out to my mind, the English merchant who lodged with me, and with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, came to me one morning: 'Countryman,' says he, 'I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it suits with my thoughts, may, for aught I know, suit with yours also, when you shall have thoroughly considered it.'

'Here we are posted,' says he, 'you by accident, and I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from our own country; but it is in a country, where, by us who understand trade and business, a great deal of money is to be got: if you will put a thousand pounds to my thousand pounds, we will hire a ship here, the first we can get to our minds; you shall be captain, I'll be merchant, and we'll go a trading voyage to China; for what should we stand still for? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round; all the creatures of God, heavenly bodies and earthly, are busy and diligent, why should we be idle? There are no drones in the world but men, why should we be of that number?'

I liked his proposal very well, and the more, because it seemed to be expressed with so much good will, and in so friendly a manner: I will not say, but that I might by my loose and unhinged circumstances be the fitter to embrace a proposal for trade, or indeed anything else; whereas, otherwise, trade was none of my element: however, I might perhaps say with some truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was, and no proposal for seeing any part of the world which I had never seen before, could possibly come amiss to me.

It was, however, some time before we could get a ship to our minds; and when we had got a vessel, it was not easy to get English sailors; that is to say, so many as were necessary to govern the voyage, and manage the sailors which we should pick up there. After some time we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner English; a Dutch carpenter, and three Portuguese foremast-men; with these we found we could do well enough, having Indian seamen, such as they are, to make up.

There are many travellers, who have wrote the history of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be very little diversion to anybody, to give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there; those things I leave to others, and refer the reader to those journals and travels of Englishmen, of which, many I find are published, and more promised every day; it is enough for me to tell you, that I made this voyage to Achin, in the island Sumatra, and from thence to Siam, where we exchanged some of our wares for opium, and some arrack; the first, a commodity which bears a great price among the Chinese, and which at that time, was very much wanted there. In a word, we went up to Suskan, made a very great voyage, were eight months out, and returned to Bengal, and I was very well satisfied with my adventure. I observe, that our people in England, often admire how the officers which the Company send into India, and the merchants which generally stay there, get such very great estates as they do, and sometimes come home worth 60, to 70 and 100 thousand pounds at a time.

But it is no wonder, or at least we shall see so much farther into it, when we consider the innumerable ports and places where they have a free commerce; that it will then be no wonder, and much less will it be so, when we consider, at all those places and ports where the English ships come, there is so much, and such constant demand for the growth of all other countries, that there is a certain vent for the returns, as well as a market abroad, for the goods carried out.

In short, we made a very good voyage, and I got so much money by the first adventure, and such an insight into the method of getting more, that had I been twenty years younger, I should have been tempted to have stayed here, and sought no farther, for making any fortune; but what was all this to a man on the wrong side of threescore, that was rich enough, and came abroad, more in obedience to a restless desire of seeing the world, than a covetous desire of getting in it? and indeed I think, it is with great justice, that I now call it a restless desire, for it was so. When I was at home, I was restless to go abroad; and now I was abroad, I was restless to be at home: I say, what gain was this to me? I was rich enough, nor had I any uneasy desires about getting more money; and therefore the profits of the voyage to me, were things of no great force, for the prompting me forward to farther undertakings; and I thought that by this voyage I had made no progress at all, because I was come back, as I might call it, to the place from whence I came, as to a home; whereas, my eye, which like that which Solomon speaks of, was never satisfied with seeing, was still more desirous of wandering and seeing. I was come into a part of the world, which I was never in before; and that part in particular, which I had heard much of, and was resolved to see as much of as I could, and then I thought, I might say, I had seen all the world, that was worth seeing.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions; I do not name this, to insist upon my own; for I acknowledge his were the most just, and the most suited to the end of a merchant's life; who, when he is abroad upon adventures, it is his wisdom to stick to that as the best thing for him, which he is like to get the most money by. My new friend kept himself to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone like a carrier's horse, always to the same inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it: on the other hand, mine was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to see a thing twice over.

But this was not all: I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet, the most unsettled resolution imaginable which way to go. In the interval of these consultations, my friend, who was always upon the search for business, proposed another voyage to me among the Spice Islands, and to bring home a loading of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts; places where indeed the Dutch trade, but islands belonging partly to the Spaniards; though we went not so far, but to some other, where they have not the whole power, as they have at Batavia, Ceylon, &c. We were not long in preparing for this voyage; the chief difficulty was in bringing me to come into it: however, nothing else offering, and finding that really stirring about, and trading, the profit being so great, and, as I may say, certain, had more pleasure in it, and more satisfaction to the mind, than sitting still, which, to me especially, was the unhappiest part of life; I resolved on this voyage too, which we made very successfully, touching at Borneo, and several islands, whose names I do not remember, and came home in about five months. We sold our spice, which was chiefly cloves, and some nutmegs, to the Persian merchants, who carried them away for the Gulf; and making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

My friend, when we made up this account, smiled at me: 'Well now,' said he, with a sort of agreeable insult upon my indolent temper, 'is not this better than walking about here, like a man of nothing to do, and spending our time in staring at the nonsense and ignorance of the pagans?' 'Why, truly,' says I, 'my friend, I think it is, and I begin to be a convert to the principles of merchandising; but I must tell you,' said I, 'by the way, you do not know what I am doing; for if once I conquer my backwardness, and embark heartily, as old as I am, I shall harass you up and down the world, till I tire you; for I shall pursue it so eagerly, I shall never let you lie still.'

But to be short with my speculations, a little while after this, there came in a Dutch ship from Batavia; she was a coaster, not a European trader, and of about two hundred tons burthen: the men, as they pretended, having been so sickly, that the captain had not men enough to go to sea with. He lay by at Bengal, and having it seems got money enough, or being willing for other reasons, to go for Europe, he gave public notice that he would sell his ship. This came to my ears before my new partner heard of it; and I had a great mind to buy it, so I goes to him, and told him of it. He considered awhile, for he was no rash man neither; but musing some time, he replied, 'She is a little too big; but however, we will have her.' Accordingly we bought the ship, and agreeing with the master, we paid for her, and took possession; when we had done so, we resolved to entertain the men, if we could, to join them with those we had, for the pursuing our business; but on a sudden, they having received, not their wages, but their share of the money, not one of them was to be found. We inquired much about them, and at length were told, that they were all gone together by land to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's residence; and from thence were to travel to Surat, and so by sea, to the Gulf of Persia.

Nothing had so heartily troubled me a good while, as that I should miss the opportunity of going with them; for such a ramble, I thought, and in such company, as would both have guarded me, and diverted me, would have suited mightily with my great design; and I should both have seen the world and gone homewards too; but I was much better satisfied a few days after, when I came to know what sort of fellows they were; for in short, their history was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they had been attacked on shore by some of the Malayans, who had killed the captain, and three of his men; and that after the captain was killed, these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, which they did; and brought her in at the Bay of Bengal, leaving the mate and five men more on shore, of whom we shall hear further.

Well, let them get the ship how they would, we came honestly by her, as we thought, though we did not, I confess, examine into things so exactly as we ought, for we never inquired anything of the seamen; who, if we had examined, would certainly have faltered in their account, contradicted one another, and perhaps contradicted themselves, or one how or other, we should have seen reason to have suspected them. But the man showed us a bill of sale for the ship, to one Emanuel Clostershoven, or some such name; for I suppose it was all a forgery, and called himself by that name, and we could not contradict him; and being withal a little too unwary, or at least, having no suspicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

We picked up some more English seamen here after this, and some Dutch; and now we resolved for a second voyage, to the south-east for cloves, &c., that is to say, among the Philippine and Molucca Isles: and in short, not to fill this part of my story with trifles, when what is yet to come is so remarkable, I spent from first to last six years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good success; and was now the last year with my new partner, going in the ship above mentioned, on a voyage to China; but designing first to Siam, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the Straits of Malacca, and among the islands, we were no sooner got clear of those difficult seas, but we found our ship had sprung a leak, and we were not able by all our industry to find out where it was. This forced us to make some port, and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of Cambodia, for I had made the English mate, one Mr. Thompson, captain, not being willing to take the charge of two ships upon myself. This river lies on the north side of the great bay or gulf, which goes up to Siam.

While we were here, and going often on shore for refreshment, there comes to me one day an Englishman, and he was, it seems, a gunner's mate, on board an English East India ship, which rode in the same river, up at, or near the city of

Cambodia; what brought him hither, we know not: but he comes to me, and speaking in English, 'Sir,' says he, 'you are a stranger to me, and I to you; but I have something to tell you, that very nearly concerns you.'

I looked steadily at him a good while, and thought at first I had known him, but I did not. 'If it very nearly concerns me,' said I, 'and not yourself, what moves you to tell it me?' 'I am moved,' says he, 'by the imminent danger you are in, and for aught I see, you have no knowledge of it.' 'I know no danger I am in,' says I, 'but that my ship is leaky, and I cannot find it out; but I purpose to lay her aground to-morrow, to see if I can find it.' 'But, sir,' says he, 'leaky, or not leaky, find it, or not find it, you will be wiser than to lay your ship on shore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to say to you. Do you know, sir,' said he, 'the town of Cambodia lies about fifteen leagues up this river? and there are two large English ships about five leagues on this side, and three Dutch.' 'Well,' said I, 'and what is that to me?' 'Why, sir,' said he, 'is it for a man that is upon such adventures as you are, to come into a port, and not examine first what ships there are there, and whether he is able to deal with them? I suppose you do not think you are a match for them?' I was amused very much at his discourse, but not amazed at it, for I could not conceive what he meant. I turned short upon him, and said, 'Sir, I wish you would explain yourself. I cannot imagine what reason I have to be afraid of any of the Company's ships, or Dutch ships. I am no interloper, what can they have to say to me?'

He looked liked a man half angry, half pleased, and pausing awhile, but smiling, 'Well, sir,' said he, 'if you think yourself secure, you must take your chance. I am sorry your fate should blind you against good advice: but assure yourself, if you do not put to sea immediately, you will the very next tide be attacked by five longboats full of men, and perhaps if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined afterwards. I thought, sir,' added he, 'I should have met with a better reception than this, for doing you a piece of service of such importance.' 'I can never be ungrateful,' said I, 'for any service, or to any man that offers me any kindness; but it is past my comprehension,' said I, 'what they should have such a design upon me for. However, since you say there is no time to be lost, and that there is some villanous design in hand against me, I will go on board this minute, and put to sea immediately, if my men can stop the leak, or if we can swim without stopping it. But, sir,' said I, 'shall I go away ignorant of the reason of all this? Can you give me no further light into it?'

'I can tell you but part of the story, sir,' says he, 'but I have a Dutch seaman here with me, and I believe I could persuade him to tell you the rest; but there is scarce time for it. But the short of the story is this, the first part of which, I suppose, you know well enough, viz. that you was with this ship at Sumatra, that there your captain was murdered by the Malayans, with three of his men, and that you or some of those that were on board with you ran away with the ship, and are since turned pirates. This is the sum of the story, and you will be all seized as pirates I can assure you, and executed, with very little ceremony; for you know merchant ships show but little law to pirates, if they get them into their power.'

'Now you speak plain English,' said I, 'and I thank you; and though I know nothing that we have done, like what you talk of, but am sure we came honestly and fairly by the ship; yet seeing such a work is a-doing as you say, and that you seem to mean honestly, I will be upon my guard.' 'Nay, sir,' says he, 'do not talk about being upon your guard; the best defence is, to be out of the danger; if you have any regard to your life, and the lives of all your men, put to sea without fail at high water; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out before they can come down, for they come away at high water; and as they have twenty miles to come, you get near two hours of them, by the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way. Besides, as they are only boats, and not ships, they will not venture to follow you far out to sea, especially if it blows.'

'Well,' said I, 'you have been very kind in this, what shall I do for you, to make you amends?' 'Sir,' says he, 'you may not be so willing to make me any amends, because you may not be convinced of the truth of it. I will make an offer to you; I have nineteen months' pay due to me on board the ship —— which I came out of England in, and the Dutchman that is with me, has seven months' pay due to him; if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you; and if you find no more in it, we will desire no more; but if we do convince you, that we have saved your lives, and the ship, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the rest to you.'

I consented to this readily, and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As soon as I came to the ship's side, my partner, who was on board, came out on the quarter-deck, and called to me with a great deal of joy, 'O ho! O ho! we have stopped the leak! we have stopped the leak!' 'Say you so?' said I, 'thank God; but weigh the anchor then immediately.' 'Weigh!' says he, 'what do you mean by that? What is the matter?' says he. 'Ask no questions,' says I, 'but all hands to work, and weigh, without losing a minute.' He was surprised; but however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up: and though the tide was not quite down, yet a little land breeze blowing, we stood out to sea. Then I called him into the cabin, and told him the story at large; and we called in the men, and they told us the rest of it. But as it took us up a great deal of time, so before we had done, a seaman comes to the cabin door, and calls out to us, that the captain bade him tell us, we were chased. 'Chased,' said I, 'by whom and by what?' 'By five sloops or boats,' says the fellow, 'full of men.' 'Very well,' said I, 'then it is apparent there is something in it.' In the next place I ordered all our men to be called up, and told them, there was a design to seize the ship, and to take us for pirates; and asked them, if they would stand by us, and by one another? The men answered cheerfully, that one and all, they would live and die with us: then I asked the captain, what way he thought best for us to manage the fight with them; for resist them I was resolved we would, and that to the last drop; he said readily, that the way was to keep them off with our great shot, as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our small arms, to keep them from boarding us; but when neither of these would do any longer, we should retire to our close quarters; perhaps they had not materials to break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us.

The gunner had, in the mean time, order to bring two guns to bear fore and aft out of the steerage, to clear the deck, and load them with musket bullets, and small pieces of old iron, and what next came to hand, and thus we made ready for fight; but all this while we kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see the boats at a distance, being five large long-boats, following us with all the sail they could make.

Two of those boats, which by our glasses we could see were English, outsailed the rest and were near two leagues ahead of them, and gained upon us considerably; so that we found they would come up with us: upon which, we fired a gun without ball, to intimate that they should bring to, and we put out a flag of truce, as a signal for parley; but they kept crowding after us, till they came within shot, when we took in our white flag, they having made no answer to it, hung out a red flag, and fired at them with a shot. Notwithstanding this, they came on, till they were near enough to call to them with a speaking-trumpet, which we had on board; so we called to them, and bade them keep off at their peril.

It was all one, they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our stern, so to board us on our quarter; upon which, seeing they were resolute for mischief, and depended upon the strength that followed them, I ordered to bring the ship to, so that they lay upon our broadside, when immediately we fired five guns at them; one of which had been levelled so true, as to carry away the stern of the hindermost boat, and bring them to the necessity of taking down their sail, and running all to the head of the boat to keep her from sinking; so she lay by, and had enough of it; but seeing the foremost boat crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular.

While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had disabled, to relieve her, and we could afterwards see her take out the men; we called again to the foremost boat, and offered a truce to parley again, and to know what her business was with us; but had no answer, only she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our gunner, who was a very dexterous fellow, ran out his two chase guns, and fired again at her; but the shot missing, the men in the boat shouted, waved their caps, and came on: but the gunner getting quickly ready again, fired among them the second time; one shot of which, though it missed the boat itself, yet fell in among the men, and we could easily see, had done a great deal of mischief among them; but we took no notice of that, wared the ship again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them, and firing three guns more, we found the boat was split almost to pieces; in particular, her rudder, and a piece of her stern was shot quite away, so they handed their sail immediately, and were in great disorder: but to complete their misfortune, our gunner let fly two guns at them again; where he hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was sinking, and some of the men already in the water. Upon this, I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept close by our side, with orders to pick up some of the men if they could, and save them from drowning, and immediately to come on board with them; because we saw the rest of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men; one of whom was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As soon as they were on board, we crowded all the sail we could make, and stood farther out to sea, and we found that when the other three boats came up to the first two, they gave over their chase.

Being thus delivered from a danger, which though I knew not the reason of it, yet seemed to be much greater than I apprehended, I took care that we would change our course, and not let any one imagine whither we were going; so we stood out to sea eastward, quite out of the course of all European ships, whether they were bound to China, or anywhere else, within the commerce of the European nations.

When we were at sea, we began to consult with the two seamen, and inquire first what the meaning of all this should be, and the Dutchman let us into the secret at once; telling us, that the fellow that sold us the ship, as we said, was no more than a thief, that had run away with her: then he told us how the captain, whose name too he told us, though I do not remember, was treacherously murdered by the natives on the coast of Malacca, with three of his men; and that he, this Dutchman, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while; till at length, he in particular, in a miraculous manner made his escape, and swam off to a Dutch ship, which sailing near the shore, in its way from China, had sent their boat on shore for fresh water; that he durst not come to that part of the shore where the boat was, but made shift in the night to take the water farther off, and the ship's boat took him up.

He then told us, that he went to Batavia, where two of the seamen belonging to the ship arrived, having deserted the rest in their travels, and gave an account, that the fellow who had run away with the ship, sold her at Bengal, to a set of pirates, which were gone a cruising in her; and that they had already taken an English ship, and two Dutch ships very richly laden.

This latter part we found to concern us directly, and though we knew it to be false, yet as my partner said very well, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had had such a prepossession against us beforehand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourselves, or to hope for any good quarter at their hands; and especially considering that our accusers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them, but what rage would have directed, and an ungoverned passion have executed: and therefore it was his opinion, we should go directly back to Bengal, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever; because there, we could give a good account of ourselves, could prove where we were when the ship put in, whom we bought her of, and the like; and which was more than all the rest, if we were put to the necessity of bringing it before the proper judges, we should be sure to have some justice, and not to be hanged first, and judged afterwards.

I was some time of my partner's opinion; but after a little more serious thinking, I told him, I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to Bengal, for that we were on the wrong side of the Straits of Malacca; and that if the alarm was given, we should be sure to be waylaid on every side, as well by the Dutch of Batavia, as the English elsewhere; that if we should be taken, as it were running away, we should even condemn ourselves, and there would want no more evidence to destroy us. I also asked the English sailor's opinion, who said, he was of my mind, and that we should certainly be taken.

This danger a little startled my partner and all the ship's company; and we immediately re-

solved to go away to the coast of Tonquin, and so on to the coast of China, and pursuing the first design as to trade, find some way or other to dispose of the ship, and come back in some of the vessels of the country, such as we could get. This was approved of as the best method for our security; and accordingly we steered away N.N.E., keeping above fifty leagues off from the usual course to the eastward.

This however put us to some inconveniences; for first the winds, when we came to the distance from the shore, seemed to be more steadily against us, blowing almost trade, as we call it, from the east and E.N.E., so that we were a long while upon our voyage, and we were but ill provided with victuals for so long a voyage; and which was still worse, there was some danger that those English and Dutch ships, whose boats pursued us, whereof some were bound that way, might be got in before us, and if not, some other ship, bound to China, might have information of us from them, and pursue us with the same vigour.

I must confess, I was now very uneasy, and thought myself, including the late escape from the long-boats, to have been in the most dangerous condition that ever I was in through my past life; for whatever ill circumstances I had been in, I was never pursued for a thief before; nor had I ever done anything that merited the name of dishonest or fraudulent, much less thievish. I had chiefly been my own enemy, or as I might rightly say, I had been nobody's enemy but my own; but now I was embarrassed in the worst condition imaginable; for though I was perfectly innocent, I was in no condition to make that innocence appear: and if I had been taken, it had been under a supposed guilt of the worst kind; at least, a crime esteemed so among the people I had to do with.

This made me very anxious to make an escape, though, which way to do it, I knew not, or what port or place we could go to: my partner seeing me thus dejected, though he was the most concerned at first, began to encourage me; and describing to me the several ports of that coast, told me he would put in on the coast of Cochin-China, or the Bay of Tonquin, intending to go afterwards to Macao, a town once in the possession of the Portuguese, and where still a great many European families resided, and particularly the missionary priests usually went thither, in order to their going forward to China.

Hither then we resolved to go; and accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular course, and very much straitened for provisions, we came within sight of the coast very early in the morning; and upon reflection upon the past circumstances we were in, and the danger if we had not escaped, we resolved to put into a small river, which however had a depth enough of water for us, and to see if we could, either overland, or by the ship's pinnace, come to know what ships were in any port thereabouts. This happy step, was indeed our deliverance; for though we did not immediately see any European ships in the Bay of Tonquin, yet the next morning there came into the bay two Dutch ships, and a third without any colours spread out, but which we believed to be a Dutchman, passed by at about two leagues' distance, steering for the coast of China; and in the afternoon went by two English ships steering the same course; and thus, we thought, we saw ourselves beset with enemies, both one way or other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profession; and though it is true we had not much to seek of them, and except getting a few provisions, cared not how little we had to do with them, yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourselves from being insulted by them several ways.

We were in a small river of this country, within a few leagues of its utmost limits northward; and by our boat we coasted north-east to the point of land, which opens the great Bay of Tonquin; and it was in this beating up along the shore, that we discovered, as above, that we were surrounded with enemies. The people we were among, were the most barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coast; having no correspondence with any other nation, and dealing only in fish, and oil, and such gross commodities; and it may be particularly seen, that they are, as I said, the most barbarous of any of the inhabitants, viz. that among other customs they have this as one, viz. that if any vessel have the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon the coast, they presently make the men all prisoners or slaves; and it was not long before we found a spice of their kindness this way, on the occasion following.

I have observed above, that our ship sprung a leak at sea, and that we could not find it out; and however it happened, that, as I have said, it was stopped unexpectedly in the happy minute of our being to be seized by the Dutch and English ships in the Bay of Siam; yet as we did not find the ship so perfectly fit and sound as we desired, we resolved, while we were in this place, to lay her on shore, and take out what heavy things we had on board, which were not many, and to wash and clean her bottom, and, if possible, to find out where the leaks were.

Accordingly, having lightened the ship, and brought all our guns and other moveable things to one side, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom; but on second thoughts we did not care to lay her on dry ground, neither could we find out a proper place for it.

The inhabitants, who had never been acquainted with such a sight, came wondering down the shore to look at us; and seeing the ship lie down on one side in such a manner, and heeling in towards the shore, and not seeing our men who were at work on her bottom, with stages, and with their boats on the off-side, they presently concluded, that the ship was cast away, and lay so fast on the ground.

On this supposition they all came about us in two or three hours' time, with ten or twelve large boats, having some of them eight, some ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board, and plundered the ship; and if they had found us there, to have carried us away for slaves to their king, or whatever they call him; for we knew nothing who was their governor.

When they came up to the ship, and began to row round her, they discovered us all hard at work on the outside of the ship's bottom and side, washing, and graving, and stopping as every seafaring man knows how.

They stood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little surprised, could not imagine what their design was; but, being willing to be sure, we took this opportunity to get some of us into the ship, and others to hand down arms and ammunition to those that were at work to defend themselves with, if there should be occasion; and it was no more than need; for in less than a quarter of an hour's consultation, they agreed, it seems, that the ship was really a wreck, that we were all at work endeavouring to save her, or to save our lives by the help of our boats; and when we handed our

arms into the boats, they concluded, by that motion, that we were endeavouring to save some of our goods. Upon this they took it for granted we all belonged to them; and away they came down upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men, seeing so many of them, began to be frighted; for we lay but in an ill posture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they should do: I immediately called to the men who worked upon the stage, to slip them down, and get up the side into the ship; and bade those in the boat to row round and come on board: and those few of us, who were on board, worked with all the strength and hands we had, to bring the ship to rights; but however, neither the men upon the stage, or those in the boats, could do as they were ordered, before the Cochin Chineses were upon them, and two of their boats boarded our long-boat, and began to lay hold of the men as their prisoners.

The first man they laid hold of was an English seaman; a stout strong fellow, who having a musket in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought. But he understood his business better than I could teach him; for he grappled the pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their boat into ours, where taking him by the ears, he beat his head so against the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died instantly in his hands; and, in the meantime, a Dutchman, who stood next, took up the musket, and with the butt-end of it, so laid about him, that he knocked down five of them, who attempted to enter the boat. But this was doing little towards resisting thirty or forty men, who fearless, because ignorant of their danger, began to throw themselves into the long-boat, where we had but five men, in all, to defend it. But one accident gave our men a complete victory, which deserved our laughter rather than anything else. And that was this.

Our carpenter being preparing to grave the outside of the ship, as well as to pay the seams, where he had caulked her to stop the leaks, had got two kettles just let down into the boat; one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with rosin, tallow, and oil, and such stuff, as the shipwrights use for that work. And the man that attended the carpenter, had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he supplied the men that were at work, with that hot stuff. Two of the enemy's men entered the boat just where this fellow stood, being in the fore-sheets; he immediately saluted them with a ladleful of the stuff, boiling hot, which so burned and scalded them, being half naked, that they roared out like two bulls, and enraged with the fire, leaped both into the sea. The carpenter saw it, and cried out, 'Well done, Jack, give them some more of it:' and stepping forward himself, takes one of their mops, and dipping it in the pitch-pot, he and his man threw it among them so plentifully, that in short, of all the men in the three boats, there was not one that was not scalded and burned with it in a most frightful and pitiful manner, and made such a howling and crying, that I never heard a worse noise, and indeed nothing like it; for it is worth observing, that though pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation has a particular way of exclamation, and makes noises as different from one another, as their speech. I cannot give the noise these creatures made, a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard anything more like the noise of the wolves, which, as I have said, I heard howl in the forest on the frontiers of Languedoc.

I was never better pleased with a victory in my life; not only as it was a perfect surprise to me, and that our danger was imminent before; but as we got this victory without any bloodshed, except of that man, the fellow killed with his naked hands, and which I was very much concerned at; for I was sick of killing such poor savage wretches, even though it was in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought just, and knew no better. And that though it may be a just thing, because necessary, for there is no necessary wickedness in nature, yet I thought it was a sad life, in which we must be always obliged to be killing our fellow-creatures to preserve our own; and indeed I think so still; and I would even now suffer a great deal, rather than I would take away the life, even of the person injuring me. And I believe, all considering people, who know the value of life, would be of my opinion; at least, they would, if they entered seriously into the consideration of it.

But to return to my story. All the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the rest of the men on board, had with great dexterity brought the ship almost to rights; and having gotten the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me, to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him, but bid him heat another pitch-kettle, which our cook, who was on board, took care of. But the enemy were so terrified with what they had met with in their first attack, that they would not come on again. And some of them that were farthest off, seeing the ship swim, as it were upright, began, as we supposed, to see their mistake, and give over the enterprise, finding it was not as they expected. Thus we got clear of this merry fight; and having gotten some rice, and some roots, and bread, with about sixteen good big hogs on board, two days before, we resolved to stay here no longer, but go forward whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we should be surrounded the next day with rogues enough, perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would dispose of for us.

We therefore got all our things on board the same evening, and the next morning were ready to sail. In the meantime, lying at anchor at some distance, we were not so much concerned, being now in a fighting posture, as well as in a sailing posture, if any enemy had presented. The next day having finished our work within board, and finding our ship was perfectly healed of all her leaks, we set sail. We would have gone into the Bay of Tonquin; for we wanted to inform ourselves of what was to be known concerning the Dutch ships that had been there; but we durst not stand in there, because we had seen several ships go in, as we supposed, but a little before; so we kept on N.E. towards the isle of Formosa, as much afraid of being seen by a Dutch or English merchant ship, as a Dutch or English merchant ship in the Mediterranean is of an Algerine man-of-war.

When we were thus got to sea, we kept on N.E. as if we would go to the Manillas or the Philippine Islands; and this we did, that we might not fall into the way of any of our European ships; and then we steered north till we came to the latitude of 22 deg. 30 min., by which means we made the island of Formosa directly, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and fresh provisions, which the people there, who are very courteous and civil in their manners, supplied us with willingly, and dealt

very fairly and punctually with us in all their agreements and bargains; which is what we did not find among other people; and may be owing to the remains of Christianity, which was once planted here by a Dutch missionary of Protestants, and is a testimony of what I have often observed, viz. that the Christian religion always civilises the people, and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works saving effects upon them or no.

From hence we sailed still north, keeping the coast of China at an equal distance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of China, where our European ships usually come; being resolved, if possible, not to fall into any of their hands, especially in this country, where, as our circumstances were, we could not fail of being entirely ruined; nay, so great was my fear in particular, as to my being taken by them, that I believe firmly, I would much rather have chosen to fall into the hands of the Spanish Inquisition.

Being now come to the latitude of 30 degrees, we resolved to put into the first trading port we should come at; and standing in for the shore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old Portuguese pilot on board, who knowing us to be a European ship, came to offer his service, which indeed we were very glad of, and took him on board; upon which, without asking us whither we would go, he dismissed the boat he came in, and sent them back.

I thought it was now so much in our choice, to make the old man carry us whither we would, that I began to talk to him about carrying us to the Gulf of Nanquin, which is the most northern part of the coast of China: the old man said he knew the Gulf of Nanquin very well; but smiling, asked us what we would do there?

I told him we would sell our cargo, and purchase China wares, calicoes, raw silks, tea, wrought silks, &c., and so would return by the same course we came. He told us our best port had been to have put in at Macao, where we could not have failed of a market for our opium, to our satisfaction, and might for our money have purchased all sorts of China goods, as cheap as we could at Nanquin.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opiniated or conceited, I told him we were gentlemen, as well as merchants, and that we had a mind to go and see the great city of Peking, and the famous court of the monarch of China. 'Why then,' says the old man, 'you should go to Ningpo, where by the river which runs into the sea there, you may go up within five leagues of the great canal.' This canal is a navigable river, which goes through the heart of all that vast empire of China, crosses all the rivers, passes some considerable hills by the help of sluices and gates, and goes up to the city of Peking, being in length near 270 leagues.

'Well,' said I, 'Seignior Portuguese, but that is not our business now: the great question is, if you can carry us up to the city of Nanquin, from whence we can travel to Peking afterwards?' Yes, he said, he could do so very well, and that there was a great Dutch ship gone up that way just before. This gave me a little shock; a Dutch ship was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the devil, at least, if he had not come in too frightful a figure; and we depended upon it, that a Dutch ship would be our destruction, for we were in no condition to fight them; all the ships they trade with into those parts being of great burden, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confused, and under some concern, when he named a Dutch ship, and said to me, 'Sir, you need be under no apprehensions of the Dutch, I suppose they are not now at war with your nation.' 'No,' says I, 'that's true; but I know not what liberties men may take when they are out of the reach of the law.' 'Why,' says he, 'you are no pirates, what need you fear? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants sure.'

If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by some stop in the vessels, appointed by nature to circulate it; for it put me into the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable: nor was it possible for me to conceal it so, but the old man easily perceived it.

'Sir,' says he, 'I find you are in some disorder in your thoughts at my talk, pray be pleased to go which way you think fit, and depend upon it, I'll do you all the service I can.' 'Why, seignior,' said I, 'it is true I am a little unsettled in my resolution at this time whither to go in particular; and I am something more so, for what you said about pirates; I hope there are no pirates in these seas; we are but in an ill condition to meet with them, for you see we have but a small force, and but very weakly manned.'

'O sir,' says he, 'do not be concerned, I do not know that there has been any pirates in these seas these fifteen years, except one which was seen, as I hear, in the Bay of Siam, about a month since; but you may be assured she is gone to the southward; nor was she a ship of any great force, or fit for the work; she was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that were on board, after the captain and some of his men had been murdered by the Malayans, at, or near the island of Sumatra.'

'What!' said I, (seeming to know nothing of the matter) 'did they murder the captain?' 'No,' said he, 'I do not understand that they murdered him; but as they afterwards ran away with the ship, it is generally believed that they betrayed him into the hands of the Malayans, who did murder him, and perhaps they procured them to do it.' 'Why then,' said I, 'they deserve death as much as if they had done it themselves.' 'Nay,' says the old man, 'they do deserve it, and they will certainly have it, if they light upon any English or Dutch ship; for they have all agreed together, that if they meet that rogue, they will give him no quarter.'

'But,' said I to him, 'you say the pirate is gone out of those seas. How can they meet with him?' 'Why, that is true,' says he, 'they do say so; but he was, as I tell you, in the Bay of Siam, in the river Cambodia, and was discovered there by some Dutchmen who belonged to the ship, and who were left on shore when they ran away with her: and some English and Dutch traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him. Nay,' said he, 'if the foremost boats had been well seconded by the rest, they had certainly taken him; but he finding only two boats within reach of him, tacked about, and fired at these two, and disabled them before the other came up, and then standing off to sea, the other were not able to follow him, and so he got away. But they have all so exact a description of the ship, that they will be sure to know him; and wherever they find him they have vowed to give no quarter, to either the captain or the seamen, but to hang them all up at the yard-arm.'

'What!' says I, 'will they execute them right or wrong; hang them first, and judge them afterwards?' 'O sir,' says the old pilot, 'there's no need to make a formal business of it with such

rogues as those, let them tie them back to back, and set them a diving. It is no more than they richly deserve.'

I knew I had my old man fast aboard, and that he could do me no harm, so that I turned short upon him; 'Well now, seignior,' said I, 'and this is the very reason why I would have you carry us up to Nanquin, and not put back to Macao, or to any other part of the country, where the English or Dutch ships come: for be it known to you, seignior, those captains of the English and Dutch ships, are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to justice, nor how to behave themselves, as the laws of God and nature direct; but being proud of their offices, and not understanding their power, they would act the murderers to punish robbers; would take upon them to insult men falsely accused, and determine them guilty without due inquiry; and perhaps I may live to call some of them to account for it, when they may be taught how justice is to be executed, and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal, till some evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man.'

With this I told him, that this was the very ship they attacked, and gave him a full account of the skirmish we had with their boats, and how foolishly and coward-like they behaved. I told him all the story of our buying the ship, and how the Dutchmen served us. I told him the reasons I had to believe that this story of killing the master by the Malayans was not true; as also the running away with the ship: but that it was all a fiction of their own, to suggest that the men were turned pirates; and they ought to have been sure it was so, before they had ventured to attack us by surprise, and oblige us to resist them; adding that they would have the blood of those men, whom we killed there in our just defence, to answer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation, and told us, we were very much in the right to go away to the north, and that if he might advise us, it should be to sell the ship in China, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country; 'and,' said he, 'though you will not get so good a ship, yet you may get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to Bengal, or anywhere else.'

I told him, I would take his advice, when I came to any port where I could find a ship for my turn, or get any customer to buy this. He replied, I should meet with customers enough for the ship at Nanquin, and that a Chinese junk would serve me very well to go back again; and that he would procure me people both to buy one and sell the other.

'Well, but seignior,' says I, 'as you say they know the ship so well, I may perhaps, if I follow your measures, be instrumental to bring some honest innocent men into a terrible broil, and perhaps to be murdered in cold blood; for wherever they find the ship, they will prove the guilt upon the men, by proving this was the ship, and so innocent men may probably be overpowered and murdered.' 'Why,' says the old man, 'I will find out a way to prevent that also; for as I know all those commanders you speak of very well, and shall see them all as they pass by, I will be sure to set them to rights in the thing, and let them know that they had been so much in the wrong; that though the people who were on board at first might run away with the ship, yet it was not true that they had turned pirates; and that in particular, these were not the men that first went off with the ship, but innocently bought her for their trade; and I am persuaded they will so far believe me, as at least to act more cautiously for the time to come.' 'Well,' says I, 'and will you deliver one message to them from me?' 'Yes, I will,' says he, 'if you will give it under your hand in writing, that I may be able to prove, that it came from you, and not out of my own head.' I answered, that I would readily give it him under my hand; so I took a pen, and ink, and paper, and wrote at large the story of assaulting me with the long-boats, &c., the pretended reason of it, and the unjust cruel design of it; and concluded to the commanders, that they had done what they not only should have been ashamed of, but also, that if ever they came to England, and I lived to see them there, they should all pay dearly for it, if the laws of my country were not grown out of use before I arrived there.

My old pilot read this over and over again, and asked me several times if I would stand to it? I answered, I would stand to it as long as I had anything left in the world, being sensible that I should one time or other find an opportunity to put it home to them: but we had no occasion ever to let the pilot carry this letter; for he never went back again. While those things were passing between us, by way of discourse, we went forward directly for Nanquin, and in about thirteen days' sail came to an anchor at the south-west point of the great Gulf of Nanquin, where, by the way, I came by accident to understand, that two Dutch ships were gone the length before me, and that I should certainly fall into their hands. I consulted my partner again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loss as I was, and would very gladly have been safe on shore almost anywhere. However, I was not in such perplexity neither; but I asked the old pilot, if there was no creek or harbour, which I might put into, and pursue my business with the Chinese privately, and be in no danger of the enemy? He told me, if I would sail to the southward about two and forty leagues, there was a little port called Quinchang, where the fathers of the mission usually landed from Macao, on their progress to teach the Christian religion to the Chinese, and where no European ships ever put in; and if I thought to put in there, I might consider what farther course to take when I was ashore. He confessed, he said, it was not a place for merchants, except that at some certain times they had a kind of a fair there, when the merchants from Japan came over thither to buy the Chinese merchandises.

We all agreed to go back to this place; the name of the port, as he called it, I may perhaps spell wrong; for I do not particularly remember it, having lost this, together with the names of many other places, set down in a little pocket-book, which was spoiled by the water, on an accident, which I shall relate in its order; but this I remember, that the Chinese or Japanese merchants we corresponded with, called it by a differing name from that which our Portuguese pilot gave it, and pronounced it, as above, Quinchang.

As we were unanimous in our resolutions to go to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice ashore, where we were to get fresh water; on both which occasions, the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us abundance of things to sell to us; I mean, of provisions, plants, roots, tea, rice, and some fowls; but nothing without money.

We came to the other port, (the wind being contrary) not till five days, but it was very much to our satisfaction; and I was joyful, and I may say, thankful, when I set my foot safe on shore,

resolving, and my partner too, that if it was possible to dispose of ourselves and effects any other way, though not every way to our satisfaction, we would never set one foot on board that unhappy vessel more; and indeed I must acknowledge, that of all the circumstances of life, that ever I had any experience of, nothing makes mankind so completely miserable as that of being in constant fear. Well does the Scripture say, 'The fear of man brings a snare;' it is a life of death, and the mind is so entirely suppressed by it, that it is capable of no relief; the animal spirits sink, and all the vigour of nature, which usually supports men under other afflictions, and is present to them in the greatest exigencies, fails them here.

Nor did it fail of its usual operations upon the fancy, by heightening every danger, representing the English and Dutch captains to be men incapable of hearing reason, or of distinguishing between honest men and rogues; or between a story calculated for our own turn, made out of nothing, on purpose to deceive, and a true genuine account of our whole voyage, progress, and design; for we might many ways have convinced any reasonable creature, that we were not pirates; the goods we had on board, the course we steered, our frankly showing ourselves, and entering into such and such ports; and even our very manner, the force we had, the number of men, the few arms, little ammunition, short provisions; all these would have served to convince any men, that we were no pirates; the opium, and other goods we had on board, would make it appear, the ship had been at Bengal. The Dutchman, who it was said, had the names of all the men that were in the ship, might easily see that we were a mixture of English, Portuguese, and Indians, and but two Dutchmen on board. These, and many other particular circumstances, might have made it evident to the understanding of any commander, whose hands we might fall into, that we were no pirates.

But fear, that blind useless passion, worked another way, and threw us into the vapours; it bewildered our understandings, and set the imagination at work, to form a thousand terrible things, that perhaps might never happen. We first supposed, as indeed everybody had related to us, that the seamen on board the English and Dutch ships, but especially the Dutch, were so enraged at the name of a pirate, and especially at our beating off their boats, and escaping, that they would not give themselves leave to inquire, whether we were pirates or no; but would execute us off-hand, as we call it, without giving us any room for a defence. We reflected that there was really so much apparent evidence before them, that they would scarce inquire after any more; as first, that the ship was certainly the same, and that some of the seamen among them knew her, and had been on board her; and secondly, that when we had intelligence at the river of Cambodia, that they were coming down to examine us, we fought their boats and fled; so that we made no doubt that they were fully satisfied of our being pirates, as we were satisfied of the contrary; and as I often said, I know not but I should have been apt to have taken those circumstances for evidence, if the tables were turned, and my case was theirs, and have made no scruple of cutting all the crew to pieces, without believing, or perhaps considering, what they might have to offer in their defence.

But let that be how it will, these were our apprehensions; and both my partner and I too scarce slept a night, without dreaming of halters and yard-arms, that is to say, gibbets, of fighting, and being taken; of killing, and being killed; and one night I was in such a fury in my dream, fancying the Dutchmen had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their seamen down, that I struck my doubled fist against the side of the cabin I lay in, with such a force, as wounded my hand grievously, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruised the flesh; so that it not only awaked me out of my sleep, but I was once afraid I should have lost two of my fingers.

Another apprehension I had, was of the cruel usage we might meet with from them, if we fell into their hands; then the story of Amboyna came into my head, and how the Dutch might perhaps torture us, as they did our countrymen there; and make some of the men, by extremity of torture, confess those crimes they never were guilty of; own themselves, and all of us to be pirates, and so they would put us to death, with a formal appearance of justice; and that they might be tempted to do this, for the gain of our ship and cargo, which was worth four or five thousand pounds, put all together.

These things tormented me and my partner too, night and day; nor did we consider that the captains of ships have no authority to act thus; and if we had surrendered prisoners to them, they could not answer the destroying us, or torturing us, but would be accountable for it, when they came to their own country; this I say, gave me no satisfaction; for if they will act thus with us, what advantage would it be to us, that they would be called to an account for it; or if we were first to be murdered, what satisfaction would it be to us to have them punished when they came home?

I cannot refrain taking notice here, what reflections I now had upon the past variety of my particular circumstances; how hard I thought it was, that I who had spent forty years in a life of continued difficulties, and was at last come as it were to the port or haven, which all men drive at, viz. to have rest and plenty, should be a volunteer in new sorrows, by my own unhappy choice; and that I, who escaped so many dangers in my youth, should now come to be hanged in my old age, and in so remote a place, for a crime I was not in the least inclined to, much less really guilty of; and in a place and circumstance, where innocence was not like to be any protection at all to me.

After these thoughts, something of religion would come in; and I would be considering, that this seemed to me to be a disposition of immediate Providence, and I ought to look upon it, and submit to it as such; that although I was innocent as to men, I was far from being innocent as to my Maker; and I ought to look in and examine, what other crimes in my life were more obvious to me; and for which Providence might justly inflict this punishment, as a retribution; and that I ought to submit to this, just as I would to a shipwreck, if it had pleased God to have brought such a disaster upon me.

In its turn, natural courage would sometimes take its place; and then I would be talking myself up to vigorous resolutions, that I would not be taken, to be barbarously used by a parcel of merciless wretches, in cold blood; that it were much better to have fallen into the hands of the savages, who were men-eaters, and who, I was sure, would feast upon me, when they had taken me; than by those, who would perhaps glut their rage upon me, by inhuman tortures and barbarities; that in the case of the savages, I always resolved to die fighting to the last gasp; and why

should I not do so, seeing it was much more dreadful to me at least, to think of falling into these men's hands, than ever it was to think of being eaten by men; for the savages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was dead, and killed them first, as we do a bullock; but that these men had many arts beyond the cruelty of death. Whenever these thoughts prevailed, I was sure to put myself into a kind of fever, with the agitation of a supposed fight; my blood would boil, and my eyes sparkle, as if I was engaged; and I always resolved that I would take no quarter at their hands; but, even at last, if I could resist no longer, I would blow up the ship, and all that was in her, and leave them but little booty to boast of.

By how much the greater weight, the anxieties and perplexities of these things were to our thoughts while we were at sea, by so much the greater was our satisfaction, when we saw ourselves on shore; and my partner told me he dreamed, that he had a very heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up a hill, and found that he was not able to stand long under it; but that the Portuguese pilot came and took it off his back, and the hill disappeared, the ground before him showing all smooth and plain; and truly it was so; they were all like men, who had a load taken off their backs.

For my part, I had a weight taken off from my heart, that it was not able any longer to bear; and as I said above, we resolved to go no more to sea in that ship. When we came on shore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging and a warehouse for our goods, which by the way, was much the same; it was a little house or hut, with a large house adjoining to it, all built with canes, and palisadoed round with large canes, to keep out pilfering thieves, of which, it seems, there were not a few in that country. However, the magistrates allowed us also a little guard, and we had a sentinel with a kind of halberd, or half-pike, who stood sentinel at our door; to whom we allowed a pint of rice, and a little piece of money, about the value of threepence per day, so that our goods were kept very safe.

The fair or mart, usually kept in this place, had been over some time; however we found that there were three or four junks in the river, and two Japanners, I mean, ships from Japan, with goods which they had bought in China, and were not gone away, having Japanese merchants on shore.

The first thing our old Portuguese pilot did for us, was to bring us acquainted with three missionary Romish priests, who were in the town, and who had been there some time, converting the people to Christianity; but we thought they made but poor work of it, and made them but sorry Christians when they had done. However, that was none of our business: one of these was a Frenchman, whom they called Father Simon; he was a jolly, well-conditioned man, very free in his conversation, not seeming so serious and grave as the other two did; one of whom was a Portuguese, and the other a Genoese; but Father Simon was courteous, easy in his manner, and very agreeable company. The other two were more reserved, seemed rigid and austere, and applied seriously to the work they came about, viz. to talk with, and insinuate themselves among the inhabitants, wherever they had opportunity. We often ate and drank with those men, and though I must confess, the conversion, as they call it, of the Chinese to Christianity, is so far from the true conversion required, to bring heathen people to the faith of Christ, that it seems to amount to little more, than letting them know the name of Christ, and say some prayers to the Virgin Mary, and her Son, in a tongue which they understand not, and to cross themselves and the like; yet it must be confessed, that these religious, whom we call missionaries, have a firm belief that these people shall be saved, and that they are the instruments of it; and on this account, they undergo not only the fatigue of the voyage, and the hazards of living in such places, but oftentimes death itself, with the most violent tortures, for the sake of this work; and it would be a great want of charity in us, whatever opinion we have of the work itself, and the manner of their doing it, if we should not have a good opinion of their zeal, who undertook it with so many hazards, and who have no prospect of the least temporal advantage to themselves.

But to return to my story; this French priest, Father Simon, was appointed, it seems, by order of the chief of the mission, to go up to Peking, the royal seat of the Chinese emperor, and waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to him from Macao, to go along with him; and we scarce ever met together, but he was inviting me to go that journey, telling me, how he would show me all the glorious things of that mighty empire, and, among the rest, the greatest city in the world; a city, said he, that your London and our Paris put together, cannot be equal to. This was the city of Peking, which I confess is very great, and infinitely full of people; but as I looked on those things with different eyes from other men, so I shall give my opinion of them in few words, when I come in course of my travels, to speak more particularly of them.

But, first, I come to my friar or missionary. Dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I showed some little inclination to go with him, and he pressed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many persuasions to consent. 'Why, Father Simon,' says my partner, 'should you desire our company so much? You know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor cannot keep us company with any pleasure.' 'O,' says he, 'you may perhaps be good Catholics in time; my business here is to convert heathens, and who knows but I may convert you too?' 'Very well, Father,' said I, 'so you will preach to us all the way.' 'I won't be troublesome to you,' says he; 'our religion does not divest us of good manners; besides,' says he, 'we are here like countrymen, and so we are, compared to the place we are in; and if you are Huguenots, and I a Catholic, we may be all Christians at last; at least,' said he, 'we are all gentlemen, and we may converse so, without being uneasy to one another.' I liked that part of his discourse very well, and it began to put me in mind of my priest, that I had left in the Brazils; but this Father Simon did not come up to his character, by a great deal; for though Father Simon had no appearance of a criminal levity in him neither, yet he had not that fund of Christian zeal, strict piety, and sincere affection to religion, that my other good ecclesiastic had, of whom I have said so much.

But to leave him a little, though he never left us, nor soliciting us to go with him; but we had something else before us at first; for we had all this while our ship, and our merchandise to dispose of, and we began to be very doubtful what we should do, for we were now in a place of very little business; and once I was about to venture to sail for the river of Kilam, and the city of Nanquin: but Providence seemed now more visibly, as I thought, than ever, to concern itself in our

affair; and I was encouraged from this very time, to think, I should one way or other get out of this tangled circumstance, and be brought home to my own country again, though I had not the least view of the manner; and when I began sometimes to think of it, could not imagine by what method it was to be done: Providence, I say, began here to clear up our way a little; and the first thing that offered was, that our old Portuguese pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who began to inquire what goods we had; and in the first place, he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight; some in small pieces of their own coin, and some in small wedges, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head, that he might perhaps deal with us for the ship too, and I ordered the interpreter to propose it to him; he shrunk up his shoulders at it, when it was first proposed to him; but in a few days after, he came to me with one of the missionary priests for his interpreter, and told me, he had a proposal to make to me, and that was this: he had bought a great quantity of goods of us, when he had no thoughts (or proposals made to him) of buying the ship; and that therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ship; but if I would let the same men who were in the ship navigate her, he would hire the ship to go to Japan, and would send them from thence to the Philippine Islands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of, before they went from Japan; and that at their return he would buy the ship. I began to listen to his proposal, and so eager did my head still run upon rambling, that I could not but begin to entertain a notion of going myself with him, and to sail from the Philippine Islands, away to the South Seas; and accordingly I asked the Japanese merchant, if he would not hire us to the Philippine Islands, and discharge us there; he said, No, he could not do that, for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would discharge us in Japan, he said, at the ship's return. Well, still I was for taking him at that proposal, and going myself; but my partner, wiser than myself, persuaded me from it, representing the dangers, as well of the seas, as of the Japanese, who are a false, cruel, and treacherous people; and then of the Spaniards, at the Philippines, more false, more cruel, and more treacherous than they.

But to bring this long turn of our affairs to a conclusion; the first thing we had to do, was to consult with the captain of the ship, and with his men, and know if they were willing to go to Japan; and while I was doing this, the young man, whom, as I said, my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels, came to me, and told me, that he thought that voyage promised very fair, and that there was a great prospect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleased to order him; and if ever he came to England, and I was there and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his success, which should be as much mine as I pleased.

I was really loath to part with him, but considering the prospect of advantage, which was really considerable, and that he was a young fellow, as likely to do well in it, as any I knew, I inclined to let him go; but first I told him, I would consult my partner, and give him an answer the next day. My partner and I discoursed about it, and my partner made a most generous offer; he told me, 'you know it has been an unlucky ship, and we both resolve not to go to sea in it again; if your steward,' so he called my man, 'will venture the voyage, I will leave my share of the vessel to him, and let him make the best of it; and if we live to meet in England, and he meets with success abroad, he shall account for one half of the profits of the ship's freight to us, the other shall be his own.'

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him such an offer, I could do no less than offer him the same; and all the ship's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ship to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other, and away he went to Japan. The Japan merchant proved a very punctual honest man to him, protected him at Japan, and got him a licence to come on shore, which the Europeans in general have not lately obtained; paid him his freight very punctually, sent him to the Philippines, loaded with Japan and China wares, and a supercargo of their own, who, trafficking with the Spaniards, brought back European goods again, and a great quantity of cloves and other spices; and there he was not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but being not willing to sell the ship then, the merchant furnished him goods, on his own account; that for some money, and some spices of his own, which he brought with him, he went back to the Manillas to the Spaniards, where he sold his cargo very well. Here having got a good acquaintance at Manilla, he got his ship made a free ship; and the governor of Manilla hired him, to go to Acapulco, in America, on the coast of Mexico, and gave him a licence to land there, and to travel to Mexico, and to pass in any Spanish ship to Europe, with all his men.

He made the voyage to Acapulco very happily, and there he sold his ship; and having there also obtained allowance to travel by land to Porto-Bello, he found means somehow or other, to get to Jamaica, with all his treasure; and about eight years after, came to England exceeding rich; of the which, I shall take notice in its place; in the meantime, I return to our particular affairs.

Being now to part with the ship, and ship's company, it came before us of course, to consider what recompense we should give to the two men, that they gave us such timely notice of the design against us in the river of Cambodia. The truth was, that they had done us a considerable service, and deserved well at our hands; though by the way, they were a couple of rogues too; for as they believed the story of our being pirates, and that we had really run away with the ship, they came down to us, not only to betray the design that was formed against us, but to go to sea with us as pirates; and one of them confessed afterwards, that nothing else but the hopes of going a roguing brought him to do it. However, the service they did us was not the less; and therefore, as I had promised to be grateful to them, I first ordered the money to be paid to them, which they said was due to them on board their respective ships; that is to say, the Englishman nineteen months' pay, and to the Dutchman seven; and over and above that, I gave them, each of them, a small sum of money in gold, and which contented them very well. Then I made the Englishman gunner in the ship, the gunner being now made second mate and purser; the Dutchman I made boatswain; so they were both very well pleased, and proved very serviceable, being both able seamen, and very stout fellows.

We were now on shore in China. If I thought myself banished, and remote from my own country

at Bengal, where I had many ways to get home for my money, what could I think of myself now? When I was gotten about a thousand leagues farther off from home, and perfectly destitute of all manner of prospect of return?

All we had for it was this, that in about four months' time, there was to be another fair at the place where we were; and then we might be able to purchase all sorts of the manufactures of the country, and withal, might possibly find some Chinese junks or vessels from Tonquin, that would be to be sold, and would carry us and our goods, whither we pleased; this I liked very well, and resolved to wait; besides, as our particular persons were not obnoxious, so if any English or Dutch ships came thither, perhaps we might have an opportunity to load our goods, and get passage to some other place in India, nearer home.

Upon these hopes we resolved to continue here; but to divert ourselves, we took two or three journeys into the country; first we went ten days' journey to the city of Nanquin, a city well worth seeing indeed; they say it has a million of people in it; which however I do not believe. It is regularly built, the streets all exactly straight, and cross one another in direct lines, which gives the figure of it great advantage.

But when I come to compare the miserable people of these countries with ours, their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, and their glory, (as some call it) I must confess, I do not so much as think it worth naming, or worth my while to write of, or any that shall come after me to read.

It is very observable, that we wonder at the grandeur, the riches, the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufactures, the commerce, and the conduct of these people, not that it is to be wondered at, or indeed in the least to be regarded; but because, having first a true notion of the barbarity of those countries, the rudeness and the ignorance that prevails there, we do not expect to find any such things so far off.

Otherwise, what are their buildings to the palaces and royal buildings of Europe? What is their trade, to the universal commerce of England, Holland, France, and Spain? What are their cities to ours, for wealth, strength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and infinite variety? What are their ports, supplied with a few junks and barks, to our navigation, our merchant fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of London has more trade than half their mighty empire. One English, or Dutch, or French man-of-war of 80 guns, would fight and destroy all the shipping of China. But the greatness of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and strength of their armies, is surprising to us, because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than savages, we did not expect such things among them; and this indeed is the advantage with which all their greatness and power is represented to us; otherwise it is in itself nothing at all; for as I have said of their ships, so may be said of their armies and troops: all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field together, would be able to do nothing but ruin the country, and starve themselves. If they were to besiege a strong town in Flanders, or to fight a disciplined army, one line of German cuirassiers, or of French cavalry, might overthrow all the horse of China. A million of their foot could not stand before one embattled body of our infantry, posted so as not to be surrounded, though they were to be not one to twenty in number: nay, I do not boast, if I say that 30,000 German or English foot, and 10,000 French horse, would fairly beat all the forces of China. And so of our fortified towns, and of the art of our engineers in assaulting and defending towns. There is not a fortified town in China, could hold out one month against the batteries and attacks of a European army; and at the same time, all the armies of China could never take such a town as Dunkirk, provided it was not starved; no, not in ten years' siege. They have firearms, it is true, but they are awkward, clumsy, and uncertain in going off: they have powder, but it is of no strength: they have neither discipline in the field, exercise to their arms, skill to attack, or temper to retreat; and therefore, I must confess, it seemed strange to me, when I came home, and heard our people say such fine things of the power, riches, glory, magnificence, and trade of the Chinese; because I saw, and knew that they were a contemptible herd or crowd of ignorant sordid slaves, subjected to a government qualified only to rule such a people; and in a word, for I am now launched quite beside my design; I say, in a word, were not its distance inconceivably great from Muscovy, and was not the Muscovite empire almost as rude, impotent, and ill governed a crowd of slaves as they, the Czar of Muscovy might with much ease drive them all out of their country, and conquer them in one campaign: and had the Czar, who I since hear is a growing prince, and begins to appear formidable in the world, fallen this way, instead of attacking the warlike Swedes, in which attempt, none of the powers of Europe would have envied or interrupted him; he might by this time have been emperor of China, instead of being beaten by the king of Sweden at Narva, when the latter was not one to six in number. As their strength, and their grandeur, so their navigation, commerce, and husbandry, are very imperfect and impotent, compared to the same things in Europe; also in their knowledge, their learning, and their skill in the sciences. They have globes and spheres, and a smatch of the knowledge of the mathematics; but when you come to inquire into their knowledge, how short-sighted are the wisest of their students! they know nothing of the motion of the heavenly bodies; and so grossly and absurdly ignorant, that when the sun is eclipsed, they think it is a great dragon has assaulted, and run away with it, and they fall a clattering with all the drums and kettles in the country, to fright the monster away, just as we do to hive a swarm of bees.

As this is the only excursion of this kind which I have made in all the account I have given of my travels, so I shall make no more descriptions of countries and people, it is none of my business, or any part of my design; but giving an account of my own adventures, through a life of inimitable wanderings, and a long variety of changes, which perhaps few that come after me will have heard the like of; I shall therefore say very little of all the mighty places, desert countries, and numerous people I have yet to pass through, more than relates to my own story, and which my concern among them will make necessary. I was now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of China, about the latitude of thirty degrees north of the line, for we were returned from Nanquin: I had indeed a mind to see the city of Peking, which I had heard so much of, and Father Simon importuned me daily to do it. At length his time of going away being set, and the other missionary, who was to go with him, being arrived from Macao, it was necessary that we should resolve, either to go, or not to go, so I

referred him to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice, who at length resolved it in the affirmative, and we prepared for our journey. We set out with very good advantage, as to finding the way; for we got leave to travel in the retinue of one of their Mandarins, a kind of viceroy, or principal magistrate in the province where they reside, and who take great state upon them, travelling with great attendance, and with great homage from the people, who are sometimes greatly impoverished by them, because all the countries they pass through are obliged to furnish provisions for them and all their attendance. That which I particularly observed, as to our travelling with his baggage, was this, that though we received sufficient provisions, both for ourselves and our horses, from the country, as belonging to the Mandarin, yet we were obliged to pay for everything we had, after the market price of the country, and the Mandarin's steward, or commissary of the provisions, collected it duly from us; so that our travelling in the retinue of the Mandarin, though it was a very great kindness to us, was not such a mighty favour in him, but was a great advantage to him, considering there were above thirty other people travelled in the same manner besides us, under the protection of his retinue, or as we may call it, under his convoy. This, I say, was a great advantage to him, for the country furnished all the provisions for nothing, and he took all our money for them.

We were five and twenty days travelling to Peking, through a country infinitely populous, but miserably cultivated; the husbandry, the economy, and the way of living miserable, though they boast so much of the industry of the people; I say, miserable; and so it is, if we who understand how to live, were to endure it, or to compare it with our own; but not so to these poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of the people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing, but their poverty, which adds to that which I call their misery: and I must needs think the naked savages of America live much more happy, because as they have nothing, so they desire nothing; whereas these are proud and insolent, and in the main, are mere beggars and drudges. Their ostentation is inexpressible, and is chiefly showed in their clothes and buildings, and in keeping multitudes of servants or slaves, and which is to the last degree ridiculous, their contempt of all the world but themselves.

I must confess, I travelled more pleasantly afterwards in the deserts and vast wildernesses of Grand Tartary, than here; and yet the roads here are well paved, and well kept, and very convenient for travellers: but nothing was more awkward to me, than to see such a haughty, imperious, insolent people in the midst of the grossest simplicity and ignorance, for all their famed ingenuity is no more. And my friend Father Simon and I, used to be very merry upon these occasions, to see the beggarly pride of those people. For example. Coming by the house of a country gentleman, as Father Simon called him, about ten leagues off the city of Nanquin, we had first of all, the honour to ride with the master of the house about two miles. The state he rode in, was a perfect Don Quixotism, being a mixture of pomp and poverty.

The habit of this greasy Don was very proper for a scaramouch, or merry-andrew, being a dirty calico, with all the tawdry and trapping of a fool's coat, such as hanging sleeves, tassels, and cuts and slashes almost on every side: it covered a taffety vest, as greasy as a butcher, and which testified that his honour must be a most exquisite sloven.

His horse was but a poor, lean, starved, hobbling creature, such as in England might sell for about 30 or 40 shillings; and he had two slaves followed him on foot to drive the poor creature along. He had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beast as fast about the head, as his slaves did about the tail; and thus he rode by us with about ten or twelve servants; and we were told he was going from the city to his country seat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us, and we stopped at a village about an hour to refresh us. When we came by the country seat of this great man, we saw him in a little place, before his door, eating his repast. It was a kind of a garden, but he was easy to be seen, and we were given to understand that the more we looked on him, the better he would be pleased.

He sat under a tree, something like the palmetto tree, which effectually shaded him over the head, and on the south side, but under the tree also, was placed a large umbrella, which made that part look well enough. He sat lolling back in a great elbow-chair, being a heavy corpulent man, and his meat being brought him by two women slaves: he had two more, whose office, I think, few gentlemen in Europe would accept of their service in, viz. one fed the squire with a spoon, and the other held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what he let fall upon his worship's beard and taffety vest, while the great fat brute thought it below him to employ his own hands in any of those familiar offices, which kings and monarchs would rather do, than be troubled with the clumsy fingers of their servants.

I took this time to think what pains men's pride puts them to; and how troublesome a haughty temper, thus ill managed, must be to a man of common sense; and leaving the poor wretch to please himself with our looking at him, as if we admired his pomp, whereas we really pitied and contemned him, we pursued our journey; only Father Simon had the curiosity to stay to inform himself what dainties the country justice had to feed on, in all his state, which, he said, he had the honour to taste of, and which was, I think, a dose that an English hound would scarce have eaten, if it had been offered him, viz. a mess of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlic in it, and a little bag filled with green pepper, and another plant which they have there, something like our ginger, but smelling like musk, and tasting like mustard: all this was put together, and a small lump or piece of lean mutton boiled in it; and this was his worship's repast, four or five servants more attending at a distance. If he fed them meaner than he was fed himself, the spice excepted, they must fare very coarsely indeed.

As for our Mandarin, with whom we travelled, he was respected like a king; surrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with such pomp, that I saw little of him but at a distance, but this I observed, that there was not a horse in his retinue, but that our carrier's pack-horses in England seemed to me to look much better; but they were so covered with equipage, mantles, trappings, and such like trumpery, that you cannot see whether they are fat or lean: in a word, we could see scarce anything but their feet and their heads.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and perplexity that I have given an account of

being over, I had no anxious thoughts about me, which made this journey the pleasanter to me, nor had I any ill accident attended me, only in the passing or fording a small river, my horse fell, and made me free of the country, as they call it, that is to say, threw me in. The place was not deep, but it wetted me all over; I mention it, because it spoiled my pocket-book, wherein I had set down the names of several people and places which I had occasion to remember, and which, not taking due care of, the leaves rotted, and the words were never after to be read, to my great loss, as to the names of some places I touched at in this voyage.

At length we arrived at Peking; I had nobody with me but the youth, whom my nephew, the captain, had given me to attend me as a servant, and who proved very trusty and diligent; and my partner had nobody with him but one servant, who was a kinsman: as for the Portuguese pilot, he being desirous to see the court, we gave him his passage, that is to say, bore his charges for his company, and to use him as an interpreter; for he understood the language of the country, and spoke good French, and a little English: and indeed, this old man was a most useful implement to us everywhere; for we had not been above a week at Peking, when he came laughing, 'Ah, Seignior Inglese,' says he, 'I have something to tell you will make your heart glad.' 'My heart glad,' says I, 'what can that be? I don't know anything in this country can either give me joy or grief to any great degree.' 'Yes, yes,' said the old man, in broken English, 'make you glad, me sorrow;' *sorry* he would have said. This made me more inquisitive. 'Why,' said I, 'will it make you sorry?' 'Because,' said he, 'you have brought me here 25 days' journey, and will leave me to go back alone, and which way shall I get to my port afterwards without a ship, without a horse, without *pecune?*' so he called money, being his broken Latin, of which he had abundance to make us merry with.

In short, he told us there was a great caravan of Muscovite and Polish merchants in the city, and they were preparing to set out on their journey by land to Muscovy within four or five weeks, and he was sure we would take the opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind to go back alone. I confess, I was surprised with this news, a secret joy spread itself over my whole soul, which I cannot describe, and never felt before or since, and I had no power for a good while to speak a word to the old man; but at last I turned to him: 'How do you know this,' said I, 'are you sure it is true?' 'Yes,' says he, 'I met this morning in the street an old acquaintance of mine, an Armenian, or one you call a Grecian, who is among them; he came last from Astracan, and was designing to go to Tonquin, where I formerly knew him, but has altered his mind, and is now resolved to go with the caravan to Moscow, and so down the river Wolga to Astracan.' 'Well, seignior,' says I, 'do not be uneasy about being left to go back alone; if this be a method for my return to England, it shall be your fault if you go back to Macao at all.' We then went to consulting together what was to be done, and I asked my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would suit with his affairs? He told me he would do just as I would, for he had settled all his affairs so well at Bengal, and left his effects in such good hands, that as we had made a good voyage here, if he could vest it in China silks, wrought and raw, such as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to England, and then make his voyage back to Bengal by the Company's ships.

Having resolved upon this, we agreed, that if our Portugal pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges to Moscow or to England if he pleased; nor indeed were we to be esteemed over generous in that part neither, if we had not rewarded him farther, for the service he had done us was really worth all that, and more; for he had not only been a pilot to us at sea, but he had been like a broker for us on shore: and his procuring for us the Japan merchant, was some hundreds of pounds in our pocket: so we consulted together about it, and being willing to gratify him, which was indeed but doing him justice, and very willing also to have him with us besides, for he was a most necessary man on all occasions, we agreed to give him a quantity of coined gold, which, as I compute it, came to about 175 pounds sterling between us, and to bear all his charges, both for himself and horse, except only a horse to carry his goods.

Having settled this between ourselves, we called him to let him know what he had resolved; I told him, he had complained of our being to let him go back alone, and I was now to tell him we were resolved he should not go back at all: that as we had resolved to go to Europe with the caravan, we resolved also he should go with us, and that we called him, to know his mind. He shook his head, and said, it was a long journey, and he had no *pecune* to carry him thither, or to subsist himself when he came there. We told him, we believed it was so, and therefore we had resolved to do something for him, that should let him see how sensible we were of the service he had done us, and also how agreeable he was to us; and then I told him what we had resolved to give him here, which he might lay out as we would do our own; and that as for his charges, if he would go with us, we would set him safe ashore, (life and casualties excepted) either in Muscovy or England, which he would, at our own charge, except only the carriage of his goods.

He received the proposal like a man transported, and told us he would go with us over the whole world; and so, in short, we all prepared for our journey. However, as it was with us, so it was with the other merchants, they had many things to do, and instead of being ready in five weeks, it was four months and some odd days, before all things were got together.

It was the beginning of February, our style, when we set out from Peking; my partner and the old pilot had gone express back to the port where we had first put in, to dispose of some goods which we had left there; and I with a Chinese merchant, whom I had some knowledge of at Nanquin, and who came to Peking on his own affairs, went to Nanquin, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damasks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine silks, of several sorts, some mixed with gold, and had all these brought to Peking against my partner's return. Besides this, we bought a very large quantity of raw silk, and some other goods, our cargo amounting in these goods only to about three thousand five hundred pounds sterling, which, together with tea, and some fine calicoes, and three camels' loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our share, besides those we rode upon; which with two or three spare horses, and two horses loaded with provisions, made us in short 26 camels and horses in our retinue.

The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four

hundred horse, and upwards of one hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events: for as the Eastern caravans are subject to be attacked by the Arabs, so are these by the Tartars; but they are not altogether so dangerous as the Arabs, nor so barbarous when they prevail.

The company consisted of people of several nations, such as Muscovites chiefly; for there were above sixty of them who were merchants or inhabitants of Moscow, though of them, some were Livonians, and to our particular satisfaction, five of them were Scots, who appeared also to be men of great experience in business, and men of very good substance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants, that is to say, all the passengers, except the servants, to a great council, as they called it. At this council every one deposited a certain quantity of money to a common stock, for the necessary expense of buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwise to be had, and for satisfying the guides, getting horses, and the like. And here they constituted the journey, as they call it, viz. they named captains and officers, to draw us all up, and give the word of command in case of an attack, and gave every one their turn of command: nor was this forming us into order any more than what we found needful upon the way, as shall be observed in its place.

The road all on this side of the country is very populous, and is full of potters and earth-makers, that is to say, people that temper the earth, for the China-ware; and as I was coming along, our Portugal pilot, who had always something or other to say to make us merry, came sneering to me, and told me, he would show me the greatest rarity in all the country, and that I should have this to say of China, after all the ill-humoured things I had said of it, that I had seen one thing which was not to be seen in all the world beside. I was very importunate to know what it was. At last he told me it was a gentleman's house built all with China-ware. 'Well,' says I, 'are not the materials of their buildings the product of their own country; and so is all China-ware; is it not?' 'No, no,' says he, 'I mean it is a house all made of China-ware, such as you call it in England; or, as it is called in our country, porcelain.' 'Well,' says I, 'such a thing may be. How big is it? Can we carry it in a box upon a camel? If we can, we will buy it.' 'Upon a camel!' says the old pilot, holding up both his hands, 'why there is a family of thirty people in it.'

I was then curious indeed to see it, and when I came to it, it was nothing but this. It was a timber house, or a house built, as we call it in England, with lath and plaster, but all this plastering was really China-ware, that is to say, it was plastered with the earth that makes China-ware.

The outside, which the sun shone hot upon, was glazed, and looked very well, perfectly white, and painted with blue figures, as the large China-ware in England is painted, and hard, as if it had been burned. As to the inside, all the walls, instead of wainscot, were lined up with hardened and painted tiles, like the little square tiles we call galley-tiles in England, all made of the finest China, and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours mixed with gold, many tiles making but one figure, but joined so artificially, the mortar being made of the same earth, that it was very hard to see where the tiles met. The floors of the rooms were of the same composition, and as hard as the earthen floors we have in use in several parts of England, especially Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, &c., as hard as a stone, and smooth, but not burned and painted, except some smaller rooms, like closets, which were all as it were paved with the same tile. The ceiling, and in a word, all the plastering work in the whole house were of the same earth; and after all, the roof was covered with tiles of the same, but of a deep shining black.

This was a China warehouse indeed, truly and literally to be called so; and had I not been upon the journey, I could have stayed some days to see and examine the particulars of it. They told me there were fountains and fish-ponds in the garden, all paved at the bottom and sides with the same, and fine statues set up in rows on the walks, entirely formed of the porcelain earth, and burned whole.

As this is one of the singularities of China, so they may be allowed to excel in it; but I am very sure they excel in their accounts of it; for they told me such incredible things of their performance in crockery-ware, for such it is, that I care not to relate, as knowing it could not be true. They told me in particular, of one workman that made a ship with all its tackle, and masts and sails, in earthen-ware, big enough to carry fifty men. If they had told me he launched it, and made a voyage to Japan in it, I might have said something to it, indeed; but as it was, I knew the whole of the story; which was in short, asking pardon for the word, that the fellow lied. So I smiled, and said nothing to it.

This odd sight kept me two hours behind the caravan, for which the leader of it for the day, fined me about the value of three shillings, and told me, if it had been three days' journey without the wall, as it was three days' within, he must have fined me four times as much, and made me ask pardon the next council day. So I promised to be more orderly; for indeed I found afterwards the orders made for keeping all together, were absolutely necessary for our common safety.

In two days more we passed the great China wall, made for a fortification against the Tartars; and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains in a needless track, where the rocks are impassable, and the precipices such as no enemy could possibly enter, or indeed climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us, its length is near a thousand English miles, but that the country is five hundred in a straight measured line, which the wall bounds, without measuring the windings and turnings it takes. It is about four fathoms high, and as many thick in some places.

I stood still an hour, or thereabout, without trespassing our orders, for so long the caravan was in passing the gate; I say, I stood still an hour, to look at it on every side, near and far off; I mean, that was within my view. And the guide of our caravan, who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was mighty eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a most excellent thing to keep off the Tartars; which he happened not to understand as I meant it, and so took it for a compliment: but the old pilot laughed. 'O Seignior Inglese,' says he, 'you speak in colours.' 'In colours,' said I, 'what do you mean by that?' 'Why, you speak what looks white this way, and black that way; gay one way, and dull another way. You tell him it is a good wall to keep out Tartars? You tell me by that, it is good for nothing but to keep out

Tartars, or it will keep out none but Tartars. I understand you, Seignior Inglese, I understand you,' says he, 'but Seignior Chinese understood you his own way.'

'Well,' says I, 'seignior, do you think it would stand out an army of our country people, with a good train of artillery; or our engineers, with two companies of miners; would not they batter it down in ten days, that an army might enter in battalia, or blow it up in the air, foundation and all, that there should be no sign of it left?' 'Ah, ah,' says he, 'I know that.' The Chinese wanted mightily to know what I said, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days after, for he was then almost out of their country, and he was to leave us in a little time afterward; but when he knew what I said, he was dumb all the rest of the way, and we heard no more of his fine story of the Chinese power and greatness, while he stayed.

After we had passed this mighty nothing called a wall, something like the Picts' wall, and so famous in Northumberland, and built by the Romans, we began to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being subject to the inroads and depredations of the Tartars, who rob in great armies, and therefore are not to be resisted by the naked inhabitants of an open country.

And here I began to find the necessity of keeping together in a caravan as we travelled; for we saw several troops of Tartars roving about; but when I came to see them distinctly, I wondered more that the Chinese empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere horde or crowd of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline, or manner of fight.

Their horses are poor lean starved creatures, taught nothing, and fit for nothing; and this we said, the first day we saw them, which was after we entered the wilder part of the country. Our leader for the day, gave leave for about sixteen of us to go a hunting, as they call it; and what was this but hunting of sheep: however, it may be called hunting too; for the creatures are the wildest and swiftest of foot that ever I saw of their kind; only they will not run a great way, and you are sure of sport when you begin the chase; for they appear generally thirty or forty in a flock, and like true sheep, always keep together when they fly.

In pursuit of this odd sort of game, it was our hap to meet with about forty Tartars; whether they were hunting mutton as we were, or whether they looked for another kind of prey, I know not; but as soon as they saw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a barbarous sound, that I had never heard before, and by the way, never care to hear again: we all supposed this was to call their friends about them, and so it was; for in less than half a quarter of an hour, a troop of forty or fifty more appeared, at about a mile distance; but our work was over first, as it happened.

One of the Scots merchants of Moscow happened to be amongst us, and as soon as he heard the horn, he told us in short, that we had nothing to do, but to charge them immediately without loss of time; and drawing us up in a line, he asked if we were resolved? We told him, we were ready to follow him; so he rode directly up to them. They stood gazing at us like a mere crowd, drawn up in no order, nor showing the face of any order at all; but as soon as they saw us advance, they let fly their arrows, which however missed us very happily. It seems they mistook not their aim, but their distance; for their arrows all fell a little short of us, but with so true an aim, that had we been about twenty yards nearer, we must have had several men wounded, if not killed.

Immediately we halted; and though it was at a great distance, we fired, and sent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our shot full gallop, to fall in among them sword in hand, for so our bold Scot that led us directed. He was indeed but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occasion, and yet, with such a cool courage too, that I never saw any man in action fitter for command. As soon as we came up to them, we fired our pistols in their faces, and then drew; but they fled in the greatest confusion imaginable. The only stand any of them made, was on our right, where three of them stood, and by signs called the rest to come back to them, having a kind of scimitar in their hands, and their bows hanging at their backs. Our brave commander, without asking anybody to follow him, gallops up close to them, and with his fusee knocks one of them off his horse, killed the second with his pistol, and the third ran away; and thus ended our fight: but we had this misfortune attending it, viz. that all our mutton that we had in chase got away. We had not a man killed or hurt; but as for the Tartars, there was about five of them killed: who were wounded, we knew not; but this we knew, that the other party was so frighted with the noise of our guns, that they made off, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the Chinese dominion, and therefore the Tartars were not so bold as afterwards; but in about five days we entered a vast great wild desert, which held us three days and nights' march; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leathern bottles, and to encamp all night, just as I have heard they do in the desert of Arabia.

I asked whose dominion this was in, and they told me, this was a kind of border, that might be called *no man's land;* being a part of the Great Karakathie, or Grand Tartary, but that however it was all reckoned to China; but that there was no care taken here, to preserve it from the inroads of thieves, and therefore it was reckoned the worst desert in the whole world, though we were to go over some much larger.

In passing this wilderness, which I confess was at the first very frightful to me, we saw two or three times little parties of the Tartars, but they seemed to be upon their own affairs, and to have no design upon us; and so like the man who met the devil, if they had nothing to say to us, we had nothing to say to them; we let them go.

Once, however, a party of them came so near, as to stand and gaze at us; whether it was to consider what they should do, whether attack us or not attack us, that we knew not; but when we were passed at some distance by them, we made a rear-guard of forty men, and stood ready for them, letting the caravan pass half a mile, or thereabouts, before us; but after a while they marched off, only we found they saluted us with five arrows at their parting, one of which wounded a horse so, that it disabled him; and we left him the next day, poor creature, in great need of a good farrier: we suppose they might shoot more arrows, which might fall short of us; but we saw no more arrows or Tartars that time.

We travelled near a month after this, the ways being not so good as at first, though still in the dominions of the emperor of China, but lay for the most part in villages; some of which were

fortified, because of the incursions of the Tartars. When we came to one of these towns, (it was about two days and a half journey before we were to come to the city Naum) I wanted to buy a camel, of which there are plenty to be sold all the way upon that road, and of horses also, such as they are, because so many caravans coming that way, they are often wanted. The person that I spoke to, to get me a camel, would have gone and fetched it for me, but I, like a fool, must be officious, and go myself along with him; the place was about two miles out of the village, where, it seems, they kept the camels and horses feeding under a guard.

I walked it on foot with my old pilot, being very desirous, forsooth, of a little variety. When we came to the place, it was a low marshy ground, walled round with a stone wall, piled up dry, without mortar or earth among it, like a park, with a little guard of Chinese soldiers at the door. Having bought a camel, and agreed for the price, I came away, and the Chineseman, that went with me, led the camel; when on a sudden came up five Tartars on horseback; two of them seized the fellow, and took the camel from him, while the other three stepped up to me, and my old pilot, seeing us, as it were, unarmed; for I had no weapon about me but my sword, which could but ill defend me against three horsemen. The first that came up, stopped short upon my drawing my sword, (for they are arrant cowards); but a second coming upon my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterward, and wondered when I came to myself, what was the matter with me, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground; but my never-failing old pilot, the Portuguese (so Providence unlooked for directs deliverances from dangers, which to us are unforeseen) had a pistol in his pocket, which I knew nothing of, nor the Tartars; neither if they had, I suppose they would not have attacked us: but cowards are always boldest when there is no danger.

The old man seeing me down, with a bold heart stepped up to the fellow that had struck me, and laid hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force a little towards him with the other, shot him into the head, and laid him dead upon the spot. He then immediately stepped up to him who had stopped us, as I said, and before he could come forward again, (for it was all done as it were in a moment) made a blow at him with a scimitar which he always wore; but missing the man, cut his horse into the side of his head, cut one of his ears off by the root, and a great slice down the side of his face. The poor beast enraged with the wound, was no more to be governed by his rider, though the fellow sat well enough too; but away he flew, and carried him quite out of the pilot's reach, and at some distance rising upon his hind legs, threw down the Tartar, and fell upon him.

In this interval, the poor Chinese came in, who had lost the camel, but he had no weapon; however, seeing the Tartar down, and his horse fallen upon him, away he runs to him, and seizing upon an ugly ill-favoured weapon he had by his side, something like a pole-axe, but not a pole-axe neither, he wrenched it from him, and made shift to knock his Tartarian brains out with it. But my old man had the third Tartar to deal with still, and seeing he did not fly, as he expected, nor come on to fight him, as he apprehended, but stand stock still, the old man stood still too, and falls to work with his tackle to charge his pistol again: but as soon as the Tartar saw the pistol, whether he supposed it to be the same, or another, I know not, but away he scoured, and left my pilot, my champion I called him afterward, a complete victory.

By this time I was a little awake, for I thought when first I began to wake, that I had been in a sweet sleep; but as I said above, I wondered where I was, how I came upon the ground, and what was the matter. In a word, a few moments after, as sense returned, I felt pain, though I did not know where; I clapped my hand to my head and took it away bloody; then I felt my head ache, and then in another moment, memory returned, and everything was present to me again.

I jumped up upon my feet instantly, and got hold of my sword, but no enemies in view. I found a Tartar lie dead, and his horse standing very quietly by him; and looking farther, I saw my champion and deliverer, who had been to see what the Chinese had done, coming back with his hanger in his hand. The old man seeing me on my feet, came running to me, and embraced me with a great deal of joy, being afraid before that I had been killed, and seeing me bloody, would see how I was hurt; but it was not much, only what we call a broken head; neither did I afterwards find any great inconvenience from the blow, other than the place which was hurt, and was well again in two or three days.

We made no great gain however by this victory, for we lost a camel, and gained a horse; but that which was remarkable, when we came back to the village, the man demanded to be paid for the camel. I disputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the Chinese judge of the place; that is to say, in English, we went before a Justice of the Peace: give him his due, he acted with a great deal of prudence and impartiality; and having heard both sides, he gravely asked the Chinese man, that went with me to buy the camel, whose servant he was? 'I am no servant,' says he, 'but went with the stranger.' 'At whose request?' says the justice. 'At the stranger's request,' says he. 'Why then,' says the justice, 'you were the stranger's servant for the time, and the camel being delivered to his servant, it was delivered to him, and he must pay for it.'

I confess the thing was clear, that I had not a word to say; but admiring to see such just reasoning upon the consequence, and so accurate stating the case, I paid willingly for the camel, and sent for another; but you may observe, I sent for it, I did not go and fetch it myself any more; I had enough of that.

The city of Naum is a frontier of the Chinese empire; they call it fortified, and so it is, as fortifications go there; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the Tartars in Karathie, which I believe, are some millions, could not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows: but to call it strong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make those who understand it, laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have said, above two days' journey of this city, when messengers were sent express to every part of the road, to tell all travellers and caravans, to halt till they had a guard sent for them; for that an unusual body of Tartars, making ten thousand in all, had appeared in the way, about thirty miles beyond the city.

This was very bad news to travellers; however, it was carefully done of the governor, and we were very glad to hear we should have a guard. Accordingly, two days after, we had two hundred soldiers sent us from a garrison of the Chinese, on our left, and three hundred more from the city of Naum, and with these we advanced boldly. The three hundred soldiers from

Naum marched in our front, the two hundred in our rear, and our men on each side of our camels with our baggage, and the whole caravan in the centre. In this order, and well prepared for battle, we thought ourselves a match for the whole ten thousand Mogul Tartars, if they had appeared; but the next day, when they did appear, it was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning, when marching from a little well-situated town called Changu, we had a river to pass, where we were obliged to ferry; and had the Tartars had any intelligence, then had been the time to have attacked us, when the caravan being over, the rear-guard was behind; but they did not appear.

About three hours after, when we were entered upon a desert of about fifteen or sixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of dust they raised, we saw an enemy was at hand, and they were at hand indeed, for they came on upon the spur.

The Chinese, our guard on the front, who had talked so big the day before, began to stagger, and the soldiers frequently looked behind them, which is a certain sign in a soldier, that he is just ready to run away. My old pilot was of my mind, and being near me, he called out, 'Seignior Inglese,' says he, 'those fellows must be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; for if the Tartars come on, they will never stand it.' 'I am of your mind,' said I, 'but what course must be done?' 'Done!' says he, 'let fifty of our men advance, and flank them on each wing, and encourage them, and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company; but without, they will every man turn his back.' Immediately I rode up to our leader, and told him, who was exactly of our mind; and accordingly, fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the rest made a line of reserve; and so we marched, leaving the last two hundred men to make a body by themselves, and to guard the camels; only that if need were, they should send a hundred men to assist the last fifty.

In a word, the Tartars came on, and an innumerable company they were; how many we could not tell, but ten thousand we thought was the least. A party of them came on first, and viewed our posture, traversing the ground in the front of our line; and as we found them within gun-shot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance swiftly, and gave them a salvo on each wing with their shot, which was done; but they went off, and I suppose back to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with: and indeed that salute clogged their stomach, for they immediately halted, stood awhile to consider of it, and wheeling off to the left, they gave over the design, and said no more to us for that time; which was very agreeable to our circumstances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with such a number.

Two days after this, we came to the city Naun, or Naum; we thanked the governor for his care for us, and collected to the value of a hundred crowns, or thereabouts, which we gave to the soldiers sent to guard us; and here we rested one day. This is a garrison indeed, and there were nine hundred soldiers kept here; but the reason of it was, that formerly the Muscovite frontiers lay nearer to them than they do now, the Muscovites having abandoned that part of the country (which lies from this city west, for about two hundred miles) as desolate and unfit for use; and more especially, being so very remote, and so difficult to send troops thither for its defence; for we had yet above two thousand miles to Muscovy, properly so called.

After this, we passed several great rivers, and two dreadful deserts, one of which we were 16 days passing over, and which, as I said, was to be called *no man's land;* and, on the 13th of April, we came to the frontiers of the Muscovite dominions: I think the first city or town, or fortress, whatever it might be called that belonged to the Czar of Muscovy, was called Argun, being on the west side of the river Argun.

I could not but discover an infinite satisfaction, that I was soon arrived in, as I called it, a Christian country, or at least in a country governed by Christians; for though the Muscovites do, in my opinion, but just deserve the name of Christians, yet such they pretend to be, and are very devout in their way. It would certainly occur to any man who travels the world as I have done, and who had any power of reflection; I say, it would occur to him, to reflect what a blessing it is to be brought into the world, where the name of God, and of a Redeemer is known, worshipped and adored; and not where the people, given up by Heaven to strong delusions, worship the devil, and prostrate themselves to stocks and stones, worship monsters, elements, horrible shaped animals, and statues, or images of monsters; not a town or city we passed through, but had their pagods, their idols, and their temples, and ignorant people worshipping, even the works of their own hands.

Now we came where at least a face of the Christian worship appeared, where the knee was bowed to Jesus; and whether ignorantly or not, yet the Christian religion was owned, and the name of the true God was called upon, and adored; and it made the very recesses of my soul rejoice to see it. I saluted the brave Scots merchant I mentioned above, with my first acknowledgment of this; and taking him by the hand, I said to him, 'Blessed be God, we are once again come amongst Christians.' He smiled, and answered, 'Do not rejoice too soon, countryman; these Muscovites are but an odd sort of Christians; and but for the name of it, you may see very little of the substance, for some months farther of our journey.'

'Well,' says I, 'but still it is better than paganism, and worshipping of devils.' 'Why, I'll tell you,' says he, 'except the Russian soldiers in garrisons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the rest of this country, for above a thousand miles farther, is inhabited by the worst, and most ignorant of pagans;' and so indeed we found it.

We were now launched into the greatest piece of solid earth, if I understand anything of the surface of the globe, that is to be found in any part of the earth; we had at least twelve thousand miles to the sea, eastward; we had at least two thousand to the bottom of the Baltic Sea, westward; and above three thousand miles, if we left that sea, and went on west to the British and French channels: we had full five thousand miles to the Indian or Persian Sea, south; and about eight hundred miles to the Frozen Sea, north: nay, if some people may be believed, there might be no sea, north-east, till we come round the pole, and consequently into the north-west, and so had a continent of land into America, the Lord knows where; though I could give some reasons, why I believe that to be a mistake.

As we entered into the Muscovite dominions, a good while before we came to any considerable towns, we had nothing to observe there but this; first, that all the rivers that run to the east, as I understood by the charts, which some in our caravan had with them; it was plain, all those

rivers ran into the great river Yamour, or Gamour; this river, by the natural course of it, must run into the East Sea, or Chinese Ocean. The story they tell us, that the mouth of this river is choked up with bulrushes, of a monstrous growth, viz. three feet about, and twenty or thirty feet high, I must be allowed to say, I believe nothing of; but as its navigation is of no use, because there is no trade that way, the Tartars to whom it alone belongs, dealing in nothing but cattle; so nobody that ever I heard of, has been curious enough, either to go down to the mouth of it in boats, or come up from the mouth of it in ships; but this is certain, that this river running due east, in the latitude of about 50 degrees, carries a vast concourse of rivers along with it, and finds an ocean to empty itself in that latitude. So we are sure of sea there.

Some leagues to the north of this river, there are several considerable rivers, whose streams run as due north as the Yamour runs east; and these are all found to join their waters with the great river Tartarus, named so from the northermost nations of the Mogul Tartars, who the Chinese say, were the first Tartars in the world; and who, as our geographers allege, are the Gog and Magog mentioned in sacred story.

These rivers running all northward, as well as all the other rivers I am yet to speak of, make it evident, that the Northern Ocean bounds the land also on that side; so that it does not seem rational in the least to think, that the land can extend itself to join with America on that side, or that there is not a communication between the Northern and the Eastern Ocean; but of this I shall say no more; it was my observation at that time, and therefore I take notice of it in this place. We now advanced from the river Arguna by easy and moderate journeys, and were very visibly obliged to the care the Czar of Muscovy has taken to have cities and towns built in as many places as are possible to place them, where his soldiers keep garrison something like the stationary soldiers placed by the Romans in the remotest countries of their empire, some of which I had read particularly were placed in Britain for the security of commerce, and for the lodging travellers; and thus it was here; for wherever we came, though at these towns and stations the garrisons and governors were Russians, and professed Christians, yet the inhabitants of the country were mere pagans sacrificing to idols, and worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, or all the host of heaven; and not only so, but were of all the heathens and pagans that ever I met with, the most barbarous, except only that they did not eat man's flesh, as our savages of America did.

Some instances of this we met with in the country between Arguna, where we enter the Muscovite dominions, and a city of Tartars and Russians together, called Nertzinskoi, in which is a continued desert or forest, which cost us 20 days to travel over it. In a village near the last of those places I had the curiosity to go and see their way of living, which is most brutish and insufferable; they had I suppose a great sacrifice that day, for there stood out, upon an old stump of a tree, an idol made of wood, frightful as the devil, at least as anything we can think of to represent the devil, can be made; it had a head certainly not so much as resembling any creature that the world ever saw; ears as big as goats' horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown piece; a nose like a crooked ram's-horn, and a mouth extended four-cornered like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under-bill; it was dressed up in the filthiest manner that you could suppose; its upper garment was of sheep-skins, with the wool outward, a great Tartar bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it; it was about eight feet high, yet had no feet or legs, or any other proportion of parts.

This scarecrow was set up at the outer side of the village, and when I came near to it, there were 16 or 17 creatures, whether men or women, I could not tell, for they made no distinction by their habits, either of body or head. These lay all flat on the ground, round this formidable block of shapeless wood: I saw no motion among them any more than if they had been all logs of wood like the idol, and at first, really thought they had been so; but when I came a little nearer, they started up upon their feet, and raised a howling cry, as if it had been so many deep-mouthed hounds, and walked away as if they were displeased at our disturbing them. A little way off from the idol, and at the door of that tent or hut, made all of sheep-skins and cow-skins dried, stood three butchers; I thought they were such; when I came nearer to them, I found they had long knives in their hands, and in the middle of the tent appeared three sheep killed, and one young bullock or steer. These, it seems, were sacrifices to that senseless log of an idol, and these three men, priests belonging to it; and the 17 prostrated wretches, were the people who brought the offering, and were making their prayers to that stock.

I confess I was more moved at their stupidity and brutish worship of a hobgoblin, than ever I was at anything in my life; to see God's most glorious and best creature, to whom He had granted so many advantages, even by creation, above the rest of the works of his hands, vested with a reasonable soul, and that soul adorned with faculties and capacities adapted both to honour his Maker, and be honoured by Him, sunk and degenerated to a degree so more than stupid, as to prostrate itself to a frightful nothing, a mere imaginary object dressed up by themselves, and made terrible to themselves by their own contrivance; adorned only with clouts and rags; and that this should be the effect of mere ignorance, wrought up into hellish devotion by the devil himself; who envying (to his Maker) the homage and adoration of his creatures, had deluded them into such gross, surfeiting, sordid, and brutish things as one would think should shock nature itself.

But what signified all the astonishment and reflection of thoughts; thus it was, and I saw it before my eyes, and there was no room to wonder at it, or think it impossible; all my admiration turned to rage, and I rode up to the image, or monster, call it what you will, and with my sword cut the bonnet that was on its head in two in the middle; so that it hung down by one of the horns; and one of our men that was with me took hold of the sheep-skin that covered it, and pulled at it, when behold a most hideous outcry and howling ran through the village, and two or three hundred people came about my ears, so that I was glad to scour for it, for we saw some had bows and arrows; but I resolved from that moment to visit them again.

Our caravan rested three nights at the town, which was about four miles off, in order to provide some horses which they wanted, several of the horses having been lamed and jaded with the badness of the way, and long march over the last desert; so we had some leisure here to put my design in execution: I communicated my project to the Scots merchant of Moscow, of whose

courage I had sufficient testimony, as above. I told him what I had seen, and with what indignation I had since thought that human nature could be so degenerate; I told him, I was resolved if I could get but four or five men well armed to go with me, to go and destroy that vile, abominable idol, and let them see that it had no power to help itself, and consequently could not be an object of worship, or to be prayed to, much less help them that offered sacrifices to it.

He laughed at me; says he, 'Your zeal may be good, but what do you propose to yourself by it?' 'Propose,' said I, 'to vindicate the honour of God, which is insulted by this devil-worship.' 'But how will it vindicate the honour of God,' said he, 'while the people will not be able to know what you mean by it, unless you could speak to them and tell them so? And then they will fight you, and beat you too, I'll assure you, for they are desperate fellows, and that especially in defence of their idolatry.' 'Can we not,' said I, 'do it in the night, and then leave them the reasons and causes in writing in their own language?' 'Writing!' said he, 'why there is not a man in five nations of them that know anything of a letter, or how to read a word in any language, or in their own.' 'Wretched ignorant!' said I to him; 'however I have a great mind to do it; perhaps nature may draw inferences from it to them, to let them see how brutish they are, to worship such horrid things.' 'Look you, sir,' said he, 'if your zeal prompts you to it so warmly, you must do it; but in the next place I would have you consider, these wild nations of people are subjected by force to the Czar of Muscovy's dominions, and if you do this, it is ten to one but they will come by thousands to the governor of Nertzinskoi, and complain and demand satisfaction; and if he cannot give them satisfaction, it is ten to one but they revolt; and will occasion a new war with all the Tartars in the country.'

This, I confess, put new thoughts into my head for a while; but I harped upon the same string still, and all that day I was uneasy to put my project in execution. Towards the evening the Scots merchant met me by accident in our walk about the town, and desired to speak with me; 'I believe,' said he, 'I have put you off of your good design: I have been a little concerned about it since, for I abhor the idol and the idolatry as much as you can do.' 'Truly,' says I, 'you have put it off a little as to the execution of it, but you have not put it out of my thoughts, and I believe I shall do it still before I quit this place, though I were to be delivered up to them for satisfaction.' 'No, no,' says he, 'God forbid they should deliver you up to such a crew of monsters; they shall not do that neither, that would be murdering you indeed.' 'Why,' says I, 'how would they use me?' 'Use you!' says he, 'I'll tell you how they served a poor Russian, who affronted them in their worship just as you did, and who they took prisoner; after they had lamed him with an arrow, that he could not run away, they took him and stripped him stark-naked, and set him upon the top of the idol monster, and stood all round him, and shot as many arrows into him as would stick over his whole body, and then they burnt him and all the arrows sticking in him as a sacrifice to the idol.' 'And was this the same idol?' 'Yes,' said he, 'the very same.' 'Well,' says I, 'I'll tell you a story;' so I related the story of our men at Madagascar, and how they burnt and sacked the village there, and killed man, woman, and child, for their murdering one of our men, just as it is related before; and when I had done, I added, that I thought we ought to do so to this village.

He listened very attentively to the story; but when I talked of doing so to that village, says he, 'You mistake very much, it was not this village, it was almost a hundred miles from this place, but it was the same idol, for they carry him about in procession all over the country.' 'Well, then,' says I, 'then that idol ought to be punished for it, and it shall,' says I, 'if I live this night out.'

In a word, finding me resolute, he liked the design, and told me I should not go alone, but he would go with me, and bring a stout fellow, one of his countrymen, to go also with us; 'and one,' says he, 'as famous for his zeal as you can desire any one to be, against such devilish things as these.' In a word, he brought me his comrade, a Scotsman, whom he called Captain Richardson, and I gave him a full account of what I had seen; and in a word, of what I intended; and he told me readily, he would go with me, if it cost him his life; so we agreed to go only we three. I had indeed proposed it to my partner, but he declined it; he said, he was ready to assist me to the utmost, and upon all occasions for my defence; but this was an adventure quite out of his way; so, I say, we resolved upon our work only us three and my man-servant, and to put it in execution that night about midnight, with all the secrecy imaginable.

However, upon second thoughts, we were willing to delay it till the next night, because the caravan being to set forward in the morning, we supposed the governor could not pretend to give them any satisfaction upon us when we were out of his power. The Scots merchant, as steady in his resolution for the enterprise, as bold in executing, brought me a Tartar's robe or gown of the sheep-skins, and a bonnet, with a bow and arrows, and had provided the same for himself and his countryman, that the people, if they saw us, should not be able to determine who we were.

All the first night we spent in mixing up some combustible matter with aqua vitæ, gunpowder, and such other materials as we could get; and having a good quantity of tar in a little pot, about an hour after night we set out upon our expedition.

We came to the place about eleven o'clock at night, and found that the people had not the least jealousy of danger attending their idol. The night was cloudy, yet the moon gave us light enough to see that the idol stood just in the same posture and place that it did before. The people seemed to be all at their rest, only, that in the great hut, or tent, as we called it, where we saw the three priests, whom we mistook for butchers, we saw a light, and going up close to the door, we heard people talking, as if there were five or six of them. We concluded therefore, that if we set the wildfire to the idol, these men would come out immediately, and run up to the place to rescue it from the destruction that we intended for it, and what to do with them we knew not. Once we thought of carrying it away, and setting fire to it at a distance; but when we came to handle it, we found it too bulky for our carriage, so we were at a loss again. The second Scotsman was for setting fire to the tent or hut, and knocking the creatures that were there on the head when they came out; but I could not join with that; I was against killing them, if it was possible to be avoided. 'Well then,' said the Scots merchant, 'I will tell you what we will do, we will try to

take them prisoners, tie their hands behind them, and make them stand and see their idol destroyed.'

As it happened, we had twine or packthread enough about us, which was used to tie our fireworks together with; so we resolved to attack the people first, and with as little noise as we could. The first thing we did, we knocked at the door, which issued just as we desired it; for one of their idol priests came to the door: we immediately seized upon him, stopped his mouth, and tied his hands behind him, and led him to the idol, where we gagged him, that he might not make a noise; tied his feet also together, and left him on the ground.

Two of us then waited at the door, expecting that another would come out to see what the matter was; but we waited so long till the third man came back to us; and then nobody coming out, we knocked again gently, and immediately out came two more, and we served them just in the same manner, but were obliged to go all with them, and lay them down by the idol some distance from one another: when going back, we found two more were come out to the door, and a third stood behind them within the door: we seized the two, and immediately tied them, when the third stepping back, and crying out, my Scots merchant went in after him, and taking out a composition we had made, that would only smoke and stink, he set fire to it, and threw it in among them. By that time the other Scotsman and my man taking charge of the two men who were already bound, and tied together also by the arm, led them away to the idol, and left them there, to see if their idol would relieve them, making haste back to us.

When the fuze we had thrown in had filled the hut with so much smoke, that they were almost suffocated, we then threw in a small leather bag of another kind, which flamed liked a candle, and following it in, we found there was but four people, who, it seems, were two men and two women; and, as we supposed, had been about some of their diabolical sacrifices. They appeared, in short, frighted to death, at least so as to sit trembling and stupid, and not able to speak neither, for the smoke.

In a word, we took them, bound them as we had the other, and all without any noise. I should have said, we brought them out of the house, or hut first; for indeed we were not able to bear the smoke any more than they were. When we had done this, we carried them all together to the idol. When we came there, we fell to work with him; and first we daubed him all over, and his robes also, with tar and such other stuff as we had, which was tallow mixed with brimstone; then we stopped his eyes, ears, and mouth, full of gunpowder, then we wrapped up a great piece of wildfire in his bonnet, and then sticking all the combustibles we had brought with us upon him, we looked about to see if we could find anything else to help to burn him, when my man remembered, that by the tent or hut, where the men were, there lay a heap of dry forage, whether straw or rushes I do not remember; away he and one of the Scotsmen ran, and fetched their arms full of that. When we had done this, we took all our prisoners, and brought them, having untied their feet, and ungagged their mouths, and made them stand up, and set them just before their monstrous idol, and there set fire to the whole.

We stayed by it a quarter of an hour, or thereabouts, till the powder in the eyes, and mouth, and ears of the idol blew up, and as we could perceive had split and deformed the shape; and in a word, till we saw it burn into a mere block or log of wood; and then setting dry forage to it, we found it would be soon quite consumed, when we began to think of going away: but the Scotsman said no, we must not go, for these poor deluded wretches will all throw themselves into the fire, and burn themselves with the idol. So we resolved to stay till the forage was burnt down too, and then we came away and left them.

In the morning we appeared among our fellow-travellers exceeding busy, in getting ready for our journey; nor could any man suggest that we had been anywhere but in our beds, as travellers might be supposed to be, to fit themselves for the fatigue of that day's journey.

But it did not end so. The next day came a great number of the country people not only of this village, but of a hundred more, for aught I know, to the town gates, and in a most outrageous manner, demanded satisfaction of the Russian governor, for the insulting their priests, and burning their Cham-Chi-Thaungu, such a hard name they gave the monstrous creature they worshipped. The people of Nertzinskoi were at first in a great consternation, for they said, the Tartars were no less than thirty thousand, and that in few days more, would be one hundred thousand strong.

The Russian governor sent out messengers to appease them, and gave them all the good words imaginable. He assured them, he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a soul of his garrison been abroad; that it could not be from anybody there; and if they would let him know who it was, they should be exemplarily punished. They returned haughtily, that all the country reverenced the great Cham-Chi-Thaungu, who dwelt in the sun, and no mortal would have dared to offer violence to his image, but some Christian miscreant, so they called them it seems; and they therefore denounced war against him, and all the Russians, who, they said, were miscreants and Christians.

The governor still patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cause of war alleged to be given by him, the Czar having strictly charged them to treat the conquered country with gentleness and civility, gave them still all the good words he could: at last he told them, there was a caravan gone towards Russia that morning, and perhaps it was some of them, who had done them this injury; and that if they would be satisfied with that, he would send after them, to inquire into it. This seemed to appease them a little; and accordingly the governor sent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was, intimating withal, that if any in our caravan had done it, they should make their escape; but that whether they had done it or no, we should make all the haste forward that was possible; and that in the meantime, he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor; however, when it came to the caravan, there was nobody knew anything of the matter. And as for us, that were guilty, we were the least of all suspected; none so much as asked us the question. However the captain of the caravan for the time, took the hint that the governor gave us, and we marched or travelled two days and two nights without any considerable stop; and then we lay at a village called Plothus; nor did we make any long stop here, but hastened on towards Jarawena, another of the Czar of Muscovy's colonies, and where we expected we should be safe; but it is to be observed, that here we began

for two or three days' march, to enter upon the vast nameless desert, of which I shall say more in its place; and which, if we had now been upon it, it is more than probable we had been all destroyed. It was the second day's march from Plothus, that by the clouds of dust behind us, at a great distance, some of our people began to be sensible we were pursued. We had entered the desert, and had passed by a great lake called Schaks-Oser, when we perceived a very great body of horse appear on the other side of the lake, to the north, we travelling west. We observed they went away west as we did, but had supposed we would have taken that side of the lake, whereas, we very happily took the south side; and in two days more, we saw them not, for they believing we were still before them, pushed on till they came to the river Udda. This is a very great river when it passes farther north; but when we came to it, we found it narrow and fordable.

The third day they had either found their mistake, or had intelligence of us, and came pouring in upon us, towards the dusk of the evening. We had, to our great satisfaction, just pitched upon a place for our camp, which was very convenient for the night; for as we were upon a desert, though but at the beginning of it, that was above five hundred miles over, we had no towns to lodge at, and indeed expected none but the city Jarawena, which we had yet two days' march to: the desert, however, had some few woods in it on this side, and little rivers, which ran all into the great river Udda. It was in a narrow strait between little, but very thick woods, that we pitched our little camp for that night, expecting to be attacked in the night.

Nobody knew but ourselves, what we were pursued for; but as it was usual for the Mogul Tartars to go about in troops in that desert, so the caravans always fortify themselves every night against them, as against armies of robbers; and it was therefore no new thing to be pursued.

But we had this night, of all the nights of our travels, a most advantageous camp; for we lay between two woods, with a little rivulet running just before our front; so that we could not be surrounded, or attacked any way, but in our front or rear: we took care also to make our front as strong as we could, by placing our packs, with our camels and horses, all in a line on the inside of the river, and felling some trees in our rear.

In this posture we encamped for the night, but the enemy was upon us before we had finished our situation. They did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but sent three messengers to us, to demand the men to be delivered to them, that had abused their priests, and burned their god Cham-Chi-Thaungu with fire, that they might burn them with fire; and upon this, they said they would go away, and do us no farther harm; otherwise, they would burn us all with fire. Our men looked very blank at this message, and began to stare at one another, to see who looked with most guilt in their faces: but nobody was the word, nobody did it. The leader of the caravan sent word, he was well assured, that it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants, travelling on our business; that we had done no harm to them, or to any one else; and that therefore, they must look farther for their enemies who had injured them, for we were not the people; so desired them not to disturb us; for, if they did, we should defend ourselves.

They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer, but a great crowd of them came down in the morning by break of day to our camp; but seeing us in such an unaccountable situation, they durst come no farther than the brook in our front, where they stood and showed us such a number, that indeed terrified us very much; for those that spoke least of them, spoke of ten thousand. Here they stood and looked at us awhile, and then setting up a great howl, they let fly a cloud of arrows among us; but we were well enough fortified for that; for we sheltered under our baggage; and I do not remember, that one man of us was hurt.

Some time after this we saw them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear, when a cunning fellow, a Cossack, as they call them, of Jarawena, in the pay of the Muscovites, calling to the leader of the caravan, said to him, 'I'll go send all these people away to Siheilka;' this was a city, four or five days' journey at least to the right, and rather behind us: so he takes his bow and arrows, and getting on horseback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were back to Nertzinskoi. After this, he takes a great circuit about, and comes to the army of the Tartars, as if he had been sent express to tell them a long story, that the people who had burned the Cham-Chi-Thaungu were gone to Siheilka, with a caravan of miscreants, as he called them, that is to say, Christians; and that they had resolved to burn the god Schal-Isar, belonging to the Tongueses.

As this fellow was himself a mere Tartar, and perfectly spoke their language, he counterfeited so well, that they all took it from him, and away they drove in a most violent hurry to Siheilka, which it seems was five days' journey to the south, and in less than three hours, they were entirely out of our sight, and we never heard any more of them; and we never knew whether they went to that other place called Siheilka, or no.

So we passed safely on to the city of Jarawena, where there was a garrison of Muscovites, and there we rested five days, the caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the last day's hard march, and with want of rest in the night.

From this city we had a frightful desert, which held us three and twenty days' march. We furnished ourselves with some tents here, for the better accommodating ourselves in the night; and the leader of the caravan procured sixteen carriages or waggons of the country, for carrying our water and provisions, and these carriages were our defence every night round our little camp; so that had the Tartars appeared, unless they had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be supposed to want rest again after this long journey; for in this desert we saw abundance of the sable-hunters, as they called them. These are all Tartars of the Mogul Tartary, of which this country is a part, and they frequently attack small caravans, but we saw no numbers of them together. I was curious to see the sable skins they catched, but could never speak with any of them, for they durst not come near us, neither durst we straggle from our company, to go near them.

After we had passed this desert we came into a country pretty well inhabited; that is to say, we found towns and castles, settled by the Czar of Muscovy, with garrisons of stationary soldiers to protect the caravans, and defend the country against the Tartars, who would otherwise make it very dangerous travelling; and his czarish

majesty has given such strict orders for the well guarding the caravans and merchants, that if there are any Tartars heard of in the country, detachments of the garrisons are always sent to see the travellers safe from station to station.

And thus the governor of Adinskoy, whom I had opportunity to make a visit to, by means of the Scots merchant, who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of 50 men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next station.

I thought long before this, that as we came nearer to Europe, we should find the country better peopled, and the people more civilised, but I found myself mistaken in both, for we had yet the nation of the Tongueses to pass through; where we saw the same tokens of paganism and barbarity, or worse, than before, only as they were conquered by the Muscovites, and entirely reduced, they were not so dangerous; but for rudeness of manners, idolatry, and multitheism, no people in the world ever went beyond them. They are clothed all in skins of beasts, and their houses are built of the same. You know not a man from a woman, neither by the ruggedness of their countenances or their clothes; and in the winter, when the ground is covered with snow, they live underground in houses like vaults, which have cavities going from one to another.

If the Tartars had their Cham-Chi-Thaungu for a whole village or country, these had idols in every hut, and in every cave; besides, they worship the stars, the sun, the water, the snow, and in a word, everything that they do not understand, and they understand but very little; so that almost every element, every uncommon thing, sets them a sacrificing.

But I am no more to describe people than countries, any farther than my own story comes to be concerned in them. I met with nothing peculiar to myself in this country, which I reckon was from the desert I spoke of last, at least 400 miles, half of it being another desert, which took us up 12 days' severe travelling, without house, or tree, or bush, but were obliged again to carry our own provisions, as well water as bread. After we were out of this desert, and had travelled two days, we came to Janezay, a Muscovite city or station, on the great river Janezay [Yenisei]: this river they told us parted Europe from Asia, though our map-makers, as I am told, do not agree to it; however, it is certainly the eastern boundary of the ancient Siberia, which now makes up a province only of the vast Muscovite empire, but is itself equal in bigness to the whole of Germany.

And yet here I observed ignorance and paganism still prevailed, except in the Muscovite garrisons; all the country between the river Oby and the river Janezay is as entirely pagan, and the people as barbarous, as the remotest of the Tartars, nay, as any nation, for aught I know, in Asia or America. I also found, which I observed to the Muscovite governors, whom I had an opportunity to converse with, that the poor pagans are not much the wiser or the nearer Christianity for being under the Muscovite government; which they acknowledged was true enough; but, as they said, was none of their business: that if the Czar expected to convert his Siberian, or Tonguese, or Tartar subjects, it should be done by sending clergymen among them, not soldiers; and they added, with more sincerity than I expected, that they found it was not so much the concern of their monarch to make the people Christians, as it was to make them subjects.

From this river to the great river Oby, we crossed a wild and uncultivated country. I cannot say it is a barren soil; it is only barren of people, and good management, otherwise it is in itself a most pleasant, fruitful, and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans, except such as are sent among them from Russia; for this is the country I mean, on both sides the river Oby, whither the Muscovite criminals, that are not put to death, are banished, and from whence it is next to impossible they should ever come away.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs, till I came to Tobolski, the capital city of Siberia, where I continued some time on the following occasion.

We had been now almost seven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace; whereupon my partner and I called a council about our particular affairs, in which we found it proper, considering that we were bound for England, and not for Moscow, to consider how to dispose of ourselves. They told us of sledges and reindeer to carry us over the snow in the winter time; and indeed they have such things, that it would be incredible to relate the particulars of, by which means the Russians travel more in the winter than they can in the summer, because in these sledges they are able to run all night and day; the snow being frozen is one universal covering to nature, by which the hills, the vales, the rivers, the lakes, all are smooth and hard as a stone, and they run upon the surface, without any regard to what is underneath.

But I had no occasion to push at a winter journey of this kind. I was bound to England, not to Moscow, and my route lay two ways, either I must go on as the caravan went, till I came to Jaroslaw, and then go off west for Narva, and the Gulf of Finland; and so either by sea or land to Dantzic, where I might possibly sell my China cargo to good advantage, or I must leave the caravan at a little town on the Dwina, from whence I had but six days by water to Archangel, and from thence might be sure of shipping, either to England, Holland, or Hamburgh.

Now to go any of these journeys in the winter, would have been preposterous; for as to Dantzic, the Baltic would have been frozen up, and I could not get passage, and to go by land in those countries was far less safe than among the Mogul Tartars: likewise to go to Archangel in October, all the ships would be gone from thence, and even the merchants who dwell there in summer, retire south to Moscow in the winter, when the ships are gone; so that I could have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a scarcity of provisions, and must lie there in an empty town all the winter. So that, upon the whole, I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go, and make provision to winter where I was, viz. at Tobolski in Siberia, in the latitude of 60 degrees, where I was sure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, viz. plenty of provisions such as the country afforded; a warm house, with fuel enough, and excellent company; of all which I shall give a full account in its place.

I was now in a quite different climate from my beloved island, where I never felt cold except when I had my ague. On the contrary, I had much to do to bear any clothes on my back, and never made any fire but without doors, and for my necessity in dressing my food, &c. Now I made me three good vests, with large robes or gowns over them to hang down to the feet, and button close to the wrists, and all these lined with furs to make them sufficiently warm.

As to a warm house, I must confess I greatly disliked our way in England of making fires in

every room in the house, in open chimneys, which when the fire was out, always kept the air in the room cold as the climate: but taking an apartment in a good house in the town, I ordered a chimney to be built like a furnace, in the centre of six several rooms, like a stove, the funnel to carry the smoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire, went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire seen; just as they heat the bagnios in England.

By this means we had always the same climate in all the rooms, and an equal heat was preserved; and how cold soever it was without, it was always warm within, and yet we saw no fire, nor were incommoded with smoke.

The most wonderful thing of all was, that it should be possible to meet with good company here, in a country so barbarous as that of the most northerly parts of Europe, near the Frozen Ocean, and within but a very few degrees of Nova Zembla.

But this being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy, as I observed before, are all banished, this city was full of noblemen, princes, gentlemen, colonels; and in short, all degrees of the nobility, gentry, soldiery, and courtiers of Muscovy. Here was the famous Prince Gallitzen, the old General Robostiski, and several other persons of note, and some ladies.

By means of my Scots merchant, whom nevertheless I parted with here, I made an acquaintance here with several of these gentlemen, and some of them of the first rank; and from these in the long winter nights in which I stayed here, I received several very agreeable visits. It was talking one night with Prince ———, one of the banished ministers of state, belonging to the Czar of Muscovy, that my talk of my particular case began. He had been telling me abundance of fine things of the greatness, the magnificence, the dominions, and the absolute power of the emperor of the Russians. I interrupted him, and told him I was a greater and more powerful prince than even the Czar of Muscovy was, though my dominions were not so large, or my people so many. The Russian grandee looked a little surprised, and fixing his eyes steadily upon me, began to wonder what I meant.

I told him his wonder would cease when I had explained myself. First, I told him, I had absolute disposal of the lives and fortunes of all my subjects: that notwithstanding my absolute power, I had not one person disaffected to my government, or to my person, in all my dominions. He shook his head at that, and said, There indeed I outdid the Czar of Muscovy. I told him, that all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and all my subjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will: that they would all fight for me to the last drop; and that never tyrant, for such I acknowledged myself to be, was ever so universally beloved, and yet so horribly feared by his subjects.

After amusing them with these riddles in government for a while, I opened the case, and told them the story at large of my living in the island, and how I managed both myself and the people there that were under me, just as I have since minuted it down. They were exceedingly taken with the story, and especially the prince, who told me with a sigh, that the true greatness of life was to be master of ourselves: that he would not have exchanged such a state of life as mine, to have been Czar of Muscovy; and that he found more felicity in the retirement he seemed to be banished to there, than ever he found in the highest authority he enjoyed in the court of his master the Czar: that the height of human wisdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumstances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greatest storm without. When he came first hither, he said he used to tear the hair from his head, and the clothes from his back, as others had done before him; but a little time and consideration had made him look into himself, as well as round him to things without: that he found the mind of man, if it was but once brought to reflect upon the state of universal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itself, fully satisfying to itself, and suitable to its own best ends and desires, with but very little assistance from the world: that air to breathe in, food to sustain life, clothes for warmth, and liberty for exercise in order to health, completed, in his opinion, all that the world could do for us; and though the greatness, the authority, the riches, and the pleasures which some enjoyed in the world, and which he had enjoyed his share of, had much in them that was agreeable to us; yet he observed that all those things chiefly gratified the coarsest of our affections, such as our ambition, our particular pride, our avarice, our vanity, and our sensuality; all which were indeed the mere product of the worst part of man, were in themselves crimes, and had in them the seeds of all manner of crimes, but neither were related to, or concerned with any of those virtues that constituted us wise men, or of those graces which distinguished us as Christians: that being now deprived of all the fancied felicity which he enjoyed in the full exercise of all those vices, he said he was at leisure to look upon the dark side of them, where he found all manner of deformity, and was now convinced, that virtue only makes a man truly wise, rich, and great, and preserves him in the way to a superior happiness in a future state. And in this he said, they were more happy in their banishment than all their enemies were, who had the full possession of all the wealth and power that they (the banished) had left behind them.

'Nor, sir,' says he, 'do I bring my mind to this politically, by the necessity of my circumstances, which some call miserable; but if I know anything of myself, I would not now go back, though the Czar, my master, should call me, and reinstate me in all my former grandeur; I say, I would no more go back to it, than I believe my soul, when it shall be delivered from this prison of the body, and has had a taste of the glorious state beyond life, would come back to the gaol of flesh and blood it is now enclosed in, and leave heaven to deal in the dirt and crime of human affairs.'

He spoke this with so much warmth in his temper, so much earnestness and motion of his spirits, which were apparent in his countenance, that it was evident it was the true sense of his soul: there was no room to doubt his sincerity.

I told him, I once thought myself a kind of monarch in my old station, of which I had given him an account, but that I thought he was not a monarch only, but a great conqueror; for that he that has got a victory over his own exorbitant desires, and has the absolute dominion over himself, whose reason entirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city. 'But, my lord,' said I, 'shall I take the liberty to ask you a question?' 'With all my heart,' says he. 'If the door of your liberty was opened,' said I, 'would you not take hold of it to deliver yourself from this exile?'

'Hold,' said he,' 'your question is subtle, and requires some serious just distinctions, to give it

a sincere answer; and I'll give it you from the bottom of my heart. Nothing that I know of in this world would move me to deliver myself from this state of banishment, except these two; first, the enjoyment of my relations, and secondly, a little warmer climate; but I protest to you, that to go back to the pomp of the court, the glory, the power, the hurry of a minister of state, the wealth, the gaiety, and the pleasures, that is to say, follies of a courtier; if my master should send me word this moment, that he restores me to all he banished me from, I protest, if I know myself at all, I would not leave this wilderness, these deserts, and these frozen lakes, for the palace at Moscow.'

'But, my lord,' said I, 'perhaps you not only are banished from the pleasures of the court, and from the power, and authority, and wealth you enjoyed before, but you may be absent too from some of the conveniences of life, your estate perhaps confiscated, and your effects plundered, and the supplies left you here may not be suitable to the ordinary demands of life.'

'Ay,' says he, 'that is as you suppose me to be a lord, or a prince, &c. So indeed I am; but you are now to consider me only as a man, a human creature not at all distinguished from another, and so I can suffer no want, unless I should be visited with sickness and distempers. However, to put the question out of dispute, you see our manner: we are in this place five persons of rank; we live perfectly retired, as suited to a state of banishment; we have something rescued from the shipwreck of our fortunes, which keeps us from the mere necessity of hunting for our food; but the poor soldiers who are here, without that help, live in as much plenty as we, who go into the woods and catch sables and foxes; the labour of a month will maintain them a year; and as the way of living is not expensive, so it is not hard to get sufficient to ourselves. So that objection is out of doors.'

I have not room to give a full account of the most agreeable conversation I had with this truly great man; in all which he showed that his mind was so inspired with a superior knowledge of things, so supported by religion, as well as by a vast share of wisdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expressed, and that he was always the same to the last, as will appear in the story I am going to tell.

I had been here 8 months, and a dark dreadful winter I thought it to be, the cold so intense, that I could not so much as look about without being wrapped in furs, and a mask of fur before my face, or rather a hood with only a hole for breath, and two for sight: the little daylight we had, was, as we reckoned, for three months, not above five hours a day, and six at most; only that the snow lying on the ground continually, and the weather clear, it was never quite dark. Our horses were kept (or rather starved) underground; and as for our servants, for we hired three servants here to look after our horses and selves, we had every now and then their fingers and toes to thaw and take care of, lest they should mortify and fall off.

It is true, within doors we were warm, the houses being close, the walls thick, the lights small, and the glass all double. Our food was chiefly the flesh of deer dried and cured in the season; bread good enough, but baked as biscuits; dried fish of several sorts, and some flesh of mutton, and of the buffaloes, which is pretty good beef. All the stores of provision for the winter are laid up in the summer, and well cured; our drink was water mixed with aqua-vitæ instead of brandy, and for a treat, mead instead of wine, which, however, they have excellent good. The hunters, who venture abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in fresh venison, very fat and good, and sometimes bear's flesh, but we did not much care for the last: we had a good stock of tea, with which we treated our friends, as above; and in a word, we lived very cheerfully and well, all things considered.

It was now March, and the days grown considerably longer, and the weather, at least, tolerable; so the other travellers began to prepare sleds to carry them over the snow, and to get things ready to be going; but my measures being fixed, as I have said, for Archangel, and not to Muscovy or the Baltic, I made no motion; knowing very well that the ships from the south do not set out for that part of the world till May or June, and that if I was there by the beginning of August, it would be as soon as any ships would be ready to go away: and therefore, I say, I made no haste to be gone, as others did. In a word, I saw a great many people, nay, all the travellers go away before me: it seems every year they go from hence to Moscow for trade, viz. to carry furs, and buy necessaries with them, which they bring back to furnish their shops; also others went of the same errand to Archangel, but then they also being to come back again, above 800 miles, went all out before me.

In short, about the latter end of May I began to make all ready to pack up; and as I was doing this, it occurred to me, that seeing all these people were banished by the Czar of Muscovy to Siberia, and yet when they came there, were left at liberty to go whither they would; why did they not then go away to any part of the world wherever they thought fit; and I began to examine what should hinder them from making such an attempt.

But my wonder was over, when I entered upon that subject with the person I have mentioned, who answered me thus: 'Consider, first, sir,' said he, 'the place where we are; and secondly, the condition we are in; especially,' said he, 'the generality of the people who are banished hither; we are surrounded,' said he, 'with stronger things than bars and bolts; on the north side an unnavigable ocean, where ship never sailed, and boat never swam; neither, if we had both, could we know where to go with them: every other way,' said he, 'we have above a thousand miles to pass through the Czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly impassable, except by the roads made by the governor, and by the towns garrisoned by his troops; so that we could neither pass undiscovered by the road, or subsist any other way, so that it is in vain to attempt it.'

I was silenced indeed at once, and found that they were in a prison, every jot as secure as if they had been locked up in the castle at Moscow; however, it came into my thought, that I might certainly be made an instrument to procure the escape of this excellent person, and that whatever hazard I ran, I would certainly try if I could carry him off. Upon this I took an occasion one evening to tell him my thoughts. I represented to him, that it was very easy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country, and as I was not going to Moscow, but to Archangel, and that I went in the nature of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the stationary towns in the desert, but could encamp every night where I would, we might easily pass uninterrupted to Archangel, where I would immediately secure him on board an Eng-

lish or Dutch ship, and carry him safe along with me; and as to his subsistence, and other particulars, it should be my care till he could better supply himself.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earnestly on me all the while I spoke; nay, I could see in his very face, that what I said put his spirits into an exceeding ferment; his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, that it might be even perceived in his countenance; nor could he immediately answer me. When I had done, and as it were expected what he would say to it; but after he had paused a little he embraced me, and said, 'How unhappy are we unguarded creatures as we are, that even our greatest acts of friendship are made snares to us, and we are made tempters of one another! My dear friend,' said he, 'your offer is so sincere, has such kindness in it, is so disinterested in itself, and is so calculated for my advantage, that I must have very little knowledge of the world, if I did not both wonder at it, and acknowledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it. But did you believe I was sincere in what I have so often said to you of my contempt of the world? Did you believe I spoke my very soul to you, and that I had really obtained that degree of felicity here, that had placed me above all that the world could give me, or do for me? Did you believe I was sincere, when I told you I would not go back, if I was recalled even to all, that once I was in the court, with the favour of the Czar my master? Did you believe me, my friend, to be an honest man, or did you think me to be a boasting hypocrite?' Here he stopped, as if he would hear what I would say, but indeed, I soon after perceived, that he stopped because his spirits were in motion, his great heart was full of struggles, and he could not go on. 'I was, I confess, astonished at the thing as well as at the man, and I used some arguments with him to urge him to set himself free: that he ought to look upon this as a door opened by Heaven for his deliverance, and a summons by Providence, who has the care and disposition of all events, to do himself good, and to render himself useful in the world.

He had by this time recovered himself: 'How do you know, sir,' says he, warmly, 'that, instead of a summons from Heaven, it may be a feint of another instrument? Representing in all the alluring colours to me the show of felicity as a deliverance, which may in itself be my snare, and tend directly to my ruin. Here I am free from the temptation of returning to my former miserable greatness; there I am not sure but that all the seeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, which I know remain in nature, may revive and take root; and, in a word, again overwhelm me, and then the happy prisoner, whom you see now master of his soul's liberty, shall be the miserable slave of his own senses, in the full of all personal liberty. Dear sir, let me remain in this blessed confinement, banished from the crimes of life, rather than purchase a show of freedom, at the expense of the liberty of my reason, and at the expense of the future happiness which now I have in my view, but shall then, I fear, quickly lose sight of; for I am but flesh, a man, a mere man, have passions and affections as likely to possess and overthrow me as any man: O be not my friend and tempter both together!'

If I was surprised before, I was quite dumb now, and stood silent, looking at him, and indeed admired at what I saw; the struggle in his soul was so great, that though the weather was extremely cold, it put him into a most violent sweat, and I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; so I said a word or two, that I would leave him to consider of it, and wait on him again, and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

About two hours after I heard somebody at, or near, the door of my room, and I was going to open the door, but he had opened it, and came in: 'My dear friend,' says he, 'you had almost overset me, but I am recovered; do not take it ill that I do not close with your offer; I assure you, it is not for want of a sense of the kindness of it in you, and I came to make the most sincere acknowledgment of it to you; but I hope I have got the victory over myself.'

'My lord,' said I, 'I hope you are fully satisfied that you do not resist the call of Heaven.' 'Sir,' said he, 'if it had been from Heaven, the same power would have influenced me to accept it; but I hope, and am fully satisfied, that it is from Heaven that I decline it, and I have an infinite satisfaction in the parting, that you shall leave me an honest man still, though not a free man.'

I had nothing to do but to acquiesce, and make professions to him of my having no end in it, but a sincere desire to serve him: he embraced me very passionately, and assured me, he was sensible of that, and should always acknowledge it, and with that he offered me a very fine present of sables, too much indeed for me to accept from a man in his circumstances, and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refused.

The next morning I sent my servant to his lordship, with a small present of tea, and two pieces of China damask, and four little wedges of Japan gold, which did not all weigh above six ounces or thereabout, but were far short of the value of his sables, which, indeed, when I came to England, I found worth near £200. He accepted the tea, and one piece of the damask, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine stamp upon it, of the Japan coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more, and he sent word by my servant, that he desired to speak with me.

When I came to him, he told me, I knew what had passed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that since I had made such a generous offer to him, he asked me, if I had kindness enough to offer the same to another person that he would name to me, in whom he had a great share of concern. I told him, that I could not say I inclined to do so much for any one but himself, for whom I had a particular value, and should have been glad to have been the instrument of his deliverance; however, if he would please to name the person to me, I would give him my answer, and hoped he would not be displeased with me, if he was with my answer. He told me, it was only his son, whom, though I had not seen, yet was in the same condition with himself, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other side the Oby; but that if I consented, he would send for him.

I made no hesitation, but told him I would do it: I made some ceremony in letting him understand that it was wholly on his account, and that seeing I could not prevail on him, I would show my respect to him, by my concern for his son; but these things are too tedious to repeat here. He sent away the next day for his son, and in about twenty days he came back with the messenger, bringing six or seven horses, loaded with very rich furs, and which in the whole, amounted to a very great value.

His servants brought the horses into the town, but left the young lord at a distance, till night,

when he came *incognito* into our apartment, and his father presented him to me; and in short, we concerted there the manner of our travelling, and everything proper for the journey.

I had bought a considerable quantity of sables, black fox-skins, fine ermines, and such other furs as are very rich; I say, I had bought them in that city, in exchange for some of the goods I brought from China; in particular for the cloves and nutmegs, of which, I sold the greatest part here, and the rest afterward at Archangel, for a much better price than I could have done at London; and my partner, who was sensible of the profit, and whose business more particularly than mine was merchandise, was mightily pleased with our stay, on account of the traffic we made here.

It was the beginning of June, when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world; and indeed it is so far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it should be much talked of. We were now come to a very small caravan, being only thirty-two horses and camels in all, and all of them passed for mine, though my new guest was proprietor of eleven of them. It was most natural also that I should take more servants with me than I had before, and the young lord passed for my steward; what great man I passed for myself, I know not, neither did it concern me to inquire. We had here the worst and the largest desert to pass over that we met with in all the journey; indeed I call it the worst, because the way was very deep in some places, and very uneven in others; the best we had to say for it, was, that we thought we had no troops of Tartars and robbers to fear, and that they never came on this side the Oby, or at least, but very seldom; but we found it otherwise.

My young lord had with him, a faithful Muscovite servant, or rather a Siberian servant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, and led us by private roads, so that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities, upon the great road, such as Tiumen, Soloy-Kamskoi, and several others; because the Muscovite garrisons which are kept there, are very curious and strict in their observation upon travellers; and searching lest any of the banished persons of note should make their escape that way into Muscovy; but by this means, as we were kept out of the cities, so our whole journey was a desert, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had very good accommodation in the cities on the way: this the young lord was so sensible of, that he would not allow us to lie abroad, when we came to several cities on the way, but lay abroad himself, with his servant in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were just entered Europe, having passed the river Kama, which in these parts, is the boundary between Europe and Asia, and the first city on the European side was called Soloy-Kamskoi, which is as much as to say, the great city on the river Kama; and here we thought to have seen some evident alteration in the people, their manner, their habit, their religion, and their business; but we were mistaken, for as we had a vast desert to pass, which, by relation, is near seven hundred miles long in some places, but not above two hundred miles over where we passed it; so till we came past that horrible place, we found very little difference between that country and the Mogul Tartary; the people, most pagans, and little better than the savages of America, their houses and towns full of idols, and their way of living wholly barbarous, except in the cities as above, and the villages near them; where there are Christians as they call themselves, of the Greek Church, but have their religion mingled with so many relics of superstition, that it is scarce to be known in some places from mere sorcery and witchcraft.

In passing this forest, I thought indeed we must, after all our dangers were in our imagination escaped, as before, have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered, by a troop of thieves; of what country they were, whether the roving bands of the Ostiachi, a kind of Tartars or wild people on the bank of the Oby, and ranged thus far; or whether they were the sable-hunters of Siberia, I am yet at a loss to know; but they were all on horseback, carried bows and arrows, and were at first about five and forty in number. They came so near to us, as within about two musket shots, and asking no questions, they surrounded us with their horse, and looked very earnestly upon us twice. At length they placed themselves just in our way, upon which, we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above sixteen men in all; and being drawn up thus, we halted and sent out the Siberian servant, who attended his lord, to see who they were. His master was the more willing to let him go, because he was not a little apprehensive, that they were a Siberian troop sent out after him. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called them, but though he spoke several of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not understand a word they said. However, after some signs to him not to come nearer to them at his peril, so he said, he understood them to mean offering to shoot at him if he advanced, the fellow came back no wiser than he went, only that by their dress, he said, he believed them to be some Tartars of Kalmuck, or of the Circassian hordes; and that there must be more of them upon the great desert, though he had never heard that any of them ever were seen so far north before.

This was small comfort to us; however, we had no remedy. There was on our left hand at about a quarter of a mile distance, a little grove or clump of trees which stood close together, and very near the road; I immediately resolved we should advance to those trees, and fortify ourselves as well as we could there; for first I considered that the trees would in a great measure cover us from their arrows, and in the next place, they could not come to charge us in a body. It was indeed my old Portuguese pilot who proposed it, and who had this excellency attending him, namely, that he was always readiest, and most apt to direct and encourage us in cases of the most danger. We advanced immediately with what speed we could, and gained that little wood, the Tartars, or thieves, for we knew not what to call them, keeping their stand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found to our great satisfaction, that it was a swampy springy piece of ground, and on the same side, a very great spring of water, which running out in a little rill or brook, was a little farther, joined by another of the like bigness, and was in short, the head or source of a considerable river, called afterwards the Wirtska; the trees which grew about this spring, were not in all above two hundred, but were very large, and stood pretty thick; so that as soon as we got in, we saw ourselves perfectly safe from the enemy, unless they alighted and attacked us on foot.

But to make this more difficult, our Portuguese, with indefatigable application, cut down great arms of the trees, and laid them hanging not quite cut off from one tree to another, so that he made a continued fence almost around us. We

stayed here waiting the motion of the enemy some hours, without perceiving they made any motion; when about two hours before night, they came down directly upon us, and though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by some more of the same, so that they were near fourscore horse, whereof however, we fancied some were women. They came on till they were within half shot of our little wood, when we fired one musket without ball, and called to them in the Russian tongue, to know what they wanted, and bade them keep off; but as if they knew nothing of what we said, they came on with a double fury directly up to the wood side, not imagining we were so barricaded that they could not break in. Our old pilot was our captain, as well as he had been our engineer, and desired of us not to fire upon them till they came within pistol-shot, that we might be sure to kill, and that when we did fire, we should be sure to take good aim; we bade him give the word of command, which he delayed so long, that they were some of them within two pikes' length of us when we fired.

We aimed so true, (or Providence directed our shot so sure) that we killed fourteen of them, and wounded several others, as also several of their horses; for we had all of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets at least.

They were terribly surprised with our fire, and retreated immediately about one hundred rods from us; in which time, we loaded our pieces again, and seeing them keep that distance, we sallied out and catched four or five of their horses, whose riders we suppose were killed, and coming up to the dead, we could easily perceive they were Tartars, but knew not from what country or how they came to make an excursion of such an unusual length.

About an hour after they made a motion to attack us again, and rode round our little wood, to see where else they might break in; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off again, and we resolved not to stir from the place for that night.

We slept little you may be sure, but spent the most part of the night in strengthening our situation, and barricading the entrances into the wood, and keeping a strict watch. We waited for daylight, and when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome discovery indeed; for the enemy, whom we thought were discouraged with the reception they met with, were now increased to no less than three hundred, and had set up eleven or twelve huts and tents, as if they were resolved to besiege us; and this little camp they had pitched upon the open plain, about three-quarters of a mile from us. We were indeed surprised at this discovery; and now I confess, I gave myself over for lost, and all that I had. The loss of my effects did not lie so near me, (though they were very considerable) as the thoughts of falling into the hands of such barbarians, at the latter end of my journey, after so many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through; and even in sight of our port, where we expected safety and deliverance. As for my partner, he was raging: he declared, that to lose his goods would be his ruin, and he would rather die than be starved; and he was for fighting to the last drop.

The young lord, as gallant as ever flesh showed itself, was for fighting to the last also; and my old pilot was of the opinion we were able to resist them all, in the situation we were then in; and thus we spent the day in debates of what we should do; but towards evening, we found that the number of our enemies still increased, perhaps as they were abroad in several parties for prey. The first had sent out scouts to call for help, and to acquaint them of the booty; and we did not know, but by the morning they might still be a greater number; so I began to inquire of those people we had brought from Tobolski, if there was no other, or more private ways by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps either retreat to some town, or get help to guard us over the desert.

The Siberian, who was servant to the young lord, told us, if we designed to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night, to a way that went north, towards the Petrou, by which he made no question but we might get away, and the Tartars never the wiser: but, he said, his lord had told him he would not retreat, but would rather choose to fight. I told him, he mistook his lord; for that he was too wise a man to love fighting for the sake of it; that I knew his lord was brave enough by what he had showed already; but that his lord knew better than to desire to have seventeen or eighteen men fight five hundred, unless an unavoidable necessity forced them to it; and that if he thought it possible for us to escape in the night, we had nothing else to do but to attempt it. He answered, if his lordship gave him such orders, he would lose his life if he did not perform it. We soon brought his lord to give that order, though privately, and we immediately prepared for the putting it in practice.

And first, as soon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning, and prepared so as to make it burn all night, that the Tartars might conclude we were still there; but as soon as it was dark, (that is to say) so as we could see the stars (for our guide would not stir before), having all our horses and camels ready loaden, we followed our new guide, who I soon found steered himself by the pole or north star, all the country being level for a long way.

After we had travelled two hours very hard, it began to be lighter still, not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to rise, so that in a word, it was rather lighter than we wished it to be; but by six o'clock the next morning, we were gotten near forty miles, though the truth is, we almost spoiled our horses. Here we found a Russian village named Kermazinskoy, where we rested, and heard nothing of the Kalmuck Tartars that day. About two hours before night we set out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite so quiet as before, and about seven o'clock we passed a little river called Kirtza, and came to a good large town inhabited by Russians, called Ozomoys. There we heard that several troops or hordes of Kalmucks had been abroad upon the desert, but that we were now completely out of danger of them, which was to our great satisfaction you may be sure. Here we were obliged to get some fresh horses, and having need enough of rest, we stayed five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honest Siberian, who brought us thither, the value of ten pistoles, for his conducting us.

In five days more we came to Veuslima, upon the river Witzogda, and running into the Dwina; we were there very happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable in seven days' passage to Archangel. From hence we came to Lawrenskoy the 3d of July, and providing ourselves with two luggage boats, and a barge for our own convenience, we embarked the 7th, and arrived all safe at Archangel the 13th, having been a year and five months and three

days on the journey, including our stay of eight months and odd days at Tobolski.

We were obliged to stay at this place six weeks for the arrival of the ships, and must have tarried longer, had not a Hamburgher come in above a month sooner than any of the English ships, when after some consideration that the city of Hamburgh might happen to be as good a market for our goods as London, we all took freight with him, and, having put my goods on board, it was most natural for me to put my steward on board to take care of them, by which means my young lord had a sufficient opportunity to conceal himself, never coming on shore again in all the time we stayed there; and this he did, that he might not be seen in the city, where some of the Moscow merchants would certainly have seen and discovered him.

We sailed from Archangel the 20th of August, the same year, and after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived in the Elbe the 13th of September. Here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods, as well those of China, as the sables, &c. of Siberia; and dividing the produce of our effects, my share amounted to £3475, 17s. 3d. notwithstanding so many losses we had sustained, and charges we had been at; only remembering that I had included in this, about six hundred pounds' worth of diamonds which I had purchased at Bengal.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the Elbe in order to go to the court of Vienna, where he resolved to seek protection, and where he could correspond with those of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without all the testimonies he could give me of gratitude for the service I had done him, and his sense of my kindness to the prince his father.

To conclude, having stayed near four months in Hamburgh, I came from thence over land to the Hague, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in London the 10th of January, 1705, having been gone from England ten years and nine months.

And here, resolving to harass myself no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all these, having lived 72 years a life of infinite variety, and learned sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.

THE LIFE OF COLONEL JACK.

The History of the most remarkable life, and extraordinary adventures of the truly Honourable Colonel Jacque, vulgarly called Colonel Jack, who was born a gentleman, put apprentice to a pickpocket, flourished six and twenty years a thief, and was then kidnapped to Virginia; came back a merchant; was five times married to four whores; went into the wars; behaved bravely; got preferment; was made colonel of a regiment; returned again to England; followed the fortunes of the Chevalier de St. George; was taken at the Preston rebellion; received his pardon from the late King; is now at the head of his regiment, in the service of the Czarina, fighting against the Turks, completing a life of wonders, and resolves to die a general. Written by the author of 'Robinson Crusoe.' London, 1722.

['THE *Life of Colonel Jacque*,' says Mr. Wilson, 'is a work excellent in its kind, although less known than some of the author's other performances. If it contains much of low life, it aspires to an elevation of character; whilst the painting is that of nature, and the tendency strictly virtuous.'

There appears to be some slight inconsistency between the title-page and the contents of the story itself. In the former we are told that the Colonel followed the fortunes of the Chevalier, and was taken at the Preston rebellion; whereas, according to the story, he was only a few hours among the rebels, and was certainly not taken prisoner, being prompted, while in America, by his own fears, to petition the king for pardon, as from the general tenor of this part of the story, there was little danger of its ever being discovered that the Colonel had indulged his curiosity by riding to Preston and volunteering his advice. Either Defoe must have written his title-page, or rather general plan of the story, before he wrote the story itself, and brought the story to a close before he had completed his whole plan; or else he, as the supposed editor of the Colonel's life, volunteers a bit of information which the Colonel himself omits. At any rate there is no mention whatever of his ever having been in the service of the Czarina, nor is he left 'fighting against the Turks,' but waiting patiently in England for the arrival of his twice-married wife from America. However, this discrepancy does not in any way detract from the merit of the story as it stands, in which are displayed the wonderful extent and accuracy of the author's knowledge of geography and contemporary history.

The moral uses that may be extracted from the work are happily expressed in the preface, which may be found to be not altogether without a lesson to politicians and philanthropists even at the present day.]

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

PREFACES are so customary before books of this nature, to introduce them into the world by a display of their excellencies, that it might be thought too presuming to send this performance abroad, without some such preliminary. And yet I may venture to say, it needs this good office as little as any that has ever gone before it. The pleasant and delightful part

speaks for itself; the useful and instructive is so large, and has such a tendency to improve the mind, and rectify the manners, that it would employ a volume, large as itself, to particularize the instructions that may be drawn from it.

Here is room for just and copious observations on the blessings and advantages of a sober and well-governed education, and the ruin of so many thousands of all ranks in this nation for want of it; here, also, we may see how much public schools and charities might be improved, to prevent the destruction of so many unhappy children, as, in this town, are every year bred up for the executioner.

The miserable condition of multitudes of youth, many of whose natural tempers are docible, and would lead them to learn the best things rather than the worst, is truly deplorable, and is abundantly seen in the history of this man's childhood; where, though circumstances formed him by necessity to be a thief, surprising rectitude of principles remained with him, and made him early abhor the worst part of his trade, and at length to forsake the whole of it. Had he come into the world with the advantage of a virtuous education, and been instructed how to improve the generous principles he had in him, what a figure might he not have made, either as a man, or a Christian.

The various turns of his fortune in different scenes of life, make a delightful field for the reader to wander in; a garden where he may gather wholesome and medicinal fruits, none noxious or poisonous; where he will see virtue, and the ways of wisdom, everywhere applauded, honoured, encouraged, and rewarded; vice and extravagance attended with sorrow, and every kind of infelicity; and at last, sin and shame going together, the offender meeting with reproach and contempt, and the crimes with detestation and punishment.

Every vicious reader will here be encouraged to a change, and it will appear that the best and only good end of an impious misspent life is repentance; that in this there is comfort, peace, and oftentimes hope, and that the penitent shall be received like the prodigal, and his latter end be better than his beginning.

A book founded on so useful a plan, calculated to answer such valuable purposes as have been specified, can require no apology: nor is it of any concern to the reader, whether it be an exact historical relation of real facts, or whether the hero of it intended to present us, at least in part, with a moral romance. On either supposition, it is equally serviceable for the discouragement of vice and the recommendation of virtue.

DANIEL DEFOE.

SEEING my life has been such a chequer-work of nature, and that I am able now to look back upon it from a safer distance than is ordinarily the fate of the clan to which I once belonged; I think my history may find a place in the world, as well as some, which I see are every day read with pleasure, though they have in them nothing so diverting, or instructing, as I believe mine will appear to be.

My original may be as high as anybody's for aught I know, for my mother kept very good company, but that part belongs to her story, more than to mine; all I know of it is by oral tradition. My nurse told me my mother was a gentlewoman, that my father was a man of quality, and she (my nurse) had a good piece of money given her to take me off his hands, and deliver him and my mother from the importunities that usually attend the misfortune of having a child to keep, that should not be seen or heard of.

My father, it seems, gave my nurse something more than was agreed for, at my mother's request, upon her solemn promise, that she would use me well, and let me be put to school; and charged her, that if I lived to come to any bigness, capable to understand the meaning of it, she should always take care to bid me remember that I was a gentleman; and this, he said, was all the education he would desire of her for me; for he did not doubt, he said, but that some time or other, the very hint would inspire me with thoughts suitable to my birth, and that I would certainly act like a gentleman, if I believed myself to be so.

But my disasters were not directed to an end as soon as they began. It is very seldom that the unfortunate are so but for a day; as the great rise by degrees of greatness to the pitch of glory, in which they shine, so the miserable sink to the depth of their misery by a continued series of disaster, and are long in the torture and agonies of their distressed circumstances, before a turn of fortune, if ever such a thing happens to them, gives them a prospect of deliverance.

My nurse was as honest to the engagement she had entered into, as could be expected from one of her employment, and particularly as honest as her circumstances would give her leave to be; for she bred me up very carefully with her own son, and with another son of shame like me, whom she had taken upon the same terms.

My name was John, as she told me, but neither she or I knew anything of a surname that belonged to me; so I was left to call myself Mr. Anything, what I pleased, as fortune and better circumstances should give occasion.

It happened that her own son (for she had a little boy of her own, about one year older than

I) was called John too; and about two years after she took another son of shame, as I called it above, to keep as she did me, and his name was John too.

As we were all Johns, we were all Jacks, and soon came to be called so; for at that part of the town, where we had our breeding, viz. near Goodman's-fields, the Johns are generally called Jack; but my nurse, who may be allowed to distinguish her own son a little from the rest, would have him called Captain, because forsooth he was the eldest.

I was provoked at having this boy called captain, and I cried, and told my nurse I would be called captain; for she told me I was a gentleman, and I would be a captain, that I would: the good woman, to keep the peace, told me, ay, ay, I was a gentleman, and therefore I should be above a captain, for I should be a colonel, and that was a great deal better than a captain; 'for, my dear,' says she, 'every tarpawling, if he gets but to be lieutenant of a press smack, is called captain, but colonels are soldiers, and none but gentlemen are ever made colonels: besides,' says she, 'I have known colonels come to be lords, and generals, though they were bastards at first, and therefore you shall be called colonel.'

Well, I was hushed indeed with this for the present, but not thoroughly pleased, till a little while after I heard her tell her own boy, that I was a gentleman, and therefore he must call me colonel; at which her boy fell a crying, and he would be called colonel. That part pleased me to the life, that he should cry to be called colonel, for then I was satisfied that it was above a captain: so universally is ambition seated in the minds of men, that not a beggar-boy but has his share of it.

So here was Colonel Jack, and Captain Jack; as for the third boy, he was only plain Jack for some years after, till he came to preferment by the merit of his birth, as you shall hear in its place.

We were hopeful boys all three of us, and promised very early, by many repeated circumstances of our lives, that we would all be rogues; and yet I cannot say, if what I have heard of my nurse's character be true, but the honest woman did what she could to prevent it.

Before I tell you much more of our story, it would be very proper to give you something of our several characters, as I have gathered them up in my memory, as far back as I can recover things, either of myself, or my brother Jacks, and they shall be brief and impartial.

Captain Jack was the eldest of us all, by a whole year. He was a squat, big, strong made boy, and promised to be stout when grown to be a man, but not to be tall. His temper was sly, sullen, reserved, malicious, revengeful; and withal, he was brutish, bloody, and cruel in his disposition; he was as to manners a mere boor, or clown, of a carman-like breed; sharp as a street-bred boy must be, but ignorant and untreatable from a child. He had much the nature of a bull-dog, bold and desperate, but not generous at all; all the schoolmistresses we went to could never make him learn, no, not so much as to make him know his letters; and as if he was born a thief, he would steal everything that came near him, even as soon almost as he could speak; and that, not from his mother only, but from anybody else, and from us too that were his brethren and companions. He was an original rogue, for he would do the foulest and most villanous things, even by his own inclination; he had no taste or sense of being honest, no, not, I say, to his brother rogues, which is what other thieves make a point of honour of; I mean that of being honest to one another.

The other, that is to say the youngest of us Johns, was called Major Jack, by the accident following; the lady that had deposited him with our nurse, had owned to her that it was a major of the guards that was the father of the child; but that she was obliged to conceal his name, and that was enough. So he was at first called John the Major, and afterwards the Major, and at last, when we came to rove together, Major Jack, according to the rest, for his name was John, as I have observed already.

Major Jack was a merry, facetious, pleasant boy, had a good share of wit, especially off-hand wit, as they call it; was full of jests and good humour, and, as I often said, had something of a gentleman in him. He had a true manly courage, feared nothing, and could look death in the face, without any hesitation; and yet, if he had the advantage, was the most generous and most compassionate creature alive. He had native principles of gallantry in him, without anything of the brutal or terrible part that the captain had; and in a word, he wanted nothing but honesty to have made him an excellent man. He had learned to read, as I had done; and as he talked very well, so he wrote good sense, and very handsome language, as you will see in the process of his story.

As for your humble servant, Colonel Jack, he was a poor unhappy tractable dog, willing enough, and capable too, to learn anything, if he had had any but the devil for his schoolmaster; he set out into the world so early, that when he began to do evil, he understood nothing of the wickedness of it, nor what he had to expect for it. I remember very well that when I was once carried before a justice for a theft which indeed I was not guilty of, and defended myself by argument, proving the mistakes of my accusers, and how they contradicted themselves; the justice told me it was a pity I had not been better employed, for I was certainly better taught; in which, however, his worship was mistaken, for I had never been taught anything but to be a thief; except, as I said, to read and write, and that was all, before I was ten years old; but I had a natural talent of talking, and could say as much to the purpose as most people that had been taught much more than I.

I passed among my comrades for a bold, resolute boy, and one that durst fight anything; but I had a different opinion of myself, and therefore shunned fighting as much as I could, though sometimes I ventured too, and came off well, being very strong made, and nimble withal. However, I many times brought myself off with my tongue, where my hands would not be sufficient; and this, as well after I was a man, as while I was a boy.

I was wary and dexterous at my trade, and was not so often catched as my fellow-rogues, I mean while I was a boy, and never after I came to be a man, no, not once for 26 years, being so old in the trade, and still unhanged, as you shall hear.

As for my person, while I was a dirty glass-bottle-house boy, sleeping in the ashes, and dealing always in the street dirt, it cannot be expected but that I looked like what I was, and so we did all; that is to say, like a 'black your shoes, your honour,' a beggar-boy, a blackguard-boy, or what you please, despicable, and miserable, to the last degree; and yet I remember, the people would say of me, 'that boy has a good face: if he was

washed and well dressed, he would be a good pretty boy; do but look what eyes he has, what a pleasant smiling countenance: it is pity! I wonder what the rogue's father and mother was,' and the like; then they would call me, and ask me my name, and I would tell them my name was Jack. 'But what's your surname, sirrah?' says they: 'I don't know,' says I. 'Who is your father and mother?' 'I have none,' said I. 'What, and never had you any?' said they: 'No,' says I, 'not that I know of.' Then they would shake their heads, and cry, 'Poor boy!' and ''tis a pity,' and the like; and so let me go. But I laid up all these things in my heart.

I was almost ten years old, the captain eleven, and the major about eight, when the good woman my nurse died. Her husband was a seaman, and had been drowned a little before in the Gloucester frigate, one of the king's ships which was cast away going to Scotland with the Duke of York, in the time of King Charles II.; and the honest woman dying very poor, the parish was obliged to bury her; when the three young Jacks attended her corpse, and I the colonel (for we all passed for her own children) was chief mourner, the captain, who was the eldest son, going back very sick.

The good woman being dead, we, the three Jacks, were turned loose to the world. As to the parish providing for us, we did not trouble ourselves much about that; we rambled about all three together, and the people in Rosemary-lane and Ratcliff, and that way, knowing us pretty well, we got victuals easily enough, and without much begging.

For my particular part, I got some reputation, for a mighty civil honest boy; for if I was sent of an errand, I always did it punctually and carefully, and made haste again; and if I was trusted with anything, I never touched it to diminish it, but made it a point of honour to be punctual to whatever was committed to me, though I was as arrant a thief as any of them in all other cases.

In like case, some of the poorer shopkeepers would often leave me at their door, to look after their shops, till they went up to dinner, or till they went over the way to an ale-house, and the like, and I always did it freely and cheerfully, and with the utmost honesty.

Captain Jack, on the contrary, a surly, ill-looking, rough boy, had not a word in his mouth that savoured either of good manners or good humour; he would say Yes, and No, just as he was asked a question, and that was all; but nobody got anything from him that was obliging in the least. If he was sent of an errand he would forget half of it, and it may be go to play, if he met any boys, and never go at all, or if he went, never come back with an answer; which was such a regardless, disobliging way, that nobody had a good word for him, and everybody said he had the very look of a rogue, and would come to be hanged. In a word, he got nothing of anybody for good-will, but was as it were obliged to turn thief, for the mere necessity of bread to eat; for if he begged he did it with so ill a tone, rather like bidding folks give him victuals than entreating them, that one man, of whom he had something given, and knew him, told him one day, 'Captain Jack,' says he, 'thou art but an awkward, ugly sort of a begger, now thou art a boy; I doubt thou wilt be fitter to ask a man for his purse, than for a penny, when thou comest to be a man.'

The major was a merry thoughtless fellow, always cheerful: whether he had any victuals or no, he never complained; and he recommended himself so well by his good carriage, that the neighbours loved him, and he got victuals enough one where or other. Thus we all made shift, though we were so little, to keep from starving; and as for lodging, we lay in the summer-time about the watchhouses, and on bulk-heads, and shop-doors, where we were known; as for a bed, we knew nothing what belonged to it for many years after my nurse died; and in winter we got into the ash-holes, and nealing-arches in the glass-house, called Dallow's Glass-house in Rosemary-lane, or at another glass-house in Ratcliff-highway.

In this manner we lived for some years; and here we failed not to fall among a gang of naked, ragged rogues like ourselves, wicked as the devil could desire to have them be at so early an age, and ripe for all the other parts of mischief that suited them as they advanced in years.

I remember that one cold winter night we were disturbed in our rest with a constable and his watch, crying out for one Wry-neck, who it seems had done some roguery, and required a hue and cry of that kind; and the watch were informed he was to be found among the beggar-boys under the nealing-arches in the glass-house.

The alarm being given, we were awakened in the dead of the night, with, 'Come out here, ye crew of young devils, come out and show yourselves;' so we were all produced, some came out rubbing their eyes, and scratching their heads, and others were dragged out; and I think there was about seventeen of us in all, but Wry-neck, as they called him, was not among them. It seems this was a good big boy, that used to be among the inhabitants of that place, and had been concerned in a robbery the night before, in which his comrade, who was taken, in hopes of escaping punishment, had discovered him, and informed where he usually harboured; but he was aware, it seems, and had secured himself, at least for that time. So we were allowed to return to our warm apartment among the coal-ashes where I slept many a cold winter night; nay, I may say, many a winter, as sound, and as comfortably as ever I did since, though in better lodgings.

In this manner of living we went on a good while, I believe two years, and neither did, or meant any harm. We generally went all three together; for, in short, the captain, for want of address, and for something disagreeable in him, would have starved if we had not kept him with us. As we were always together, we were generally known by the name of the three Jacks; but Colonel Jack had always the preference, upon many accounts. The major, as I have said, was merry and pleasant, but the colonel always held talk with the better sort, I mean the better sort of those that would converse with a beggar-boy. In this way of talk, I was always upon the inquiry, asking questions of things done in public, as well as in private; particularly, I loved to talk with seamen and soldiers about the war, and about the great sea-fights, or battles on shore, that any of them had been in; and, as I never forgot anything they told me, I could soon, that is to say, in a few years, give almost as good an account of the Dutch war, and of the fights at sea, the battles in Flanders, the taking of Maestricht, and the like, as any of those that had been there; and this made those old soldiers and tars love to talk with me too, and to tell me all the stories they could think of, and that not only of the wars then going on, but also of the wars in Oliver's time, the death of King Charles I., and the like.

By this means, as young as I was, I was a kind of an historian; and though I had read no books, and never had any books to read, yet I could give a tolerable account of what had been done, and of what was then a-doing in the world, especially in those things that our own people were concerned in. I knew the names of every ship in the navy, and who commanded them too, and all this before I was fourteen years old, or but very soon after.

Captain Jack in this time fell into bad company, and went away from us, and it was a good while before we ever heard tale or tidings of him, till about half a year I think, or thereabouts, I understood he was got among a gang of kidnappers, as they were then called, being a sort of wicked fellows that used to spirit people's children away; that is, snatch them up in the dark, and, stopping their mouths, carry them to houses where they had rogues ready to receive them, and so carry them on board of ships bound to Virginia, and sell them.

This was a trade that horrid Jack, for so I called him when we were grown up, was very fit for, especially the violent part; for if a little child got into his clutches, he would stop the breath of it, instead of stopping its mouth, and never troubled his head with the child's being almost strangled, so he did but keep it from making a noise. There was, it seems, some villanous thing done by this gang about that time, whether a child was murdered among them, or a child otherwise abused; but it seems it was a child of an eminent citizen, and the parent somehow or other got a scent of the thing, so that they recovered their child, though in a sad condition, and almost killed. I was too young, and it was too long ago, for me to remember the whole story, but they were all taken up and sent to Newgate, and Captain Jack among the rest, though he was but young, for he was not then much above 13 years old.

What punishment was inflicted upon the rogues of that gang I cannot tell now, but the captain being but a lad, was ordered to be three times soundly whipt at Bridewell; my lord mayor, or the recorder, telling him, it was done in pity to him, to keep him from the gallows, not forgetting to tell him, that he had a hanging look, and bid him have a care on that very account; so remarkable was the captain's countenance, even so young, and which he heard of afterwards on many occasions. When he was in Bridewell, I heard of his misfortune, and the major and I went to see him, for this was the first news we heard of what became of him.

The very day that we went, he was called out to be corrected, as they called it, according to his sentence; and as it was ordered to be done soundly, so indeed they were true to the sentence; for the alderman, who was president of Bridewell, and who I think they called Sir William Turner, held preaching to him about how young he was, and what pity it was such a youth should come to be hanged, and a great deal more, how he should take warning by it, and how wicked a thing it was, that they should steal away poor innocent children, and the like; and all this while the man with a blue badge on lashed him most unmercifully, for he was not to leave off till Sir William knocked with a little hammer on the table.

The poor captain stamped and danced, and roared out like a mad boy; and I must confess, I was frighted almost to death; for though I could not come near enough, being but a poor boy, to see how he was handled, yet I saw him afterwards, with his back all wealed with the lashes, and in several places bloody, and thought I should have died with the sight of it; but I grew better acquainted with those things afterwards.

I did what I could to comfort the poor captain, when I got leave to come to him. But the worst was not over with him, for he was to have two more such whippings before they had done with him; and indeed they scourged him so severely, that they made him sick of the kidnapping trade for a great while; but he fell in among them again, and kept among them as long as that trade lasted, for it ceased in a few years afterwards.

The major and I, though very young, had sensible impressions made upon us for some time by the severe usage of the captain, and it might be very well said, we were corrected as well as he, though not concerned in the crime; but it was within the year that the major, a good-conditioned easy boy, was wheedled away by a couple of young rogues that frequented the glass-house apartments, to take a walk with them, as they were pleased to call it; the gentlemen were very well matched, the major was about 12 years old, and the oldest of the two that led him out was not above 14; the business was to go to Bartholomew Fair—was, in short, to pick pockets.

The major knew nothing of the trade, and therefore was to do nothing; but they promised him a share for all that, as if he had been as expert as themselves; so away they went. The two dexterous young rogues managed it so well, that by eight o'clock at night, they came back to our dusty quarters at the glass-house, and, sitting them down in a corner, they began to share their spoil, by the light of the glass-house fire. The major lugged out the goods, for as fast as they made any purchase, they unloaded themselves, and gave all to him, that if they had been taken, nothing might be found about them.

It was a devilish lucky day to them, the devil certainly assisting them to find their prey, that he might draw in a young gamester, and encourage him to the undertaking, who had been made backward before by the misfortune of the captain. The list of their purchase the first night was as follows.

1. A white handkerchief from a country wench, as she was staring up at a jack-pudding; there was 3s. 6d. and a row of pins tied up in one end of it.

2. A coloured handkerchief, out of a young country fellow's pocket as he was buying a china orange.

3. A riband purse with 11s. 3d. and a silver thimble in it, out of a young woman's pocket, just as a fellow offered to pick her up.

N. B. She missed her purse presently, but, not seeing the thief, charged the man with it that would have picked her up, and cried out, "A pickpocket!" and he fell into the hands of the mob, but, being known in the street, he got off with great difficulty.

4. A knife and fork, that a couple of boys had just bought, and were going home with; the young rogue that took it got it within the minute after the boy had put it in his pocket.

5. A little silver box with 7s. in it, all in small silver, 1d., 2d., 3d., 4d. pieces.

N. B. This it seems a maid pulled out of her pocket, to pay at her going into the booth to see a show, and the little rogue got his hand in and fetched it off, just as she put it up again.

6. Another silk handkerchief, out of a gentleman's pocket.

7. Another.

8. A jointed baby, and a little looking-glass, stolen off a toyseller's stall in the fair.

All this cargo to be brought home clear in one afternoon, or evening rather, and by only two little rogues so young, was, it must be confessed, extraordinary; and the major was elevated the next day to a strange degree.

He came very early to me, who lay not far from him, and said to me, 'Colonel Jack, I want to speak with you.' 'Well,' said I, 'what do you say?' 'Nay,' said he, 'it is business of consequence, I cannot talk here;' so we walked out. As soon as we were come out into a narrow lane, by the glass-house, 'Look here,' says he, and pulls out his little hand almost full of money.

I was surprised at the sight, when he puts it up again, and, bringing his hand out, 'Here,' says he, 'you shall have some of it;' and gives me a sixpence, and a shilling's worth of the small silver pieces. This was very welcome to me, who, as much as I was of a gentleman, and as much as I thought of myself upon that account, never had a shilling of money together before in all my life, not that I could call my own.

I was very earnest then to know how he came by this wealth, for he had for his share 7s. 6d. in money, the silver thimble, and a silk handkerchief, which was, in short, an estate to him, that never had, as I said of myself, a shilling together in his life.

'And what will you do with it now, Jack?' said I. 'I do?' says he, 'the first thing I do I'll go into Rag Fair, and buy me a pair of shoes and stockings.' 'That's right,' says I, 'and so will I too;' so away we went together, and we bought each of us a pair of Rag Fair stockings in the first place for 5d., not 5d. a pair, but 5d. together, and good stockings they were too, much above our wear, I assure you.

We found it more difficult to fit ourselves with shoes; but at last, having looked a great while before we could find any good enough for us, we found a shop very well stored, and of these we bought two pair for sixteenpence.

We put them on immediately to our great comfort, for we had neither of us had any stockings to our legs that had any feet to them for a long time: I found myself so refreshed with having a pair of warm stockings on, and a pair of dry shoes; things, I say, which I had not been acquainted with a great while, that I began to call to my mind my being a gentleman, and now I thought it began to come to pass. When we had thus fitted ourselves, I said, 'Hark ye, Major Jack, you and I never had any money in our lives before, and we never had a good dinner in all our lives; what if we should go somewhere and get some victuals? I am very hungry.'

'So we will then,' says the major, 'I am hungry too;' so we went to a boiling cook's in Rosemary-lane, where we treated ourselves nobly, and, as I thought with myself, we began to live like gentlemen, for we had three-pennyworth of boiled beef, two-pennyworth of pudding, a penny brick (as they call it, or loaf), and a whole pint of strong beer, which was 7d. in all.

N.B.—We had each of us a good mess of charming beef-broth into the bargain; and, which cheered my heart wonderfully, all the while we were at dinner, the maid and the boy in the house every time they passed by the open box where we sat at our dinner, would look in and cry, 'Gentlemen, do you call?' and, 'Do ye call, gentlemen?' I say this was as good to me as all my dinner.

Not the best housekeeper in Stepney parish, not my lord mayor of London, no, not the greatest man on earth could be more happy in their own imagination, and with less mixture of grief or reflection, than I was at this new piece of felicity; though mine was but a small part of it, for Major Jack had an estate compared to me, as I had an estate compared to what I had before: in a word, nothing but an utter ignorance of greater felicity, which was my case, could make anybody think himself so exalted as I did, though I had no share of this booty but 18d.

That night the major and I triumphed in our new enjoyment, and slept with an undisturbed repose in the usual place, surrounded with the warmth of the glass-house fires above, which was a full amends for all the ashes and cinders which we rolled in below.

Those who know the position of the glass-houses, and the arches where they neal the bottles after they are made, know that those places where the ashes are cast, and where the poor boys lie, are cavities in the brick-work, perfectly close, except at the entrance, and consequently warm as the dressing-room of a bagnio, that it is impossible they can feel any cold there, were it in Greenland, or Nova Zembla, and that therefore the boys lie there not only safe, but very comfortably, the ashes excepted, which are no grievance at all to them.

The next day the major and his comrades went abroad again, and were still successful; nor did any disaster attend them, for I know not how many months; and, by frequent imitation and direction, Major Jack became as dexterous a pickpocket as any of them, and went on through a long variety of fortunes, too long to enter upon now, because I am hastening to my own story, which at present is the main thing I have to set down.

The major failed not to let me see every day the effects of his new prosperity, and was so bountiful, as frequently to throw me a tester, sometimes a shilling; and I might perceive that he began to have clothes on his back, to leave the ash-hole, having gotten a society lodging (of which I may give an explanation by itself on another occasion), and which was more, he took upon him to wear a shirt, which was what neither he or I had ventured to do for three years before, and upward.

But I observed all this while, that though Major Jack was so prosperous and had thriven so well, and notwithstanding he was very kind, and even generous to me, in giving me money upon many occasions, yet he never invited me to enter myself into the society, or to embark with him, whereby I might have been made as happy as he, no, nor did he recommend the employment to me at all.

I was not very well pleased with his being thus reserved to me: I had learned from him in general, that the business was picking of pockets, and I fancied, that though the ingenuity of the trade consisted very much in sleight of hand, a good address, and being very nimble, yet that it was not at all difficult to learn; and especially I thought the opportunities were so many, the country people that come to London so foolish, so gaping, and so engaged in looking about them, that it was a trade with no great hazard annexed to it, and might be easily learned, if I did but know in general the manner of it, and how they went about it.

The subtle devil, never absent from his business, but ready at all occasions to encourage his servants, removed all these difficulties, and brought him into an intimacy with one of the most exquisite divers, or pickpockets, in the

town; and this, our intimacy, was of no less a kind than that, as I had an inclination to be as wicked as any of them, he was for taking care that I should not be disappointed.

He was above the little fellows who went about stealing trifles and baubles in Bartholomew Fair, and run the risk of being mobbed for 3s. or 4s. His aim was at higher things, even at no less than considerable sums of money, and bills for more.

He solicited me earnestly to go and take a walk with him as above, adding, that after he had shown me my trade a little, he would let me be as wicked as I would; that is, as he expressed it, that after he had made me capable, I should set up for myself, if I pleased, and he would only wish me good luck.

Accordingly, as Major Jack went with his gentleman, only to see the manner, and receive the purchase, and yet come in for a share; so he told me, if he had success, I should have my share as much as if I had been principal; and this he assured me was a custom of the trade, in order to encourage young beginners, and bring them into the trade with courage, for that nothing was to be done if a man had not the heart of a lion.

I hesitated at the matter a great while, objecting the hazard, and telling the story of Captain Jack, my elder brother, as I might call him. 'Well, colonel,' says he, 'I find you are faint-hearted, and to be faint-hearted is indeed to be unfit for our trade, for nothing but a bold heart can go through stitch with this work; but, however, as there is nothing for you to do, so there is no risk for you to run in these things the first time. If I am taken,' says he, 'you have nothing to do in it, they will let you go free; for it shall easily be made appear, that whatever I have done, you had no hand in it.'

Upon those persuasions I ventured out with him; but I soon found that my new friend was a thief of quality, and a pickpocket above the ordinary rank, and that aimed higher abundantly than my brother Jack. He was a bigger boy than I a great deal; for though I was now near fifteen years old, I was not big of my age, and as to the nature of the thing, I was perfectly a stranger to it. I knew indeed what at first I did not, for it was a good while before I understood the thing as an offence; I looked on picking pockets as a trade, and thought I was to go apprentice to it. It is true, this was when I was young in the society, as well as younger in years, but even now I understood it to be only a thing for which, if we were catched, we run the risk of being ducked or pumped, which we call soaking, and then all was over; and we made nothing of having our rags wetted a little; but I never understood, till a great while after, that the crime was capital, and that we might be sent to Newgate for it, till a great fellow, almost a man, one of our society, was hanged for it; and then I was terribly frighted, as you shall hear by and by.

Well, upon the persuasions of this lad, I walked out with him; a poor innocent boy, and (as I remember my very thoughts perfectly well) I had no evil in my intentions; I had never stolen anything in my life; and if a goldsmith had left me in his shop, with heaps of money strewed all round me, and bade me look after it, I should not have touched it. I was so honest; but the subtle tempter baited his hook for me, as I was a child, in a manner suitable to my childishness, for I never took this picking of pockets to be dishonesty, but, as I have said above, I looked on it as a kind of trade that I was to be bred up to, and so I entered upon it, till I became hardened in it beyond the power of retreating; and thus I was made a thief involuntarily, and went on a length that few boys do, without coming to the common period of that kind of life, I mean to the transport-ship, or to the gallows.

The first day I went abroad with my new instructor, he carried me directly into the city, and as we went first to the water side, he led me into the long-room at the Custom-house; we were but a couple of ragged boys at best, but I was much the worse; my leader had a hat on, a shirt, and a neckcloth; as for me, I had neither of the three, nor had I spoiled my manners so much as to have a hat on my head since my nurse died, which was now some years. His orders to me were to keep always in sight, and near him, but not close to him, nor to take any notice of him at any time till he came to me; and if any hurly-burly happened, I should by no means know him, or pretend to have anything to do with him.

I observed my orders to a tittle. While he peered into every corner, and had his eye upon everybody, I kept my eye directly upon him, but went always at a distance, and on the other side of the long-room, looking as it were for pins, and picking them up out of the dust as I could find them, and then sticking them on my sleeve, where I had at last got 40 or 50 good pins; but still my eye was upon my comrade, who, I observed, was very busy among the crowds of people that stood at the board, doing business with the officers, who pass the entries, and make the cockets, &c.

At length he comes over to me, and stooping as if he would take up a pin close to me, he put something into my hand, and said, 'Put that up, and follow me down stairs quickly;' he did not run, but shuffled along apace through the crowd, and went down, not the great stairs which we came in at, but a little narrow staircase at the other end of the long-room; I followed, and he found I did, and so went on, not stopping below as I expected, nor speaking one word to me, till through innumerable narrow passages, alleys, and dark ways, we were got up into Fenchurch-street, and through Billiter-lane into Leadenhall-street, and from thence into Leadenhall-market.

It was not a meat-market day, so we had room to sit down upon one of the butchers' stalls, and he bid me lug out. What he had given me was a little leather letter-case, with a French almanack stuck in the inside of it, and a great many papers in it of several kinds.

We looked them over, and found there was several valuable bills in it, such as bills of exchange, and other notes, things I did not understand; but among the rest was a goldsmith's note, as he called it, of one Sir Stephen Evans, for £300, payable to the bearer, and at demand; besides this, there was another note for £12, 10s., being a goldsmith's bill too, but I forget the name; there was a bill or two also written in French, which neither of us understood, but which it seems were things of value, being called foreign bills accepted.

The rogue, my master, knew what belonged to the goldsmith's bills well enough, and I observed, when he read the bill of Sir Stephen, he said, this is too big for me to meddle with; but when he came to the bill £12, 10s., he said to me, 'This will do, come hither, Jack;' so away he runs to Lombard-street, and I after him, huddling the other papers into the letter-case. As he went along, he inquired the name out immediately, and went directly to the shop, put on a good grave

countenance, and had the money paid him without any stop or question asked; I stood on the other side the way looking about the street, as not at all concerned with anybody that way, but observed, that when he presented the bill, he pulled out the letter-case, as if he had been a merchant's boy, acquainted with business, and had other bills about him.

They paid him the money in gold, and he made haste enough in telling it over, and came away, passing by me, and going into Three-King-court, on the other side of the way; then we crossed back into Clement's-lane, made the best of our way to Cole-harbour, at the water side, and got a sculler for a penny to carry us over the water to St. Mary-Over's stairs, where we landed, and were safe enough.

Here he turns to me; 'Colonel Jack,' says he, 'I believe you are a lucky boy, this is a good job; we'll go away to St. George's Fields and share our booty.' Away we went to the Fields, and sitting down in the grass, far enough out of the path, he pulled out the money; 'Look here, Jack,' says he, 'did you ever see the like before in your life?' 'No, never,' says I, and added very innocently, 'must we have it all?' 'We have it!' says he, 'who should have it?' 'Why,' says I, 'must the man have none of it again that lost it?' 'He have it again!' says he, 'what d'ye mean by that?' 'Nay, I don't know,' says I, 'why, you said just now you would let him have the t'other bill again; that you said was too big for you.'

He laughed at me; 'You are but a little boy,' says he, 'that's true, but I thought you had not been such a child neither;' so he mighty gravely explained the thing to me thus: that the bill of Sir Stephen Evans was a great bill for £300, 'and if I,' says he, 'that am but a poor lad, should venture to go for the money, they will presently say, how should I come by such a bill, and that I certainly found it or stole it; so they will stop me,' says he, 'and take it away from me, and it may bring me into trouble for it too; so,' says he, 'I did say it was too big for me to meddle with, and that I would let the man have it again, if I could tell how; but for the money, Jack, the money that we have got, I warrant you he should have none of that; besides,' says he, 'whoever he be that has lost this letter-case, to be sure, as soon as he missed it, he would run to the goldsmith and give notice, that if anybody came for the money, they would be stopped; but I am too old for him there,' says he.

'Why,' says I, 'and what will you do with the bill; will you throw it away? if you do, somebody else will find it,' says I, 'and they will go and take the money.' 'No, no,' says he, 'then they will be stopped and examined, as I tell you I should be.' I did not know well what all this meant, so I talked no more about that; but we fell to handling the money. As for me, I had never seen so much together in all my life, nor did I know what in the world to do with it, and once or twice I was going to bid him keep it for me, which would have been done like a child indeed, for, to be sure, I had never heard a word more of it, though nothing had befallen him.

However, as I happened to hold my tongue as to that part, he shared the money very honestly with me; only at the end, he told me, that though it was true, he promised me half, yet as it was the first time, and I had done nothing but look on, so he thought it was very well if I took a little less than he did; so he divided the money, which was £12, 10s., into two exact parts, viz. £6, 5s., in each part; then he took £1, 5s. from my part, and told me I should give him that for hansel. 'Well,' says I, 'take it then, for I think you deserve it all:' so, however, I took up the rest; 'and what shall I do with this now,' says I, 'for I have nowhere to put it?' 'Why, have you no pockets?' says he. 'Yes,' says I, 'but they are full of holes.' I have often thought since that, and with some mirth too, how I had really more wealth than I knew what to do with, for lodging I had none, nor any box or drawer to hide my money in, nor had I any pocket, but such as I say was full of holes; I knew nobody in the world that I could go and desire them to lay it up for me; for being a poor naked, ragged boy, they would presently say, I had robbed somebody, and perhaps lay hold of me, and my money would be my crime, as they say it often is in foreign countries; and now, as I was full of wealth, behold I was full of care, for what to do to secure my money I could not tell; and this held me so long, and was so vexatious to me the next day, that I truly sat down and cried.

Nothing could be more perplexing than this money was to me all that night. I carried it in my hand a good while, for it was in gold, all but 14s.; and that is to say, it was in four guineas, and that 14s. was more difficult to carry than the four guineas; at last I sat down, and pulled off one of my shoes, and put the four guineas into that; but after I had gone a while, my shoe hurt me so I could not go, so I was fain to sit down again, and take it out of my shoe, and carry it in my hand; then I found a dirty linen rag in the street, and I took that up, and wrapt it all together, and carried it in that a good way. I have often since heard people say, when they have been talking of money that they could not get in, 'I wish I had it in a foul clout:' in truth, I had mine in a foul clout; for it was foul, according to the letter of that saying, but it served me till I came to a convenient place, and then I sat down and washed the cloth in the kennel, and so then put my money in again.

Well, I carried it home with me to my lodging in the glass-house, and when I went to go to sleep, I knew not what to do with it; if I had let any of the black crew I was with know of it, I should have been smothered in the ashes for it, or robbed of it, or some trick or other put upon me for it; so I knew not what to do, but lay with it in my hand, and my hand in my bosom, but then sleep went from my eyes: O, the weight of human care! I, a poor beggar-boy, could not sleep so soon as I had but a little money to keep, who, before that could have slept upon a heap of brick-bats, stones, or cinders, or anywhere, as sound as a rich man does on his down bed, and sounder too.

Every now and then dropping asleep, I should dream that my money was lost, and start like one frighted; then, finding it fast in my hand, try to go to sleep again, but could not for a long while, then drop and start again. At last a fancy came into my head that if I fell asleep, I should dream of the money, and talk of it in my sleep, and tell that I had money, which if I should do, and one of the rogues should hear me, they would pick it out of my bosom, and of my hand too, without waking me; and after that thought I could not sleep a wink more; so that I passed that night over in care and anxiety enough; and this, I may safely say, was the first night's rest that I lost by the cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of riches.

As soon as it was day, I got out of the hole we lay in, and rambled abroad in the fields towards Stepney, and there I mused and considered what

I should do with this money, and many a time I wished that I had not had it; for, after all my ruminating upon it, and what course I should take with it, or where I should put it, I could not hit upon any one thing, or any possible method to secure it; and it perplexed me so, that at last, as I said just now, I sat down and cried heartily.

When my crying was over, the case was the same; I had the money still, and what to do with it I could not tell. At last it came into my head, that I would look out for some hole in a tree, and see to hide it there till I should have occasion for it. Big with this discovery, as I then thought it, I began to look about me for a tree; but there were no trees in the fields about Stepney or Mile-end, that looked fit for my purpose; and if there were any that I began to look narrowly at, the fields were so full of people, that they would see if I went to hide anything there, and I thought the people eyed me, as it were, and that two men in particular followed me to see what I intended to do.

This drove me farther off, and I crossed the road at Mile-end, and in the middle of the town went down a lane that goes away to the Blind Beggar's at Bednal-green; when I came a little way in the lane, I found a footpath over the fields, and in those fields several trees for my turn, as I thought; at last, one tree had a little hole in it, pretty high out of my reach, and I climbed up the tree to get it, and when I came there, I put my hand in, and found (as I thought) a place very fit; so I placed my treasure there, and was mighty well satisfied with it; but, behold, putting my hand in again to lay it more commodiously, as I thought, of a sudden it slipped away from me, and I found the tree was hollow, and my little parcel was fallen in quite out of my reach, and how far it might go in I knew not; so that, in a word, my money was quite gone, irrecoverably lost; there could be no room so much as to hope ever to see it again, for 'twas a vast great tree.

As young as I was, I was now sensible what a fool I was before, that I could not think of ways to keep my money, but I must come thus far to throw it into a hole where I could not reach it. Well, I thrust my hand quite up to my elbow, but no bottom was to be found, or any end of the hole or cavity; I got a stick of the tree, and thrust it in a great way, but all was one; then I cried, nay, roared out, I was in such a passion; then I got down the tree again, then up again, and thrust in my hand again till I scratched my arm and made it bleed, and cried all the while most violently; then I began to think I had not so much as a halfpenny of it left for a halfpenny roll, and I was hungry, and then I cried again; then I came away in despair, crying and roaring like a little boy that had been whipped; then I went back again to the tree, and up the tree again, and thus I did several times.

The last time I had gotten up the tree I happened to come down not on the same side that I went up and came down before, but on the other side of the tree, and on the other side of the bank also; and, behold, the tree had a great open place, in the side of it close to the ground, as old hollow trees often have; and looking into the open place, to my inexpressible joy, there lay my money and my linen rag, all wrapped up just as I had put it into the hole; for the tree being hollow all the way up, there had been some moss or light stuff (which I had not judgment enough to know), was not firm, and had given way when it came to drop out of my hand, and so it had slipped quite down at once.

I was but a child, and I rejoiced like a child, for I holloa'd quite out aloud when I saw it; then I run to it, and snatched it up, hugged and kissed the dirty rag a hundred times; then danced and jumped about, run from one end of the field to the other, and, in short, I knew not what, much less do I know now what I did, though I shall never forget the thing, either what a sinking grief it was to my heart, when I thought I had lost it, or what a flood of joy overwhelmed me when I had got it again.

While I was in the first transport of my joy, as I have said, I run about, and knew not what I did; but when that was over I sat down, opened the foul clout the money was in, looked at it, told it, found it was all there, and then I fell a-crying as savourly as I did before, when I thought I had lost it.

It would tire the reader should I dwell on all the little boyish tricks that I played in the ecstasy of my joy and satisfaction, when I had found my money; so I break off here. Joy is as extravagant as grief, and since I have been a man I have often thought, that had such a thing befallen a man, so to have lost all he had, and not have a bit of bread to eat, and then so strangely to find it again, after having given it so effectually over, —I say, had it been so with a man, it might have hazarded his using some violence upon himself.

Well, I came away with my money, and, having taken sixpence out of it, before I made it up again, I went to a chandler's shop in Mile-end, and bought a halfpenny roll and a halfpenny worth of cheese, and sat down at the door after I bought it, and eat it very heartily, and begged some beer to drink with it, which the good woman gave me very freely.

Away I went then for the town, to see if I could find any of my companions, and resolved I would try no more hollow trees for my treasure. As I came along Whitechapel, I came by a broker's shop, over against the church, where they sold old clothes, for I had nothing on but the worst of rags; so I stopped at the shop, and stood looking at the clothes which hung at the door.

'Well, young gentleman,' says a man that stood at the door, 'you look wishfully; do you see anything you like, and will your pocket compass a good coat now, for you look as if you belonged to the ragged regiment?' I was affronted at the fellow. 'What's that to you,' says I, 'how ragged I am? if I had seen anything I liked, I have money to pay for it; but I can go where I shan't be huffed at for looking.'

While I said thus, pretty boldly to the fellow, comes a woman out, 'What ails you,' says she to the man, 'to bully away our customers so? a poor boy's money is as good as my lord mayor's; if poor people did not buy old clothes, what would become of our business?' and then turning to me, 'Come hither, child,' says she, 'if thou hast a mind to anything I have, you shan't be hectored by him; the boy is a pretty boy, I assure you,' says she, to another woman that was by this time come to her. 'Ay,' says the t'other, 'so he is, a very well-looking child, if he was clean and well dressed, and may be as good a gentleman's son for anything we know, as any of those that are well dressed. Come, my dear,' says she, 'tell me what is it you would have?' She pleased me mightily to hear her talk of my being a gentleman's son, and it brought former things to my mind; but when she talk'd of my being not clean, and in rags, then I cried.

She pressed me to tell her if I saw anything that I wanted; I told her no, all the clothes I saw

there were too big for me. 'Come, child,' says she, 'I have two things here that will fit you, and I am sure you want them both; that is, first, a little hat, and there,' says she (tossing it to me), 'I'll give you that for nothing; and here is a good warm pair of breeches. I dare say,' says she, 'they will fit you, and they are very tight and good; and,' says she, 'if you should ever come to have so much money that you don't know what to do with it, here are excellent good pockets,' says she, 'and a little fob to put your gold in, or your watch in, when you get it.'

It struck me with a strange kind of joy that I should have a place to put my money in, and need not go to hide it again in a hollow tree, that I was ready to snatch the breeches out of her hands, and wondered that I should be such a fool never to think of buying me a pair of breeches before, that I might have a pocket to put my money in, and not carry it about two days together in my hand, and in my shoe, and I knew not how; so, in a word, I gave her 2s. for the breeches, and went over into the churchyard, and put them on, put my money into my new pockets, and was as pleased as a prince is with his coach and six horses. I thanked the good woman too for the hat, and told her I would come again when I got more money, and buy some other things I wanted; and so I came away.

I was but a boy, 'tis true, but I thought myself a man now I had got a pocket to put my money in, and I went directly to find out my companion, by whose means I got it; but I was frighted out of my wits when I heard that he was carried to Bridewell; I made no question but it was for the letter-case, and that I should be carried there too. And then my poor brother Captain Jack's case came into my head, and that I should be whipped there as cruelly as he was; and I was in such a fright that I knew not what to do.

But in the afternoon I met him; he had been carried to Bridewell, it seems, upon that very affair, but was got out again. The case was thus: having had such good luck at the Custom-house the day before, he takes his walk thither again, and as he was in the long-room, gaping and staring about him, a fellow lays hold of him, and calls to one of the clerks that sat behind, 'Here,' says he, 'is the same young rogue that I told you I saw loitering about t'other day, when the gentleman lost his letter-case, and his goldsmith's bills; I dare say it was he that stole them.' Immediately the whole crowd of people gathered about the boy, and charged him point blank; but he was too well used to such things to be frighted into a confession of what he knew they could not prove, for he had nothing about him belonging to it, nor had any money, but sixpence and a few dirty farthings.

They threatened him, and pulled, and hauled him, till they almost pulled the clothes off his back, and the commissioners examined him; but all was one, he would own nothing, but said, he walked up through the room only to see the place, both then and the time before, for he had owned he was there before, so as there was no proof against him of any fact, no, nor of any circumstances relating to the letter-case, they were forced at last to let him go. However, they made a show of carrying him to Bridewell, and they did carry him to the gate, to see if they could make him confess anything; but he would confess nothing, and they had no *mittimus;* so they durst not carry him into the house, nor would the people have received him, I suppose, if they had, they having no warrant for putting him in prison.

Well, when they could get nothing out of him, they carried him into an ale-house, and there they told him, that the letter-case had bills in it of a very great value, that they would be of no use to the rogue that had them, but they would be of infinite damage to the gentleman that had lost them; and that he had left word with the clerk, who the man that stopped this boy had called to, and who was there with him, that he would give £30 to any one that would bring them again, and give all the security that could be desired that he would give them no trouble, whoever it was.

He was just come from out of their hands when I met with him, and so he told me all the story; 'but,' says he, 'I would confess nothing, and so I got off, and am come away clear.' 'Well,' says I, 'and what will you do with the letter-case, and the bills; will not you let the poor man have his bills again?' 'No, not I,' says he, 'I won't trust them, what care I for their bills?' It came into my head, as young as I was, that it was a sad thing indeed to take a man's bills away for so much money, and not have any advantage by it either; for I concluded, that the gentleman, who owned the bills, must lose all the money, and it was strange he should keep the bills, and make a gentleman lose so much money for nothing. I remember that I ruminated very much about it, and though I did not understand it very well, yet it lay upon my mind, and I said every now and then to him, 'Do let the gentleman have his bills again, do, pray do;' and so I teazed him, with 'do,' and 'pray do,' till at last I cried about them. He said, 'What, would you have me be found out and sent to Bridewell, and be whipped, as your brother Captain Jack was?' I said, 'No, I would not have you whipped, but I would have the man have his bills, for they will do you no good, but the gentleman will be undone, it may be;' and then, I added again, 'Do let him have them.' He snapped me short, 'Why,' says he, 'how shall I get them to him? Who dare carry them? I dare not, to be sure, for they will stop me, and bring the goldsmith to see if he does not know me, and that I received the money, and so they will prove the robbery, and I shall be hanged; would you have me be hanged, Jack?'

I was silenced a good while with that, for when he said, 'Would you have me be hanged, Jack?' I had no more to say; but one day after this he called to me, 'Colonel Jack,' says he, 'I have thought of a way how the gentleman shall have his bills again; and you and I shall get a good deal of money by it, if you will be honest to me, as I was to you.' 'Indeed,' says I, 'Robin,' that was his name, 'I will be very honest; let me know how it is, for I would fain have him his bills.'

'Why,' says he, 'they told me that he had left word at the clerk's place in the long-room, that he would give £30 to any one that had the bills, and would restore them, and would ask no questions. Now, if you will go, like a poor innocent boy as you are, into the long-room, and speak to the clerk, it may do; tell him, if the gentleman will do as he promised, you believe you can tell him who has it; and if they are civil to you, and willing to be as good as their words, you shall have the letter-case, and give it them.'

I told him, Ay, I would go with all my heart. 'But, Colonel Jack,' says he, 'what if they should take hold of you, and threaten to have you whipped, won't you discover me to them?' 'No,' says I, 'if they would whip me to death I won't.' 'Well, then,' says he, 'there's the letter-

case, do you go.' So he gave me directions how to act, and what to say; but I would not take the letter-case with me, lest they should prove false, and take hold of me, thinking to find it upon me, and so charge me with the fact; so I left it with him, and the next morning I went to the Custom-house, as was agreed; what my directions were, will, to avoid repetition, appear in what happened; it was an errand of too much consequence indeed to be entrusted to a boy, not only so young as I was, but so little of a rogue as I was yet arrived to the degree of.

Two things I was particularly armed with, which I resolved upon: 1. That the man should have his bills again; for it seemed a horrible thing to me that he should be made to lose his money, which I supposed he must, purely because we would not carry the letter-case home. 2. That whatever happened to me, I was never to tell the name of my comrade Robin, who had been the principal. With these two pieces of honesty, for such they were both in themselves, and with a manly heart, though a boy's head, I went up into the long-room in the Custom-house the next day.

As soon as I came to the place where the thing was done, I saw the man sit just where he had sat before, and it run in my head that he had sat there ever since; but I knew no better. So I went up, and stood just at that side of the writing-board that goes upon that side of the room, and which I was but just tall enough to lay my arms upon.

While I stood there, one thrust me this way, and another thrust me that way, and the man that sat behind began to look at me; at last he called out to me, 'What does that boy do there? Get you gone, sirrah; are you one of the rogues that stole the gentleman's letter-case on Monday last?' Then he turns his tale to a gentleman that was doing business with him, and goes on thus: 'Here was Mr. —— had a very unlucky chance on Monday last, did not you hear of it?' 'No, not I,' says the gentleman. 'Why, standing just there, where you do,' says he, 'making his entries, he pulled out his letter-case, and laid it down, as he says, but just at his hand, while he reached over to the standish there for a penful of ink, and somebody stole away his letter-case.'

'His letter-case!' says t'other; 'what, and was there any bills in it?'

'Ay,' says he, 'there was Sir Stephen Evans' note in it for £300, and another goldsmith's bill for about £12, and which is worse still for the gentleman, he had two foreign accepted bills in it for a great sum, I know not how much, I think one was a French bill for 1200 crowns.'

'And who could it be?' says the gentleman.

'Nobody knows,' says he; 'but one of our room-keepers says, he saw a couple of young rogues like that,' pointing at me, 'hanging about here, and that on a sudden they were both gone.'

'Villains!' says he again; 'why, what can they do with them, they will be of no use to them? I suppose he went immediately, and gave notice to prevent the payment.'

'Yes,' says the clerk, 'he did; but the rogues were too nimble for him with the little bill of £12 odd money; they went and got the money for that; but all the rest are stopped. However, 'tis an unspeakable damage to him for want of his money.'

'Why, he should publish a reward for the encouragement of those that have them to bring them again; they would be glad to bring them, I warrant you.'

'He has posted it up at the door, that he will give £30 for them.'

'Ay, but he should add, that he will promise not to stop, or give any trouble to the person that brings them.'

'He has done that too,' says he; 'but I fear they won't trust themselves to be honest, for fear he should break his word.'

'Why, it is true, he may break his word in that case; but no man should do so, for then no rogue will venture to bring home anything that is stolen, and so he would do an injury to others after him.'

'I durst pawn my life for him, he would scorn it.'

Thus far they discoursed of it, and then went off to something else. I heard it all, but did not know what to do a great while; but at last, watching the gentleman that went away, when he was gone, I run after him to have spoken to him, intending to have broke it to him, but he went hastily into a room or two, full of people, at the hither end of the long-room; and when I went to follow, the doorkeepers turned me back, and told me, I must not go in there. So I went back, and loitered about, near the man that sat behind the board, and hung about there till I found the clock struck twelve, and the room began to be thin of people; and at last he sat there writing, but nobody stood at the board before him, as there had all the rest of the morning; then I came a little nearer, and stood close to the board, as I did before; when, looking up from his paper, and seeing me, says he to me, 'You have been up and down there all this morning, sirrah; what do you want? You have some business that is not very good, I doubt.'

'No, I han't,' said I.

'No? it is well if you han't,' says he. 'Pray, what business can you have in the long-room, sir; you are no merchant?'

'I would speak with you,' said I.

'With me?' says he; 'what have you to say to me?'

'I have something to say,' said I, 'if you will do me no harm for it.'

'I do thee harm, child! what harm should I do thee?' and spoke very kindly.

'Won't you indeed, sir?' said I.

'No, not I, child; I'll do thee no harm; what is it? Do you know anything of the gentleman's letter-case?'

I answered, but spoke softly, that he could not hear me; so he gets over presently into the seat next him, and opens a place that was made to come out, and bade me come in to him; and I did.

Then he asked me again, if I knew anything of the letter-case.

I spoke softly again, and said, Folks would hear him.

Then he whispered softly, and asked me again.

I told him, I believed I did; but that, indeed, I had it not, nor had no hand in stealing it, but it was gotten into the hands of a boy that would have burnt it, if it had not been for me; and that I heard him say, that the gentleman would be glad to have them again, and give a good deal of money for them.

'I did say so, child,' said he, 'and if you can get them for him, he shall give you a good reward; no less than £30, as he has promised.'

'But you said too, sir, to the gentleman just now,' said I, 'that you was sure he would not bring them into any harm that should bring them.'

'No, you shall come to no harm; I will pass my word for it.'

Boy. Nor shan't they make me bring other people into trouble?

Gent. No, you shall not be asked the name of anybody, nor to tell who they are.

Boy. I am but a poor boy, and I would fain have the gentleman have his bills, and indeed I did not take them away, nor I han't got them.

Gent. But can you tell how the gentleman shall have them?

Boy. If I can get them, I will bring them to you to-morrow morning.

Gent. Can you not do it to-night?

Boy. I believe I may, if I knew where to come.

Gent. Come to my house, child.

Boy. I don't know where you live.

Gent. Go along with me now, and you shall see. So he carried me up into Tower-street, and showed me his house, and ordered me to come there at five o'clock at night; which accordingly I did, and carried the letter-case with me.

When I came, the gentleman asked me if I had brought the book, as he called it.

'It is not a book,' said I.

'No, the letter-case, that's all one,' says he.

'You promised me,' said I, 'you would not hurt me,' and cried.

'Don't be afraid, child,' says he. 'I will not hurt thee, poor boy; nobody shall hurt thee.'

'Here it is,' said I, and pulled it out.

He then brought in another gentleman, who it seems owned the letter-case, and asked him, If that was it? and he said, Yes.

Then he asked me if all the bills were in it?

I told him, I heard him say there was one gone, but I believed there was all the rest.

'Why do you believe so?' says he.

'Because I heard the boy that I believe stole them say, they were too big for him to meddle with.'

The gentleman then that owned them said, 'Where is the boy?'

Then the other gentleman put in, and said, 'No, you must not ask him that; I passed my word that you should not, and that he should not be obliged to tell it to anybody.'

'Well, child,' says he, 'you will let us see the letter-case opened, and whether the bills are in it?'

'Yes,' says I.

Then the first gentleman said, 'How many bills were there in it?'

'Only three,' says he, 'besides the bill of £12, 10s.; there was Sir Stephen Evans' note for £300, and two foreign bills.'

'Well, then, if they are in the letter-case, the boy shall have £30, shall he not?'

'Yes,' says the gentleman, 'he shall have it freely.'

'Come, then, child,' says he, 'let me open it.'

So I gave it him, and he opened it, and there were all three bills, and several other papers, fair and safe, nothing defaced or diminished, and the gentleman said, All was right.

Then said the first man, 'Then I am security to the poor boy for the money.' 'Well, but,' says the gentleman, 'the rogues have got the £12, 10s.; they ought to reckon that as part of the £30.' Had he asked me, I should have consented to it at first word; but the first man stood my friend. 'Nay,' says he, 'it was since you knew that the £12, 10s. was received that you offered £30 for the other bills, and published it by the crier, and posted it up at the Custom-house door, and I promised him the £30 this morning.' They argued long, and I thought would have quarrelled about it.

However, at last they both yielded a little, and the gentleman gave me £25 in good guineas. When he gave it me, he bade me hold out my hand, and he told the money into my hand; and when he had done, he asked me if it was right? I said, I did not know, but I believed it was. 'Why,' says he, 'can't you tell it?' I told him, No; I never saw so much money in my life, nor I did not know how to tell money. 'Why,' says he, 'don't you know that they are guineas?' No, I told him, I did not know how much a guinea was.

'Why, then,' says he, 'did you tell me you believed it was right?' I told him, Because I believed he would not give it me wrong.

'Poor child!' says he, 'thou knowest little of the world, indeed. What art thou?'

'I am a poor boy,' says I, and cried.

'What is your name?' says he. 'But hold, I forgot,' said he; 'I promised I would not ask your name, so you need not tell me.'

'My name is Jack,' said I.

'Why, have you no surname?' said he.

'What is that?' said I.

'You have some other name besides Jack,' says he; 'han't you?'

'Yes,' says I, 'they call me Colonel Jack.'

'But have you no other name?'

'No,' said I.

'How came you to be called Colonel Jack, pray?'

'They say,' said I, 'my father's name was Colonel.'

'Is your father or mother alive?' said he.

'No,' said I, 'my father is dead.'

'Where is your mother then?' said he.

'I never had e'er a mother,' said I.

This made him laugh. 'What,' said he, 'had you never a mother; what then?'

'I had a nurse,' said I; 'but she was not my mother.'

'Well,' says he to the gentleman, 'I dare say this boy was not the thief that stole your bills.'

'Indeed, sir, I did not steal them,' said I, and cried again.

'No, no, child,' said he, 'we don't believe you did. This is a very clever boy,' says he to the other gentleman, 'and yet very ignorant and honest; 'tis pity some care should not be taken of him, and something done for him; let us talk a little more with him.' So they sat down and drank wine, and gave me some, and then the first gentleman talked to me again.

'Well,' says he, 'what wilt thou do with this money now thou hast it?'

'I don't know,' said I.

'Where will you put it?' said he.

'In my pocket,' said I.

'In your pocket?' said he. 'Is your pocket whole? shan't you lose it?'

'Yes,' said I, 'my pocket is whole.'

'And where will you put it, when you get home.'

'I have no home,' said I, and cried again.

'Poor child!' said he; 'then what dost thou do for thy living?'

'I go of errands,' said I, 'for the folks in Rosemary-lane.'

'And what dost thou do for a lodging at night?'

'I lie at the glass-house,' said I, 'at night.'

'How, lie at the glass-house! have they any beds there?' says he.

'I never lay in a bed in my life,' said I, 'as I remember.'

'Why,' says he, 'what do you lie on at the glass-house.'

'The ground,' says I, 'and sometimes a little straw, or upon the warm ashes.'

Here the gentleman that lost the bills said, 'This poor child is enough to make a man weep for the miseries of human nature, and be thankful for himself; he puts tears into my eyes.' 'And into mine too,' says the other.

'Well, but hark ye, Jack,' says the first gentleman, 'do they give you no money when they send you of errands?'

'They give me victuals,' said I, 'and that's better.'

'But what,' says he, 'do you do for clothes?'

'They give me sometimes old things,' said I, 'such as they have to spare.'

'Why, you have never a shirt on, I believe,' said he, 'have you?'

'No, I never had a shirt,' said I, 'since my nurse died.'

'How long ago is that?' said he.

'Six winters, when this is out,' said I.

'Why, how old are you?' said he.

'I can't tell,' said I.

'Well,' says the gentleman, 'now you have this money, won't you buy some clothes, and a shirt with some of it?'

'Yes,' said I, 'I would buy some clothes.'

'And what will you do with the rest?'

'I can't tell,' said I, and cried.

'What dost cry for, Jack?' said he.

'I am afraid,' said I; and cried still.

'What art afraid of?'

'They will know I have money.'

'Well, and what then?'

'Then I must sleep no more in the warm glass-house, and I shall be starved with cold. They will take away my money.'

'But why must you sleep there no more?'

Here the gentlemen observed to one another how naturally anxiety and perplexity attend those that have money. 'I warrant you,' says the clerk, 'when this poor boy had no money, he slept all night in the straw, or on the warm ashes in the glass-house, as soundly and as void of care as it would be possible for any creature to do; but now, as soon as he has gotten money, the care of preserving it brings tears into his eyes, and fear into his heart.'

They asked me a great many questions more, to which I answered in my childish way as well as I could, but so as pleased them well enough; at last I was going away with a heavy pocket, and I assure you not a light heart, for I was so frighted with having so much money that I knew not what in the earth to do with myself. I went away, however, and walked a little way, but I could not tell what to do; so, after rambling two hours or thereabout, I went back again, and sat down at the gentleman's door, and there I cried as long as I had any moisture in my head to make tears of, but never knocked at the door.

I had not sat long, I suppose, but somebody belonging to the family got knowledge of it, and a maid came and talked to me, but I said little to her, only cried still; at length it came to the gentleman's ears. As for the merchant, he was gone. When the gentleman heard of me, he called me in, and began to talk with me again, and asked me what I stayed for?

I told him I had not stayed there all that while, for I had been gone a great while, and was come again.

'Well,' says he, 'but what did you come again for?'

'I can't tell,' says I.

'And what do you cry so for,' said he, 'I hope you have not lost your money, have you?'

No, I told him, I had not lost it yet; but I was afraid I should.

'And does that make you cry?' says he.

I told him, Yes, for I knew I should not be able to keep it; but they would cheat me of it, or they would kill me, and take it away from me too.

'They,' says he, 'who? what sort of gangs of people art thou with?'

I told him they were all boys, but very wicked boys; 'thieves and pickpockets,' said I, 'such as stole this letter-case; a sad pack, I can't abide them.'

'Well, Jack,' said he, 'what shall be done for thee? Will you leave it with me; shall I keep it for you?'

'Yes,' said I, 'with all my heart, if you please.'

'Come, then,' says he, 'give it me; and that you may be sure that I have it, and you shall have it honestly again, I'll give you a bill for it, and for the interest of it, and that you may keep safe enough. Nay,' added he, 'and if you lose it, or anybody takes it from you, none shall receive the money but yourself, or any part of it.'

I presently pulled out all the money, and gave it to him, only keeping about 15s. for myself to buy some clothes; and thus ended the conference between us on the first occasion, at least for the first time. Having thus secured my money to my full satisfaction, I was then perfectly easy, and accordingly the sad thoughts that afflicted my mind before began to vanish away.

This was enough to let any one see how all the sorrows and anxieties of men's lives come about; how they rise from their restless pushing at getting of money, and the restless cares of keeping it when they have got it. I that had nothing, and had not known what it was to have had anything, know nothing of the care either of getting, or of keeping it. I wanted nothing, who wanted everything; I had no care, no concern about where I should get my victuals, or how I should lodge; I knew not what money was, or what to do with it; and never knew what it was not to sleep till I had money to keep, and was afraid of losing it.

I had, without doubt, an opportunity at this time, if I had not been too foolish, and too much a child to speak for myself; I had an opportunity, I say, to have got into his service, or perhaps to be under some of the care and concern of these gentlemen; for they seemed to be very fond of doing something for me, and were surprised at the innocence of my talk to them, as well as at the misery (as they thought it) of my condition.

But I acted indeed like a child; and leaving my money, as I have said, I never went near them for several years after. What course I took, and what befell me in that interval, has so much variety in it, and carries so much instruction in it, that it requires an account of it by itself.

The first happy chance that offered itself to me in the world was now over. I had got money, but I neither knew the value of it, nor the use of it; the way of living I had begun was so natural to me, I had no notion of bettering it; I had not so much as any desire of buying me any clothes, no, not so much as a shirt, and much less had I any thought of getting any other lodging than that in the glass-house, and loitering about the streets, as I had done; for I knew no good, and had tasted no evil; that is to say, the life I had led being not evil in my account.

In this state of innocence I returned to my really miserable life, so it was in itself, and was

only not so to me, because I did not understand how to judge of it, and had known no better.

My comrade that gave me back the bills, and who, if I had not pressed him, designed never to have restored them, never asked me what I had given me, but told me, if they gave me anything it should be my own; for, as he said, he would not run the venture of being seen in the restoring them, I deserved the reward if there was any; neither did he trouble his head with inquiring what I had, or whether I had anything or no; so my title to what I had got was clear.

I went now up and down just as I did before. I had money indeed in my pocket, but I let nobody know it; I went of errands cheerfully as before, and accepted of what anybody gave me, with as much thankfulness as ever; the only difference that I made with myself, was, that if I was hungry, and nobody employed me, or gave me anything to eat, I did not beg from door to door, as I did at first, but went to a boiling-house, as I said once before, and got a mess of broth and a piece of bread, price a halfpenny; very seldom any meat, or if I treated myself, it was a halfpenny worth of cheese; all which expense did not amount to above twopence or threepence a week; for, contrary to the usage of the rest of the tribe, I was extremely frugal, and I had not disposed of any of the guineas which I had at first; neither, as I said to the Custom-house gentleman, could I tell what a guinea was made of, or what it was worth.

After I had been about a month thus, and had done nothing, my comrade, as I called him, came to me one morning, 'Colonel Jack,' says he, 'when shall you and I take a walk again?' 'When you will,' said I. 'Have you got no business yet?' says he. 'No,' says I; and so one thing bringing in another, he told me I was a fortunate wretch, and he believed I would be so again; but that he must make a new bargain with me now; 'for,' says he, 'Colonel, the first time, we always let a raw brother come in for full share to encourage him, but afterwards, except it be when he puts himself forward well, and runs equal hazard, he stands to courtesy; but as we are gentlemen, we always do very honourable by one another; and if you are willing to trust it, or leave it to me, I shall do handsomely by you, that you may depend upon.' I told him, I was not able to do anything, that was certain, for I did not understand it, and therefore I could not expect to get anything, but I would do as he bade me; so we walked abroad together.

We went no more to the Custom-house, it was too bold a venture; besides, I did not care to show myself again, especially with him in company; but we went directly to the Exchange, and we hankered about in Castle-alley, and in Swithin's-alley, and at the coffee-house doors. It was a very unlucky day, for we got nothing all day but two or three handkerchiefs, and came home to the old lodgings at the glass-house; nor had I anything to eat or drink all day, but a piece of bread which he gave me, and some water at the conduit at the Exchange-gate. So when he was gone from me, for he did not lie in the glass-house as I did, I went to my old broth-house for my usual bait, and refreshed myself, and the next day early went to meet him again, as he appointed me.

Being early in the morning, he took his walk to Billingsgate, where it seems two sorts of people make a great crowd as soon as it is light, and at that time a-year, rather before daylight; that is to say, crimps, and the masters of coal ships, who they call collier-masters; and, secondly, fishmongers, fish-sellers, and buyers of fish.

It was the first of these people that he had his eye upon. So he gives me my orders, which was thus: 'Go you,' says he, 'into all the ale-houses, as we go along, and observe where any people are telling of money; and when you find any, come and tell me.' So he stood at the door, and I went into the houses. As the collier-masters generally sell their coals at the gate, as they call it, so they generally receive their money in those ale-houses; and it was not long before I brought him word of several. Upon this he went in, and made his observations, but found nothing to his purpose; at length I brought him word, that there was a man in such a house who had received a great deal of money of somebody, I believed of several people, and that it lay all upon the table in heaps, and he was very busy writing down the sums, and putting it up in several bags. 'Is he?' says he. 'I'll warrant him I will have some of it;' and in he goes. He walks up and down the house, which had several open tables and boxes in it, and he listened to hear, if he could, what the man's name was; and he heard somebody call him Cullum, or some such name. Then he watches his opportunity, and steps up to him, and tells him a long story, that there were two gentlemen at the Gun Tavern sent him to inquire for him, and to tell him they desired to speak with him.

The collier-master had his money lying before him, just as I had told him, and had two or three small payments of money, which he had put up in little black dirty bags, and lay by themselves; and as it was hardly broad day, he found means, in delivering his message, to lay his hand upon one of those bags, and carry it off perfectly undiscovered.

When he had got it, he came out to me, who stood but at the door; and pulling me by the sleeve, 'Run, Jack,' says he, 'for our lives;' and away he scours, and I after him, never resting, or scarce looking about me, till we got quite up into Fenchurch-street, through Lime-street, into Leadenhall-street, down St. Mary-Axe, to London-wall, then through Bishopsgate-street, and down Old Bedlam into Moorfields. By this time we were neither of us able to run very fast, nor need we have gone so far, for I never found that anybody pursued us. When we got into Moorfields, and began to take breath, I asked him what it was frighted him so? 'Fright me, you fool,' says he; 'I have got a devilish great bag of money.' 'A bag!' said I. 'Ay, ay,' said he, 'let us get out into the fields, where nobody can see us, and I'll show it you.' So away he had me through Long-alley, and cross Hog-lane, and Holloway-lane, into the middle of the great field, which, since that, has been called the Farthing Pie-house Fields. There we would have sat down, but it was all full of water; so we went on, crossed the road at Anniseed Cleer, and went into the field where now the great hospital stands; and finding a bye-place, we sat down, and he pulls out the bag. 'Thou art a lucky boy, Jack,' says he, 'thou deservest a good share of this job truly, for it is all along of thy lucky news.' So he pours it all out into my hat, for, as I told you, I now wore a hat.

How he did to whip away such a bag of money from any man that was awake and in his senses, I cannot tell; but there was a great deal in it, and among it a paper-full by itself. When the paper dropt out of the bag, 'Hold,' says he, 'that is gold!' and began to crow and hollow like a mad boy. But there he was baulked, for it was

a paper of old thirteenpence-halfpenny pieces, half and quarter pieces, with ninepences, and fourpence-halfpennies, all old crooked money, Scotch and Irish coin; so he was disappointed in that; but as it was, there was about £17 or £18 in the bag, as I understood by him; for I could not tell money, not I.

Well, he parted this money into three; that is to say, into three shares, two for himself, and one for me, and asked, If I was content? I told him, Yes, I had reason to be contented; besides, it was so much money added to that I had left of his former adventure, that I knew not what to do with it, or with myself, while I had so much about me.

This was a most exquisite fellow for a thief; for he had the greatest dexterity at conveying anything away, that he scarce ever pitched upon anything in his eye, but he carried it off with his hands, and never, that I know of, missed his aim, or was caught in the fact.

He was an eminent pickpocket, and very dexterous at ladies' gold watches; but he generally pushed higher, at such desperate things as these; and he came off the cleanest, and with the greatest success imaginable; and it was in these kinds of the wicked art of thieving that I became his scholar.

As we were now so rich, he would not let me lie any longer in the glass-house, or go naked and ragged, as I had done; but obliged me to buy two shirts, a waistcoat, and a greatcoat; for a greatcoat was more for our purpose in the business we were upon than any other. So I clothed myself as he directed, and he took me a lodging in the same house with him, and we lodged together in a little garret fit for our quality.

Soon after this we walked out again, and then we tried our fortune in the places by the Exchange a second time. Here we began to act separately, and I undertook to walk by myself; and the first thing I did accurately, was a trick I played that required some skill for a new beginner, for I had never seen any business of that kind done before. I saw two gentlemen mightly eager in talk, and one pulled out a pocket-book two or three times, and then slipt it into his coat-pocket again, and then out it came again, and papers were taken out, and others were put in; and then in it went again, and so several times; the man being still warmly engaged with another man, and two or three others standing hard by them. The last time he put his pocket-book into his pocket, he might be said to throw it in, rather than put it in with his hand, and the book lay end-way, resting upon some other book, or something else in his pocket; so that it did not go quite down, but one corner of it was seen above his pocket.

This careless way of men putting their pocket-books into a coat-pocket, which is so easily dived into by the least boy that has been used to the trade, can never be too much blamed; the gentlemen are in great hurries, their heads and thoughts entirely taken up, and it is impossible they should be guarded enough against such little hawk's-eyed creatures as we were; and, therefore, they ought either never to put their pocket-books up at all, or to put them up more secure, or to put nothing of value into them. I happened to be just opposite to this gentleman in that they call Swithin's-alley, or that alley, rather, which is between Swithin's-alley and the Exchange, just by a passage that goes out of the alley into the Exchange; when seeing the book pass and repass into the pocket, and out of the pocket as above, it came immediately into my head, certainly I might get that pocket-book out if I were nimble, and I warrant Will would have it, if he saw it go and come to and again as I did; but when I saw it hang by the way, as I have said; now it is mine, said I to myself, and, crossing the alley, I brushed smoothly, but closely, by the man, with my hand down flat to my own side, and, taking hold of it by the corner that appeared, the book came so light into my hand, it was impossible the gentleman should feel the least motion, or anybody else see me take it away. I went directly forward into the broad place on the north side of the Exchange, then secured down Bartholomew-lane, so into Tokenhouse-yard, into the alleys which pass through from thence to London-wall, so through Moorgate, and sat down on the grass in the second of the quarters of Moorfields, towards the middle field; which was the place that Will and I had appointed to meet at if either of us got any booty. When I came thither, Will was not come, but I saw him a coming in about half an hour.

As soon as Will came to me, I asked him what booty he had gotten? He looked pale, and, as I thought, frighted; but he returned, 'I have got nothing, not I; but, you lucky young dog,' says he, 'what have you got? Have not you got the gentleman's pocket-book in Swithin's-alley?' 'Yes,' says I, and laughed at him; 'why, how did you know it?' 'Know it!' says he; 'why the gentleman is raving and half distracted; he stamps and cries, and tears his very clothes; he says he is utterly undone and ruined, and the folks in the alley say there is I know not how many thousand pounds in it. What can be in it?' says Will; 'come, let us see.'

Well, we lay close in the grass in the middle of the quarter, so that nobody minded us; and so we opened the pocket-book, and there was a great many bills and notes under men's hands; some goldsmiths', and some belonging to insurance offices, as they call them, and the like; but that which was it seems worth all the rest was that in one of the folds of the cover of the book, where there was a case with several partitions, there was a paper full of loose diamonds. The man, as we understood afterward, was a Jew, who dealt in such goods, and who indeed ought to have taken more care of the keeping of them.

Now was this booty too great, even for Will himself, to manage; for though by this time I was come to understand things better than I did formerly, when I knew not what belonged to money; yet Will was better skilled by far in those things than I. But this puzzled him too, as well as me. Now were we something like the cock in the fable; for all these bills, and I think there was one bill of Sir Henry Furness's for £1200, and all these diamonds, which were worth about £150, as they said; I say, all these things were of no value to us, one little purse of gold would have been better to us than all of it. 'But come,' says Will, 'let us look over the bills for a little one.'

We looked over all the bills, and, among them, we found a bill under a man's hand for £32. 'Come,' says Will, 'let us go and inquire where this man lives.' So he went into the city again, and Will went to the post-house, and asked there; they told him he lived at Temple-bar. 'Well,' says Will, 'I will venture, I'll go and receive the money; it may be he has not remembered to send to stop the payment there.'

But it came into his thoughts to take another course. 'Come,' says Will, 'I'll go back to the alley, and see if I can hear anything of what has happened, for I believe the hurry is not over yet.' It seems the man, who lost the book, was carried

into the King's Head Tavern, at the end of that alley, and a great crowd was about the door.

Away goes Will, and watches and waits about the place; and then, seeing several people together, for they were not all dispersed, he asks one or two what was the matter; they tell him a long story of a gentleman who had lost his pocket-book, with a great bag of diamonds in it, and bills for a great many thousand pounds, and I know not what; and that they had been just crying it, and had offered £100 reward to any one who would discover and restore it.

'I wish,' said he, to one of them that parleyed with him, 'I did but know who has it, I don't doubt but I could help him to it again. Does he remember nothing of anybody, boy, or fellow, that was near him? If he could but describe him, it might do.' Somebody that overheard him was so forward to assist the poor gentleman, that they went up and let him know what a young fellow, meaning Will, had been talking at the door; and down comes another gentleman from him, and, taking Will aside, asked him what he had said about it? Will was a grave sort of a young man, that, though he was an old soldier at the trade, had yet nothing of it in his countenance; and he answered, that he was concerned in business where a great many of the gangs of little pick-pockets haunted, and if he had but the least description of the person they suspected, he durst say he could find him out, and might perhaps get the things again for him. Upon this, he desired him to go up with him to the gentleman, which he did accordingly; and there, he said, he sat leaning his head back to the chair, pale as a cloth; disconsolate to a strange degree, and, as Will described him, just like one under a sentence.

When they came to ask him, whether he had seen no boy, or shabby fellow, lurking near where he stood, or passing, or repassing, and the like, he answered, No, not any; neither could he remember that anybody had come near him. 'Then,' said Will, 'it will be very hard, if not impossible, to find them out. However,' said Will, 'if you think it worth while, I will put myself among those rogues, though,' says he, 'I care not for being seen among them; but I will put in among them, and if it be in any of those gangs, it is ten to one but I shall hear something of it.'

They asked him then, if he had heard what terms the gentleman had offered to have it restored; he answered, No (though he had been told at the door); they answered, He had offered £100. That is too much, says Will; but if you please to leave it to me, I shall either get it for you for less than that, or not be able to get it for you at all. Then the losing gentleman said to one of the other, 'Tell him, that if he can get it lower, the overplus shall be to himself.' William said, He would be very glad to do the gentleman such a service, and would leave the reward to himself. 'Well, young man,' says one of the gentlemen, 'whatever you appoint to the young artist that has done this roguery (for I warrant he is an artist, let it be who it will), he shall be paid, if it be within the £100, and the gentleman is willing to give you £50 besides for your pains.'

'Truly, sir,' says Will, very gravely, 'it was by mere chance, that, coming by the door, and seeing the crowd, I asked what the matter was; but if I should be instrumental to get the unfortunate gentleman his pocket-book, and the things in it again, I shall be very glad; nor am I so rich neither, sir, but £50 is very well worth my while too.' Then he took directions who to come to, and who to give his account to if he learned anything, and the like.

Will stayed so long, that, as he and I agreed, I went home, and he did not come to me till night; for we had considered before, that it would not be proper to come from them directly to me, lest they should follow him and apprehend me. If he had made no advances towards a treaty, he would have come back in half an hour, as we agreed; but staying late, we met at our night rendezvous, which was in Rosemary-lane.

When he came, he gave an account of all the discourse, and particularly what a consternation the gentleman was in who lost the pocket-book, and that he did not doubt but we should get a good round sum for the recovery of it.

We consulted all the evening about it, and concluded he should let them hear nothing of them the next day at all; and that the third day he should go, but should make no discovery, only that he had got a scent of it, and that he believed he should have it, and make it appear as difficult as possible, and to start as many objections as he could. Accordingly, the third day after he met with the gentleman, who he found had been uneasy at his long stay, and told him that they were afraid that he only flattered them to get from them; and that they had been too easy in letting him go without a farther examination.

He took upon him to be very grave with them, and told them, That if that was what he was like to have for being so free as to tell them he thought he might serve them, they might see that they had wronged him, and were mistaken by his coming again to them; that if they thought they could do anything by examining him, they might go about it, if they pleased, now; that all he had to say to them was, that he knew where some of the young rogues haunted, who were famous for such things; and that by some inquiries, offering them money, and the like, he believed they would be brought to betray one another, and that so he might pick it out for them; and this he would say before a justice of peace, if they thought fit; and then all that he had to say farther to them was, to tell them he had lost a day or two in their service, and had got nothing, but to be suspected for his pains; and that after that he had done, and they might seek their goods where they could find them.

They began to listen a little upon that, and asked him, if he could give them any hopes of recovering their loss; he told them that he was not afraid to tell them that he believed he had heard some news of them, and that what he had done had prevented all the bills being burnt, book and all; but that now he ought not to be asked any more questions till they should be pleased to answer him a question or two. They told him they would give him any satisfaction they could, and bid him tell what he desired.

'Why, sir,' says he, 'how can you expect any thief that had robbed you to such a considerable value as this, would come and put himself into your hands, confess he had your goods, and restore them to you, if you do not give them assurance that you will not only give them the reward you agreed to, but also give assurance that they shall not be stopped, questioned, or called to account before a magistrate?'

They said they would give all possible assurance of it. 'Nay,' says he, 'I do not know what assurance you are able to give; for when a poor fellow is in your clutches, and has shown you your goods, you may seize upon him for a thief, and it is plain he must be so; then you go, take

away your goods, send him to prison, and what amends can he have of you afterward?'

They were entirely confounded with the difficulty; they asked him to try if he could get the things into his hands, and they would pay him the money before he would let them go out of his hand, and he should go away half an hour before they went out of the room.

'No, gentlemen,' says he, 'that won't do now. If you had talked so before you had talked of apprehending me for nothing, I should have taken your words; but now it is plain you have had such a thought in your heads, and how can I, or any one else, be assured of safety?'

Well, they thought of a great many particulars, but nothing would do; at length the other people who were present put in, that they should give security to him, by a bond of £1000, that they would not give the person any trouble whatsoever. He pretended they could not be bound, nor could their obligation be of any value, and that their own goods being once seen, they might seize them; and what would it signify, said he, to put a poor pickpocket to sue for his reward? They could not tell what to say; but told him, that he should take the things of the boy, if it was a boy; and they would be bound to pay him the money promised. He laughed at them, and said, 'No, gentlemen, as I am not the thief, so I shall be very loath to put myself in the thief's stead, and lie at your mercy.'

They told him they knew not what to do then, and that it would be very hard he would not trust them at all. He said, he was very willing to trust them, and to serve them; but that it would be very hard to be ruined and charged with the theft, for endeavouring to serve them.

They then offered to give it him under their hands that they did not in the least suspect him; that they would never charge him with anything about it; that they acknowledged he went about to inquire after the goods at their request; and that if he produced them, they would pay him so much money, at or before the delivery of them, without obliging him to name or produce that person he had them from.

Upon this writing, signed by three gentlemen who were present, and by the person in particular who lost the things, the young gentleman told them, he would go and do his utmost to get the pocket-book, and all that was in it.

Then he desired that they would in writing, beforehand, give him a particular of all the several things that were in the book; that he might not have it said, when he produced it, that there was not all; and he would have the said writing sealed up, and he would make the book be sealed up when it was given to him. This they agreed to; and the gentleman accordingly drew up a particular of all the bills that he remembered, as he said, was in the book; and also of the diamonds, as follows:

One bill under Sir Henry Furness's hand for £1200.

One bill under Sir Charles Duncomb's hand for £800, £250 indorsed off.—£550.

One bill under the hand of J. Tassel, goldsmith, £165.

One bill of Sir Francis Child, £39.

One bill of one Stewart, that kept a wager-office and insurance, £350.

A paper containing thirty-seven loose diamonds, value about £250.

A little paper, containing three large rough diamonds, and one large one polished, and cut, value £185.

For all these things they promised, first, to give him whatever he agreed with the thief to give him, not exceeding £50, and to give him £50 more for himself for procuring them.

Now he had his cue, and now he came to me, and told me honestly the whole story as above; so I delivered him the book, and he told me that he thought it was reasonable we should take the full sum; because he would seem to have done them some service, and so make them the easier. All this I agreed to; so he went the next day to the place, and the gentlemen met him very punctually.

He told them at the first word he had done their work, and, as he hoped, to their mind; and told them if it had not been for the diamonds, he could have got all for £10, but that the diamonds had shone so bright in the boy's imagination that he talked of running away to France or Holland, and living there all his days like a gentleman; at which they laughed. 'However, gentleman,' said he, 'here is the book;' and so pulled it out, wrapt up in a dirty piece of a coloured handkerchief, as black as the street could make it, and sealed with a piece of sorry wax, and the impression of a farthing for a seal.

Upon this, the note being also unsealed, at the same time he pulled open the dirty rag, and showed the gentleman his pocket-book; at which he was so over-surprised with joy, notwithstanding all the preparatory discourse, that he was fain to call for a glass of wine or brandy to drink, to keep him from fainting.

The book being opened, the paper of diamonds was first taken out, and there they were every one, only the little paper was by itself; and the rough diamonds that were in it were loose among the rest; but he owned they were all there safe.

Then the bills were called over, one by one, and they found one bill for £80 more than the account mentioned; besides several papers which were not for money, though of consequence to the gentleman, and he acknowledged that all was very honestly returned; and now, young man, said they, you shall see we will deal as honestly by you; and so, in the first place, they gave him £50 for himself, and then they told out the £50 for me.

He took the £50 for himself, and put it up in his pocket, wrapping it in paper, it being all in gold: then he began to tell over the other £50; but when he had told out £30, 'Hold, gentlemen,' said he, 'as I have acted fairly for you, so you shall have no reason to say I do not do so to the end. I have taken £30, and for so much I agreed with the boy; and so there is £20 of your money again.'

They stood looking one at another a good while, as surprised at the honesty of it; for till that time they were not quite without a secret suspicion that he was the thief, but that piece of policy cleared up his reputation to them. The gentleman that had got his bills said softly to one of them, 'Give it him all;' but the other said (softly too), 'No, no, as long as he has got it abated, and is satisfied with the £50 you have given him, 'tis very well, let it go as it is.' This was not spoke so softly but he heard it, and said, 'No,' too; 'I am very well satisfied, I am glad I have got them for you;' and so they began to part.

But just before they were going away, one of the gentlemen said to him, 'Young man, come, you see we are just to you, and have done fairly, as you have also, and we will not desire you to tell us who this cunning fellow is that got such a prize from this gentleman; but as you have talked with him, prithee, can you tell us nothing of how he did it, that we may beware of such sparks again?'

'Sir,' says Will, 'when I shall tell you what they say, and how the particular case stood, the gentleman would blame himself more than anybody else, or as much at least. The young rogue that catched this prize was out, it seems, with a comrade, who is a nimble experienced pickpocket as most in London, but at that time the artist was somewhere at a distance, and this boy never had picked a pocket in his life before; but, he says, he stood over against the passage into the Exchange, on the east side, and the gentleman stood just by the passage; that he was very earnest in talking with some other gentleman, and often pulled out this book and opened it, and took papers out, and put others in, and returned it into his coat-pocket; that the last time it hitched at the pocket-hole, or stopt at something that was in the pocket, and hung a little out, which the boy, who had watched it a good while, perceiving, he passes by close to the gentleman, and carried it smoothly off, without the gentleman's perceiving it at all.'

He went on, and said, ''Tis very strange gentlemen should put pocket-books, which have such things in them, into those loose pockets, and in so careless a manner.' 'That's very true,' says the gentleman; and so, with some other discourse of no great signification, he came away to me.

We were now so rich that we scarce knew what to do with our money; at least I did not, for I had no relations, no friend, nowhere to put anything I had but in my pocket; as for Will, he had a poor mother, but wicked as himself, and he made her rich and glad with his good success.

We divided this booty equally; for, though the gaining it was mine, yet the improving of it was his, and his management brought the money; for neither he or I could have made anything proportionable of the thing any other way. As for the bills, there was no room to doubt but unless they had been carried that minute to the goldsmith's for the money, he would have come with notice to stop the payment, and perhaps have come while the money was receiving, and have taken hold of the person. And then as to the diamonds, there had been no offering them to sale by us poor boys to anybody, but those who were our known receivers, and they would have given us nothing for them, compared to what they were worth; for, as I understood afterwards, those who made a trade of buying stolen goods, took care to have false weights, and cheat the poor devil that stole them, at least an ounce in three.

Upon the whole, we made the best of it many ways besides. I had a strange kind of uninstructed conscience at that time; for, though I made no scruple of getting anything in this manner from anybody, yet I could not bear destroying their bills and papers, which were things that would do them a great deal of hurt, and do me no good; and I was so tormented about it, that I could not rest night or day till I made the people easy, from whom the things were taken.

I was now rich, so rich that I knew not what to do with my money, or with myself. I had lived so near and so close, that although, as I said, I did now and then lay out 2d. or 3d. for mere hunger, yet I had so many people, who, as I said, employed me, and who gave me victuals, and sometimes clothes, that in a whole year I had not quite spent the 15s. which I had saved of the Custom-house gentleman's money; and I had the four guineas, which was of the first booty before that, still in my pocket, I mean the money that I let fall into the tree.

But now I began to look higher; and though Will and I went abroad several times together, yet, when small things offered, as handkerchiefs, and such trifles, we would not meddle with them, not caring to run the risk for small matters. It fell out one day, that, as we were strolling about in West Smithfield on a Friday, there happened to be an ancient country gentleman in the market, selling some very large bullocks; it seems they came out of Sussex. His wörship, for so they called him, had received the money for these bullocks at a tavern, whose sign I forget now, and having some of it in a bag, and the bag in his hand, he was taken with a sudden fit of coughing, and stands to cough, resting his hand with the bag of money in it, upon the bulk-head of a shop, just by the Cloister-gate in Smithfield, that is to say, within three or four doors of it; we were both just behind him. Says Will to me, 'Stand ready;' upon this, he makes an artificial stumble, and falls with his head just against the old gentleman in the very moment when he was coughing, ready to be strangled, and quite spent for want of breath.

The violence of the blow beat the old gentleman quite down; the bag of money did not immediately fly out of his hand, but I ran to get hold of it, and gave it a quick snatch, pulled it clean away, and ran like the wind down the Cloisters with it, turned on the left hand, as soon as I was through, and cut into Little Britain, so into Bartholomew-close, then across Aldersgate-street, through Paul's-alley into Redcross-street, and so across all the streets, through innumerable alleys, and never stopped till I got into the second quarter of Moorfields, our old agreed rendezvous.

Will, in the meantime, fell down with the old gentleman, but soon got up. The old knight, for such it seems he was, was frighted with the fall, and his breath so stopped with his cough, that he could not recover himself to speak till some time; during which, nimble Will was got up again, and walked off. Nor could he call out, 'Stop thief,' or tell anybody he had lost anything for a good while; but, coughing vehemently, and looking red, till he was almost black in the face, he cried, the ro—— Hegh, hegh, hegh, the rogues — hegh, have got— hegh, hegh, hegh, hegh, hegh, hegh,—then he would get a little breath, and at it again; the rogues—hegh, hegh; and, after a great many heghs and rogues, he brought it out,—have got away my bag of money!

All this while the people understood nothing of the matter; and as for the rogues, indeed, they had time enough to get clear away, and in about an hour Will came to the rendezvous. There we sat down in the grass again, and turned out the money, which proved to be eight guineas, and £5, 12s. in silver, so that it made just £14 together. This we shared upon the spot, and went to work the same day for more; but whether it was that, being flushed with our success, we were not so vigilant, or that no other opportunity offered, I know not, but we got nothing more that night, nor so much as anything offered itself for an attempt.

We took many walks of this kind, sometimes together, at a little distance from one another, and several small hits we made; but we were so flushed with our success, that truly we were above meddling with trifles, as I said before, no, not such things that others would have been glad of; nothing but pocket-books, letter-cases, or sums of money would move us.

The next adventure was in the dusk of the evening, in a court which goes out of Gracechurch-street into Lombard-street, where the

Quakers' meeting-house is. There was a young fellow, who, as we learned afterward, was a woollen-draper's apprentice in Gracechurch-street; it seems he had been receiving a sum of money, which was very considerable, and he comes to a goldsmith's shop in Lombard-street with it; paid in the most of it there; insomuch that it grew dark, and the goldsmith began to be shutting in shop, and candles to be lighted; we watched him in there, and stood on the other side of the way to see what he did. When he had paid in all the money he intended, he stayed still some time longer to take notes, as I supposed, for what he had paid, and by this time it was still darker than before; at last he comes out of the shop, with still a pretty large bag under his arm, and walks over into the court, which was then very dark; in the middle of the court is a boarded entry, and farther, at the end of it, a threshold; and as soon as he had set his foot over the threshold, he was to turn on his left hand into Gracechurch-street.

'Keep up,' says Will to me, 'be nimble;' and as soon as he had said so, he flies at the young man, and gives him such a violent thrust, that pushed him forward with too great a force for him to stand; and, as he strove to recover, the threshold took his feet, and he fell forward into the other part of the court, as if he had flown in the air, with his head lying towards the Quakers' meeting-house. I stood ready, and presently felt out the bag of money, which I heard fall, for it flew out of his hand, he having his life to save, not his money. I went forward with the money, and Will, that threw him down, finding I had it, ran backward, and as I made along Fenchurch-street, Will overtook me, and we scoured home together. The poor young man was hurt a little with the fall, and reported to his master, as we heard afterward, that he was knocked down, which was not true, for neither Will or I had any stick in our hands; but the master of the youth was, it seems, so very thankful that his young man was not knocked down before he had paid the rest of the money (which was above £100 more) to the goldsmith, who was Sir John Swestapple, that he made no great noise at the loss he had; and, as we heard afterward, only warned his apprentice to be more careful, and come no more through such places in the dark; whereas the man had really no such deliverance as he imagined, for we saw him before, when he had all the money about him; but it was no time of day for such work as we had to do, so that he was in no danger before.

This booty amounted to £29, 16s., which was £14, 18s. a-piece, and added exceedingly to my store, which began now to be very much too big for my management; and indeed I began to be now full of care for the preservation of what I had got. I wanted a trusty friend to commit it to, but where was such a one to be found by a poor boy, bred up among thieves? If I should have let any honest body know that I had so much money, they would have asked me how I came by it, and would have been afraid to take it into their hands, lest I being some time or other catched in my roguerie, they should be counted the receivers of stolen goods, and the encouragers of a thief.

We had, however, in the meantime, a great many other successful enterprises, some of one kind, some of another, and were never so much as in danger of being apprehended; but my companion Will, who was now grown a man, and encouraged by these advantages, fell into quite another vein of wickedness, getting acquainted with a wretched gang of fellows that turned their hands to everything that was vile.

Will was a lusty strong fellow, and withal very bold and daring, would fight anybody, and venture upon anything, and I found he began to be above the mean rank of a poor pickpocket, so I saw him but seldom. However, once coming to me in a very friendly manner, and asking me how I went on, I told him that I used the old trade still, that I had had two or three good jobs; one with a young woman, whose pocket I had picked of eleven guineas; and another, a countrywoman, just come out of a stage-coach, seeing her pull out her bag to pay the coachman; and that I followed her till I got an opportunity, and slipped it out so neatly, that though there was £8, 17s. in it, yet she never felt it go. And several other jobs I told him of, by which I made pretty good purchase. 'I always said you were a lucky boy, Colonel Jack,' says he; 'but, come, you are grown almost a man now, and you shall not be always at play at push-pin; I am got into better business, I assure you, and you shall come into it too. I'll bring you into a brave gang, Jack,' says he, 'where you shall see we shall be all gentlemen.'

Then he told me the trade itself, in short, which was with a set of fellows, that had two of the most desperate works upon their hands that belonged to the whole art of thieving; that is to say, in the evening they were footpads, and in the night they were housebreakers. Will told me so many plausible stories, and talked of such great things, that, in short, I, who had been always used to do anything he bid me do, went with him without any hesitation.

Nothing is more certain, than that hitherto, being partly from the gross ignorance of my untaught childhood, as I observed before, partly from the hardness and wickedness of the company I kept, and add to these, that it was the business I might be said to be brought up to, I had, I say, all the way hitherto, no manner of thoughts about the good or evil of what I was embarked in; consequently I had no sense of conscience, no reproaches upon my mind for having done amiss.

Yet I had something in me, by what secret influence I knew not, kept me from the other degrees of raking and vice, and, in short, from the general wickedness of the rest of my companions; for example, I never used any ill words, nobody ever heard me swear, nor was I given to drink, or to love strong drink; and I cannot omit a circumstance that very much served to prevent it. I had a strange original notion, as I have mentioned in its place, of my being a gentleman; and several things had casually happened in my way to increase this fancy of mine. It happened one day, that being in the glass-house yard, between Rosemary-lane and Ratcliff-highway, there came a man dressed very well, and with a coach attending him, and he came (as I suppose) to buy glass bottles, or some other goods, as they sold; and in bargaining for his goods, he swore most horrible oaths at every two or three words. At length the master of the glass-house, an ancient grave gentleman, took the liberty to reprove him, which at first made him swear the worse; after awhile, the gentleman was a little calmer, but still he swore very much, though not so bad as at first. After some time, the master of the glass-house turned from him, 'Really, sir,' says the good old gentleman, 'you swear so, and take God's name in vain so, that I cannot bear to stay with you. I would rather you would let my goods alone, and go somewhere else. I hope you won't take it ill, but I don't desire to deal with any-

body that does so; I am afraid my glass-house should fall on your head while you stay in it.'

The gentleman grew good-humoured at the reproof, and said, 'Well, come, don't go away, I won't swear any more,' says he, 'if I can help it; for I own,' says he, 'I should not do it.'

With that the old gentleman looked up at him, and returning, 'Really, sir,' says he, ''tis a pity you, that seem to be a fine gentleman, well-bred, and good-humoured, should accustom yourself to such a hateful practice; why, 'tis not like a gentleman to swear, 'tis enough for my black wretches that work there at the furnace, or for these ragged, naked, blackguard boys,' pointing at me, and some others of the dirty crew, that lay in the ashes; ''tis bad enough for them,' says he, 'and they ought to be corrected for it too; but for a man of breeding, sir,' says he, 'a gentleman, it ought to be looked upon as below them; gentlemen know better, and are taught better, and it is plain you know better. I beseech you, sir, when you are tempted to swear, always ask yourself, Is this like a gentleman? does this become me as a gentleman? Do but ask yourself that question, and your reason will prevail—you will soon leave it off.'

I heard all this, and it made the blood run chill in my veins, when he said swearing was only fit for such as we were. In short, it made as great an impression upon me as it did upon the gentleman; and yet he took it very kindly too, and thanked the old gentleman for his advice. But from that time forward, I never had the least inclination to swearing or ill words, and abhorred it when I heard the other boys do it. As to drinking, I had no opportunity, for I had nothing to drink but water, or small beer that anybody gave me in charity, for they seldom gave away strong beer; and after I had money, I neither desired strong beer, or cared to part with my money to buy it.

Then as to principle, 'tis true I had no foundation laid in me by education; and being early led by my fate into evil, I had the less sense of its being evil left upon my mind; but when I began to grow to an age of understanding, and to know that I was a thief, growing up in all manner of villany, and ripening apace for the gallows, it came often into my thoughts that I was going wrong, that I was in the high road to the devil; and several times I would stop short, and ask myself if this was the life of a gentleman?

But these little things wore off again as often as they came on, and I followed the old trade again, especially when Will came to prompt me, as I have observed; for he was a kind of a guide to me in all these things; and I had, by custom and application, together with seeing his way, learned to be as acute a workman as my master.

But to go back where I left off. Will came to me, as I have said, and telling me how much better business he was fallen into, would have me go along with him, and I should be a gentleman. Will, it seems, understood that word in a quite different manner from me; for his gentleman was nothing more or less than a gentleman thief, a villain of a higher degree than a pickpocket, and one that might do something more wicked, and better entitling him to the gallows, than could be done in our way; but my gentleman that I had my eye upon, was another thing quite, though I could not really tell how to describe it neither.

However the word took with me, and I went with him. We were neither of us old; Will was about twenty-four, and as for me I was now about eighteen, and pretty tall of my age.

The first time I went with him, he brought me into the company only of two more young fellows. We met at the lower part of Gray's-Inn-lane, about an hour before sunset, and went out into the fields toward a place called Pindar of Wakefield, where are abundance of brick-kilns; here it was agreed to spread from the field-path to the road-way, all the way towards Pancras Church, to observe any chance game, as they called it, which they might shoot flying. Upon the path, within the bank, on the side of the road going towards Kentish-town, two of our gang, Will, and one of the other met a single gentleman, walking apace towards the town; being almost dark, Will cried, 'Mark, ho!' which, it seems, was the word at which we were all to stand still at a distance, come in, if he wanted help, and give a signal if anything appeared that was dangerous.

Will steps up to the gentleman, stops him, and put the question, that is, 'Sir, your money?' The gentleman seeing he was alone, struck at him with his cane; but Will, a nimble, strong fellow, flew in upon him, and, with struggling, got him down; then he begged for his life, Will having told him with an oath that he would cut his throat. In that moment, while this was doing, comes a hackney-coach along the road, and the fourth man, who was that way, cries, 'Mark, ho!' which was to intimate that it was a prize, not a surprise; and accordingly the next man went up to assist him, where they stopped the coach, which had a doctor of physic and a surgeon in it, who had been to visit some considerable patient, and, I suppose, had considerable fees; for here they got two good purses, one with eleven or twelve guineas, the other six, with some pocket-money, two watches, one diamond ring, and the surgeon's plaster-box, which was most of it full of silver instruments.

While they were at this work, Will kept the man down who was under him; and though he promised not to kill him unless he offered to make a noise, yet he would not let him stir till he heard the noise of the coach going on again, by which he knew the job was over on that side. Then he carried him a little out of the way, tied his hands behind him, and bid him lie still and make no noise, and he would come back in half an hour and untie him, upon his word: but if he cried out, he would come back and kill him.

The poor man promised to lie still and make no noise, and did so; and had not above 11s. 6d. in his pocket, which Will took, and came back to the rest; but while they were together, I, who was on the side of the Pindar of Wakefield, cried 'Mark, ho!' too.

What I saw was a couple of poor women, one a kind of a nurse, and the other a maid-servant going for Kentish-town. As Will knew that I was but young at the work, he came flying to me, and seeing how easy a bargain it was, he said, 'Go, colonel, fall to work.' I went up to them, and speaking to the elderly woman, 'Nurse,' said I, 'don't be in such haste, I want to speak with you;' at which they both stopped, and looked a little frighted. 'Don't be frighted, sweetheart,' said I to the maid, 'a little of that money in the bottom of your pocket will make all easy, and I will do you no harm.' By this time Will came up to us, for they did not see him before; then they began to scream out. 'Hold!' says I, 'make no noise, unless you have a mind to force us to murder you whether we will or no; give me your money presently, and make no words, and we shan't hurt you.' Upon this the poor maid pulled out 5s. 6d. and the old woman a guinea and a shilling, crying heartily for her money, and said

it was all she had left in the world. Well, we took it for all that, though it made my very heart bleed to see what agony the poor woman was in at parting with it, and I asked her where she lived; she said her name was Smith, and she lived at Kentish-town. I said nothing to her, but bid them go on about their business, and I gave Will the money; so in a few minutes we were all together again. Says one of the other rogues, 'Come, this is well enough for one road, it's time to be gone.' So we jogged away, crossing the fields, out of the path towards Tottenham-court. 'But hold!' says Will, 'I must go and untie the man.' 'D-mn him,' says one of them, 'let him lie.' 'No,' says Will, 'I won't be worse than my word, I will untie him.' So he went to the place, but the man was gone; either he had untied himself, or somebody had passed by, and he had called for help, and so was untied, for he could not find him, nor make him hear, though he ventured to call twice for him aloud.

This made us hasten away the faster, and getting into Tottenham-court-road, they thought it was a little too near, so they made into the town at St. Giles's, and crossing to Piccadilly, went to Hyde-Park-gate. Here they ventured to rob another coach; that is to say, one of the two other rogues and Will did it, between the Park-gate and Knightsbridge. There was in it only a gentleman and a punk that he had picked up, it seems, at the spring-garden, a little farther. They took the gentleman's money, his watch, and his silver-hilted sword; but when they came to the slut, she damned and cursed them for robbing the gentleman of his money, and leaving none for her; as for herself, she had not one sixpenny-piece about her, though she was indeed well enough dressed too.

Having made this adventure, we left that road too, and went over the fields to Chelsea. In the way from Westminster to Chelsea we met three gentlemen, but they were too strong for us to meddle with; they had been afraid to come over the fields so late (for by this time it was eight o'clock, and though the moon gave some light, yet it was too late and too dark to be safe), so they hired three men at Chelsea, two with pitch-forks, and the third, a waterman, with a boat-hook-staff, to guard them. We would have steered clear of them, and cared not to have seen them see us, if we could help it, but they did see us, and cried, 'Who comes there?' we answered, 'Friends;' and so they went on, to our great satisfaction.

When we came to Chelsea, it seems we had other work to do, which I had not been made privy to; and this was a house to be robbed. They had some intelligence, it seems, with a servant in the house, who was of their gang. This rogue was a waiting-man, or footman, and he had a watchword to let them in by; but this fellow, not for want of being a villain, but by getting drunk, and not minding his part of the work, disappointed us; for he had promised to rise at two o'clock in the morning and let us all in, but, being very drunk, and not come in at eleven o'clock, his master ordered him to be shut out, and the doors locked up, and charged the other servants not to let him in upon any terms whatsoever.

We came about the house at one o'clock to make our observations, intending to go and lie under Beaufort House wall till the clock struck two, and then to come again; but, behold! when we came to the house, there lay the fellow at the door fast asleep, and very drunk. Will, who I found was the leader in all these things, waked the fellow, who, as he had had about two hours' sleep, was a little come to himself, and told them the misfortune, as he called it, and that he could not get in; they had some instruments about them, by which they could have broken in by force, but Will considered that as it was but waiting till another time, and they should be let in quietly, they resolved to give it over for that time.

But this was a happy drunken bout for the family; for the fellow having let fall some words in his drink, for he was a saucy one as well as a drunken one, and talked oddly, as that it had been better they had let him in, and he would make them pay dear for it, or some such thing; the master hearing of it, turned him away in the morning, and never let him come into his house again; so, I say, it was a happy drunkenness to the family, for it saved them from being robbed, and perhaps murdered, for they were a cursed bloody crew, and, as I found, were about thirteen of them in all, whereof three of them made it their business to get into gentlemen's services, and so to open doors in the night, and let the other rogues in upon them to rob and destroy them.

I rambled this whole night with them. They went from Chelsea, being disappointed there as above, to Kensington. There they broke into a brewhouse and washhouse, and by that means into an out-kitchen of a gentleman's house, where they unhanged a small copper, and brought it off, and stole about a hundredweight of pewter, and went clear off with that too; and every one going their own by-ways, they found means to get safe to their several receptacles where they used to dispose of such things.

We lay still the next day, and shared the effects stolen that night, of which my share came to £8, 19s.—the copper and pewter being weighed, and cast up, a person was at hand to take it as money, at about half value, and in the afternoon Will and I came away together. Will was mighty full of the success we had had, and how we might be sure of the like this way every day. But he observed that I did not seem so elevated at the success of that night's ramble as I used to be, and also, that I did not take any great notice of the expectations he was in, of what was to come; yet I had said little to him at that time.

But my heart was full of the poor woman's case at Kentish-town, and I resolved, if possible to find her out, and give her her money. With the abhorrence that filled my mind at the cruelty of that act, there necessarily followed a little distaste for the thing itself; and now it came into my head with a double force, that this was the high road to the devil, and that certainly this was not the life of a gentleman.

Will and I parted for that time; but next morning we met again, and Will was mighty brisk and merry. 'And now, Colonel Jack,' says he, 'we shall be rich very quickly.' 'Well,' says I, 'and what shall we do when we are rich?' 'Do,' says he, 'we will buy a couple of good horses, and go farther afield.' 'What do you mean by farther afield?' says I. 'Why,' says he, 'we will take the highway like gentlemen, and then we shall get a great deal of money indeed.' 'Well,' says I, 'what then?' 'Why then,' says he, 'we shall live like gentlemen.'

'But, Will,' says I, 'if we get a great deal of money, shan't we leave this trade off, and sit down, and be safe and quiet?'

'Ay,' says Will, 'when we have got a great estate we shall be willing to lay it down.' 'But where,' says I, 'shall we be before that time

come, if we should drive on this cursed kind of trade?'

'Prithee never think of that,' says Will, 'if you think of those things, you will never be fit to be a gentleman.' He touched me there indeed, for it ran much in my mind still that I was to be a gentleman, and it made me dumb for a while; but I came to myself after a little while, and I said to him, pretty tartly, 'Why, Will, do you call this way of living the life of a gentleman?'

'Why,' says Will, 'why not?'

'Why,' says I, 'was it like a gentleman for me to take that 22s. from a poor ancient woman, when she begged of me upon her knees not to take it, and told me it was all she had in the world to buy her bread for herself and a sick child which she had at home? Do you think I could be so cruel, if you had not stood by and made me do it? Why, I cried at doing it as much as the poor woman did, though I did not let you see me.'

'You fool you,' says Will, 'you will never be fit for our business, indeed, if you mind such things as those; I shall bring you off those things quickly. Why, if you will be fit for business, you must learn to fight when they resist, and cut their throats when they submit; you must learn to stop their breath, that they may beg and pray no more. What signifies pity; prithee who will pity us when we come to the Old Bailey? I warrant you that whining old woman, that begged so heartily for her 22s., would let you and I beg upon our knees, and would not save our lives by not coming in for an evidence against us. Did you ever see any of them cry when they see gentlemen go to the gallows?'

'Well, Will,' says I, 'you had better let us keep to the business we were in before; there were no such cruel doings in that, and yet we got more money by it than I believe we shall get at this.'

'No, no,' says Will, 'you are a fool; you don't know what fine things we shall do in a little while.'

Upon this discourse we parted for that time; but I resolved with myself that I would never be concerned with him that way any more. The truth is, they were such a dreadful gang, such horrid barbarous villains, that even that little while that I was among them, my very blood ran cold in my veins at what I heard, particularly the continued raving and damning one another, and themselves, at every word they spoke; and then the horrid resolutions of murder, and cutting throats, which I perceived was in their minds upon any occasion that should present. This appeared first in their discourse upon the disappointment they met with at Chelsea, where the two rogues that were with us, ay, and Will too, damned and raged that they could not get into the house, and swore they would have cut the gentleman's throat if they had got in; and shook hands, damning and cursing themselves, if they did not murder the whole family as soon as Tom (that was the man-servant) could get an opportunity to let them in.

Two days after this, Will came to my lodging; for I had now got a room by myself, had bought me tolerable good clothes and some shirts, and began to look like other folks; but, as it happened, I was abroad upon the scout in another way; for though I was not hardened enough for so black a villain as Will would have had me be, yet I had not arrived to any principle sufficient to keep me from a life, in its degree wicked enough, which tended to the same destruction, though not in so violent and precipitant degrees. I had his message delivered to me, which was to meet him the next evening at such a place, and, as I came in time enough to go, I went to the place, but resolved beforehand, that I would not go any more with him among the gang.

However, to my great satisfaction, I missed him, for he did not come at all to the place, but met with the gang at another place, they having sent for him in haste upon the notice of some booty; and so they went all away together. This was a summons, it seems, from one of the creatures which they had abroad in a family, where an opportunity offered them to commit a notorious robbery, down almost as far as Hounslow, and where they wounded a gentleman's gardener so that I think he died, and robbed the house of a very considerable sum of money and plate.

This, however, was not so clean carried, nor did they get in so easy, but by the resistance they met with, the neighbours were all alarmed, and the gentlemen rogues were pursued, and being at London with the booty, one of them was taken. Will, a dexterous fellow and head of the gang, made his escape, and though in his clothes, with a great weight about him, of both money and plate, plunged into the Thames, and swam over where there was no path, or road, leading to the river; so that nobody suspected any one's going that way. Being got over, he made his way, wet as he was, into some woods adjacent, and, as he told me afterwards, not far from Chertsey, and stayed lurking about in the woods or fields thereabout, till his clothes were dry; then, in the night, got down to Kingston, and so to Mortlake, where he got a boat to London.

He knew not that one of his comrades was taken; only he knew that they were all so closely pursued that they were obliged to disperse, and every one to shift for himself. He happened to come home in the evening, as good luck then directed him, just after search had been made for him by the constables; his companion, who was taken, having, upon promise of favour, and of saving him from the gallows, discovered his companions, and Will among the rest, as the principal party in the whole undertaking.

Will got notice of this just time enough to run for it, and not to be taken; and away he came to look for me; but, as my good fate still directed, I was not at home neither. However, he left all his booty at my lodging, and hid it in an old coat under my bedding, and left word that my brother Will had been there, and had left his coat, that he borrowed of me, and that it was under my bed.

I knew not what to make of it, but went up to go to bed; and, finding the parcel, was perfectly frighted to see, wrapped up in it, above one hundred pound in plate and money, and yet knew nothing of brother Will, as he called himself, nor did I hear of him for three or four days.

At the end of four days, I heard by great accident that Will, who used to be seen with me, and who called me brother, was taken, and would be hanged. Next day, a poor man, a shoemaker, that used formerly to have a kindness for me, and to send me of errands, and gave me sometimes some victuals, seeing me accidentally in Rosemary-lane, going by him, clasped me fast hold by the arm: 'Hark ye, young man,' says he, 'have I catched you?' and hauled me along as if I had been a thief apprehended, and he the constable. 'Hark ye, Colonel Jack,' says he again, 'come along with me, I must speak with you. What, are you got into this gang too? What, are you turned housebreaker? Come, I'll have you hanged, to be sure.'

These were dreadful words to me, who, though not guilty of the particular thing in question, yet was frighted heartily before, and did not know what I might be charged with by Will, if he was taken, as I heard that very morning he was. With these words, the shoemaker began to haul and drag me along as he used to do when I was a boy.

However, recovering my spirits, and provoked to the highest degree, I said to him again, 'What do you mean, Mr. ——? Let me alone, or you will oblige me to make you do it;' and with that I stopped short, and soon let him see I was a little too big to be hauled about as I used to be when I run of his errands, and made a motion with my other hand as if I would strike him in the face.

'How, Jack!' says he, 'will you strike me? will you strike your old friend?' and then he let go my arm, and laughed. 'Well, but hark ye, colonel,' says he, 'I am in earnest, I hear bad news of you; they say you are gotten into bad company, and that this Will calls you brother; he is a great villain, and I hear he is charged with a bloody robbery, and will be hanged, if he is taken. I hope you are not concerned with him; if you are, I would advise you to shift for yourself, for the constable and the headborough are after him to-day, and if he can lay anything to you, he will do it, you may be sure; he will certainly hang you to save himself.'

This was kind, and I thanked him; but told him this was a thing too serious, and that had too much weight in it to be jested with, as he had done before; and that some ignorant stranger might have seized upon me as a person guilty, who had no farther concern in it than just knowing the man, and so I might have been brought into trouble for nothing; at least people might have thought I was among them, whether I was or no, and it would have rendered me suspected, though I was innocent.

He acknowledged that; told me he was but in jest, and that he talked to me just as he used to do. 'However, colonel,' says he, 'I won't jest any more with you in a thing of such a dangerous consequence; I only advise you to keep the fellow company no more.'

I thanked him, and went away, but in the greatest perplexity imaginable; and now, not knoing what to do with myself, or with the little ill-gotten wealth which I had, I went musing and alone into the fields towards Stepney, my usual walk, and there began to consider what to do; and as this creature had left his prize in my garret, I began to think that if he should be taken, and should confess, and send the officers to search there for the goods, and they should find them, I should be undone, and should be taken up for a confederate; whereas I knew nothing of the matter, and had no hand in it.

While I was thus musing, and in great perplexity, I heard somebody halloo to me; and, looking about, I saw Will running after me. I knew not what to think at first; but seeing him alone, was the more encouraged, and I stood still for him. When he came up to me, I said to him, 'What is the matter, Will?' 'Matter!' says Will, 'matter enough; I am undone. When was you at home?'

'I saw what you left there,' says I. 'What is the meaning of it, and where got you all that? Is that your being undone?'

'Ay,' says Will, 'I am undone for all that; for the officers are after me; and I am a dead dog if I am taken, for George is in custody, and he has peached me, and all the others, to save his life.'

'Life!' says I, 'why should you lose your life if they should take you? Pray, what would they do to you?'

'Do to me!' says he, 'they would hang me, if the king had ne'er another soldier in his guards; I shall certainly be hanged as I am now alive.'

This frighted me terribly, and I said, 'And what will you do then?' 'Nay,' says he, 'I know not; I would get out of the nation, if I knew how; but I am a stranger to all those things, and I know not what to do, not I. Advise me, Jack,' says he; 'prithee tell me whither shall I go; I have a good mind to go to sea.'

'You talk of going away,' says I; 'what will you do with all you have hid in my garret? It must not lie there,' said I; 'for if I should be taken up for it, and it be found to be the money you stole, I shall be ruined.'

'I care not what becomes of it, not I,' says Will; 'I'll be gone; do you take it, if you will, and do what you will with it; I must fly, and I cannot take it with me.' 'I won't have it, not I,' says I to him; 'I'll go and fetch it to you if you will take it,' says I; 'but I won't meddle with it. Besides, there is plate; what shall I do with plate?' said I. 'If I should offer to sell it anywhere,' said I, 'they will stop me.'

'As for that,' says Will, 'I could sell it well enough, if I had it, but I must not be seen anywhere among my old acquaintance, for I am blown, and they will all betray me; but I will tell you where you shall go and sell it, if you will, and they will ask you no questions, if you give them the word that I will give you.' So he gave the word, and directions to a pawnbroker, near Cloth Fair; the word was *Good tower standard*. Having these instructions, he said to me, 'Colonel Jack, I am sure you won't betray me; and I promise you, if I am taken, and should be hanged, I won't name you; I will go to such a house' (naming a house at Bromley by Bow, where he and I had often been), 'and there,' says he, 'I'll stay till it is dark; at night I will come near the streets, and I will lay under such a haystack all night' (a place we both knew also very well); 'and if you cannot finish to come to me there, I will go back to Bow.'

I went back and took the cargo, went to the place by Cloth Fair, and gave the word *Good tower standard*; and without any words, they took the plate, weighed it, and paid me after the rate of 2s. per ounce for it; so I came away and went to meet him, but it was too late to meet him at the first place; but I went to the haystack, and there I found him fast asleep.

I delivered him his cargo; what it really amounted to I knew not, for I never told it; but I went home to my quarters very late and tired. I went to sleep at first, but notwithstanding I was so weary, I slept little or none for several hours; at last, being overcome with sleep, I dropped, but was immediately roused with noise of people knocking at the door, as if they would beat it down, and crying and calling out to the people of the house, 'Rise, and let in the constable here, we come for your lodger in the garret.'

I was frighted to the last degree, and started up in my bed; but when I was awaked, I heard no noise at all, but of two watchmen thumping at the doors with their staves, and giving the hour, 'Past three o'clock, and a rainy wet morning,' for such it was. I was very glad when I found it was but a dream, and went to bed again, but was soon roused a second time with the same, very same noise and words. Then, being sooner awaked than I was before, I jumped out of bed, and

ran to the window, and found it was just an hour more, and the watchmen were come about, Past four o'clock, and they went away again very quietly; so I lay me down again, and slept the rest of the night quietly enough.

I laid no stress upon the thing called a dream, neither till now did I understand that dreams were of any importance; but getting up the next day, and going out with a resolution to meet brother Will, who should I meet but my former brother, Captain Jack! When he saw me, he came close to me in his blunt way, and says, 'Do you hear the news?' 'No, not I,' said I, 'what news?' 'Your old comrade and teacher is taken this morning and carried to Newgate.' 'How,' says I, 'this morning?' 'Yes,' says he, 'this morning, at four o'clock. He is charged with a robbery and murder, somewhere beyond Brentford; and that which is worse is, that he is impeached by one of the gang, who, to save his own life, has turned evidence; and therefore you had best consider,' says the captain, 'what you have to do.' 'What I have to do!' says I; 'and what do you mean by that?' 'Nay, colonel,' says he, 'don't be angry, you know best; if you are not in danger I am glad of it, but I doubt not but you were with them.' 'No, not I,' said I, again; 'I assure you I was not.' 'Well,' says he, 'but if you were not with them this bout, you have been with them at other times; and 'twill be all one.' 'Not I,' says I, 'you are quite mistaken, I am none of their gang; they are above my quality.' With such, and a little more talk of that kind, we parted, and Captain Jack went away; but as he went, I observed he shook his head, seemed to have more concern upon him than he could be supposed to have merely on my account, of which we shall hear more very quickly.

I was extremely alarmed when I heard Will was in Newgate, and, had I known where to have gone, would certainly have fled as far as legs would have carried me; my very joints trembled, and I was ready to sink into the ground; and all that evening and that night following, I was in the uttermost consternation; my head ran upon nothing but Newgate and the gallows, and being hanged; which, I said, I deserved, if it were for nothing but taking that two-and-twenty shillings from the poor old nurse.

The first thing my perplexed thoughts allowed me to take care of was my money. This indeed lay in a little compass, and I carried it generally all about me. I had got together, as you will perceive by the past account, above sixty pounds, for I spent nothing, and what to do with it I knew not; at last it came into my head that I would go to my benefactor, the clerk at the Custom-house, if he was to be found, and see if I could get him to take the rest of my money. The only business was to make a plausible story to him, that he might not wonder how I came by so much money.

But my invention quickly supplied that want. There was a suit of clothes at one of our houses of rendezvous, which was left there for any of the gang to put on, upon particular occasions, as a disguise. This was a green livery, laced with pink-coloured galloon, and lined with the same; an edged hat, a pair of boots, and a whip. I went and dressed myself up in this livery, and went to my gentleman, to his house in Tower-street, and there I found him in health, and well, just the same honest gentleman as ever.

He stared at me when first I came to him, for I met him just at his door; I say he stared at me, and seeing me bow and bow to him several times, with my laced hat under my arm; at last, not knowing me in the least, says he to me, 'Dost thou want to speak with me, young man?' and I said, 'Yes, sir; I believe your worship' (I had learnt some manners now) 'does not know me; I am the poor boy Jack.' He looked hard at me, and then recollecting me presently, says he, 'Who, Colonel Jack! why, where hast thou been all this while? Why, 'tis five or six years since I saw you.' ''Tis above six years, and please your worship,' says I.

'Well, and where hast thou been all this while?' says he.

'I have been in the country, sir,' says I, 'at service.'

'Well, Colonel Jack,' says he, 'you give long credit; what's the reason you han't fetched your money all this while, nor the interest? Why, you will grow so rich in time by the interest of your money, you won't know what to do with it.'

To that I said nothing, but bowed and scraped a great many times. 'Well, come, Colonel Jack,' said he, 'come in, and I will give you your money, and the interest of it too.'

I cringed, and bowed, and told him I did not come to him for money; for I had had a good place or two, and I did not want my money.

'Well, Colonel Jack,' said he, 'and who do you live with?'

'Sir Jonathan Loxham,' said I, 'sir, in Somersetshire, and please your worship.' This was a name I had heard of, but knew nothing of any such gentleman, or of the country.

'Well,' says he, 'but won't you have your money, Jack?'

'No, sir,' said I, 'if your worship would please; for I have had a good place.'

'If I would please to do what, prithee? Your money is ready, I tell thee.'

'No, sir,' said I; 'but I have had a good place.'

'Well, and what dost thou mean, Jack? I do not understand thee.'

'Why, and please your worship, my old master, Sir Jonathan's father, left me £30 when he died, and a suit of mourning, and—'

'And what, prithee, Jack? What! hast thou brought me more money?' For then he began to understand what I meant.

'Yes, sir,' said I; 'and your worship would be so good to take it, and put it all together. I have saved some, too, out of my wages.'

'I told you, Jack,' says he, 'you would be rich; and how much hast thou saved? come, let me see it.'

To shorten the story, I pulled it out, and he was content to take it, giving me his note, with interest, for the whole sum, which amounted to £94, that is to say,

£25,	The first money.
9,	For six years' interest.
60,	Now paid him.
£94.	

I came away exceeding joyful, made him abundance of bows and scrapes, and went immediately to shift my clothes again, with a resolution to run away from London, and see it no more for a great while; but I was surprised the very next morning, when, going cross Rosemary-lane, by the end of the place which is called Rag Fair, I heard one called Jack; he had said something before, which I did not hear, but upon hearing the name Jack, I looked about me, immediately saw three men, and after them a constable coming towards me with great fury. I was in a great surprise, and started to run, but one of them clapped in upon me, and got hold of me, and in a moment the rest surrounded me, and I

was taken. I asked them what they wanted, and what I had done? They told me it was no place to talk of that there; but showed me their warrant, and bade me read it, and I should know the rest when I came before the justice; so they hurried me away.

I took the warrant, but to my great affliction I could know nothing by that, for I could not read; so I desired them to read it, and they read it, that they were to apprehend a known thief, that went by the name of one of the three Jacks of Rag Fair; for that he was charged upon oath with having been a party in a notorious robbery, burglary, and murder, committed so and so, in such a place, and on such a day.

It was to no purpose for me to deny it, or to say I knew nothing of it, that was none of their business they said; that must be disputed, they told me, before the justice, where I would find that it was sworn positively against me, and then, perhaps, I might be better satisfied.

I had no remedy but patience; and as my heart was full of terror and guilt, so I was ready to die with the weight of it as they carried me along; for as I very well knew that I was guilty of the first day's work, though I was not of the last, so I did not doubt but I should be sent to Newgate, and then I took it for granted I must be hanged; for to go to Newgate, and to be hanged, were to me as things which necessarily followed one another.

But I had a sharp conflict to go through before it came to that part, and that was before the justice; where, when I was come, and the constable brought me in, the justice asked me my name. 'But hold,' says he, 'young man, before I ask you your name, let me do you justice; you are not bound to answer till your accusers come:' so, turning to the constable, he asked for his warrant.

'Well,' says the justice, 'you have brought this young man here by virtue of this warrant; is this young man the person for whom this warrant is granted?'

Con. I believe so, and please your worship.

Just. Believe so! Why, are you not sure of it?

Con. An't please your worship, the people said so where I took him.

Just. It is a very particular kind of warrant; it is to apprehend a young man who goes by the name of Jack, but no surname, only that it is said, he is called Captain Jack, or some other such name. Now, young man, pray is your name Captain Jack? or are you usually called so?

I presently found that the men that took me knew nothing of me, and the constable had taken me up by hearsay; so I took heart, and told the justice, that I thought, with submission, that it was not the present question, what my name was, but what these men, or any one else, had to lay to my charge; whether I was the person who the warrant empowered them to apprehend or no?

He smiled. ''Tis very true, young man,' says he, 'it is very true; and, on my word, if they have taken you up, and do not know you, and there is nobody to charge you, they will be mistaken, to their own damage.'

Then I told his worship I hoped I should not be obliged to tell my name till my accuser was brought to charge me, and then I should not conceal my name.

'It is but reason,' said his worship. 'Mr. Constable,' turning to the officers, 'are you sure this is the person that is intended in your warrant? If you are not, you must fetch the person that accuses him, and on whose oath the warrant was granted.' They used many words to insinuate that I was the person, and that I knew it well enough, and that I should be obliged to tell my name.

I insisted on the unreasonableness of it, and that I should not be obliged to accuse myself; and the justice told them in so many words, that he could not force me to it, that I might do it if I would, indeed; 'but you see,' says the justice, 'he understood too well, to be imposed upon in that case.' So that, in short, after an hour's debating before his worship, in which time I pleaded against four of them, the justice told them they must produce the accuser, or he must discharge me.

I was greatly encouraged at this, and argued with the more vigour for myself; at length the accuser was brought, fettered as he was, from the gaol, and glad I was when I saw him, and found that I knew him not; that is to say, that it was not one of the two rogues that I went out with that night that we robbed the poor old woman.

When the prisoner was brought into the room, he was set right against me.

'Do you know this young man?' says the justice.

'No, sir,' says the prisoner, 'I never saw him in my life.'

'Hum!' says the justice, 'did you not charge one that goes by the name of Jack, or Captain Jack, as concerned in the robbery and murder which you are in custody for?'

Pris. Yes, an't please your worship, says the prisoner.

Just. And is this the man, or is he not?

Pris. This is not the man, sir; I never saw this man before.

'Very good. Mr. Constable,' says the justice, 'what must we do now?'

'I am surprised,' says the constable. 'I was at such a house,' naming the house, 'and this young man went by; the people cried out, There's Jack, that's your man, and these people ran after him, and apprehended him.'

'Well,' says the justice, 'and have these people anything to say to him? Can they prove that he is the person?'

One said no, and the other said no; and, in short, they all said no. 'Why then,' said the justice, 'what can be done? the young man must be discharged; and I must tell you, Mr. Constable, and you gentlemen, that have brought him hither, he may give you trouble if he thinks fit, for your being so rash But look you, young man,' says the justice, 'you have no great damage done you, and the constable, though he has been mistaken, had no ill design, but to be faithful to his office; I think you may pass it by.'

I told his worship I would readily pass it by at his direction; but I thought the constable and the rest could do no less than to go back to the place where they had insulted me, and declare publicly there that I was honourably acquitted, and that I was not the man. This his worship said was very reasonable, and the constable and his assistants promised to do it, and so we came all away good friends, and I was cleared with triumph.

Note.—This was the time that, as I mentioned above, the justice talked to me, and told me I was born to better things, and that by my well managing of my own defence, he did not question but I had been well educated; and that he was sorry I should fall into such a misfortune as this, which he hoped, however, would be no dishonour to me, since I was so handsomely acquitted.

Though his worship was mistaken in the matter of my education, yet it had this good effect upon me, that I resolved, if possible, I would learn to read and write, that I would not be such an uncapable creature that I should not be able to read a warrant, and see whether I was the person to be apprehended or not.

But there was something more in all this than what I have taken notice of; for, in a word, it appeared plainly, that my brother Captain Jack, who had the forwardness to put it to me, whether I was among them or no, when, in truth, he was there himself, had the only reason to be afraid to fly, at the same time that he advised me to shift for myself.

As this presently occurred to my thoughts, so I made it my business to inquire and find him out, and to give him notice of it.

In the meantime, being now confident of my own safety, I had no more concern upon my mind about myself; but now I began to be anxious for poor Will, my master and tutor in wickedness, who was now fast by the heels in Newgate, while I was happily at liberty, and I wanted very much to go and see him, and accordingly did so.

I found him in a sad condition, loaden with heavy irons, and had himself no prospect or hope of escaping. He told me he should die, but bid me be easy; for, as it would do him no good to accuse me, who never was out with any of them but that once, so I might depend upon it, he would not bring me into the trouble. As for the rogue who had betrayed them all, he was not able to hurt me, for I might be satisfied he had never seen me in his life; 'but, Colonel Jack,' says he, 'I will tell you who was with us, and that is, your brother the captain, and the villain has certainly named him; and, therefore,' says he, 'if you can give him timely notice of it, do, that he may make his escape.'

He said a great many things to warn me of following the steps he had led me. 'I was far out, Jack,' said he, 'when I told you to be a notorious thief was to live like a gentleman.' He chiefly discovered his concern that they had, as he feared, killed the gentleman's gardener, and that he in particular had given him a wound in the neck, of which he was afraid he would die.

He had a great sum of money in gold about him, being the same that I had carried back to him at the haystack; and he had concealed it so well, that those who took him had not found it, and he gave me the greatest part of it to carry to his mother, which I very honestly delivered, and came away with a heavy heart; nor did I ever see him since, for he was executed in about three weeks' time after, being condemned that very next sessions.

I had nothing to do now but to find the captain, who, though not without some trouble, I at last got news of, and told him the whole story, and how I had been taken up for him by mistake, and was come off, but that the warrant was still out of him, and very strict search after him; I say, telling him all this, he presently discovered by his surprise that he was guilty, and after a few words more, told me plainly it was all true, that he was in the robbery, and that he had the greatest part of the booty in keeping; but what to do with it, or himself, he did not know, and wanted me to tell him, which I was very unfit to do, for I knew nothing of the world. Then he told me he had a mind to fly into Scotland, which was easy to be done, and asked me if I would go with him. I told him I would with all my heart, if I had money enough to bear the charge. He had the trade still in his eyes by his answer: 'I warrant you,' says he, 'we will make the journey pay our charge.' 'I dare not think of going any more upon the adventure,' says I; 'besides, if we meet with any misfortune, out of our knowledge, we shall never get out of it, we shall be undone.' 'Nay,' says he, 'we shall find no mercy here, if they can catch us, and they can do no worse abroad; I am for venturing at all events.'

'Well, but captain,' says I, 'have you husbanded your time so ill that you have no money to supply you in such a time as this?' 'I have very little indeed,' said he, 'for I have had bad luck lately.' But he lied, for he had a great share of the booty they had got at their last adventure, as above; and, as the rest complained, he and Will had got almost all of it, and kept the rest out of their shares, which made them the willinger to discover them.

However it was, he owned he had about £22 in money, and something that would yield money; I suppose it was plate; but he would not tell me what it was, or where it was, but he said he durst not go to fetch it, for he should be betrayed and seized, so he would venture without it. 'Sure,' says he, 'we shall come back again some time or other.'

I honestly produced all the money I had, which was £16, and some odd shillings. 'Now,' says I, 'if we are good husbands, and travel frugally, this will carry us quite out of danger;' for we had both been assured, that when we came out of England, we should be both safe, and nobody could hurt us, though they had known us; but we neither of us thought it was so many weary steps to Scotland as we found it.

I speak of myself as in the same circumstances of danger with brother Jack; but it was only thus: I was in as much fear as he, but not in quite as much danger.

I cannot omit that, in the interval of these things, and a few days before I carried my money to the gentleman in Tower-street, I took a walk all alone into the fields, in order to go to Kentish-town, and do justice to the poor old nurse; it happened that before I was aware, I crossed a field that came to the very spot where I robbed the poor old woman and the maid, or where, I should say, Will made me rob them; my heart had reproached me many a time with that cruel action, and many a time I promised to myself, that I would find a way to make her satisfaction, and restore her money, and that day I had set apart for the work; but was a little surprised that I was so suddenly upon the unhappy spot.

The place brought to my mind the villany I had committed there, and something struck me with a kind of wish, I cannot say prayer, for I knew not what that meant, that I might leave off that cursed trade, and said to myself, O that I had some trade to live by! I would never rob no more, for sure 'tis a wicked, abominable thing.

Here indeed I felt the loss of what just parents do, and ought to do, by all their children; I mean, being bred to some trade or employment; and I wept many times, that I knew not what to do, or what to turn my hand to, though I resolved to leave off the wicked course I was in.

But, to return to my journey, I asked my way to Kentish-town, and it happened to be of a poor woman that said she lived there; upon which intelligence, I asked if she knew a woman that lived there, whose name was Smith? She answered, Yes, very well, that she was not a settled inhabitant, only a lodger in the town, but that she was an honest, poor, industrious woman, and, by her labour and pains, maintained a diseased

[illegible] to help himself [illegible] said I to myself, [illegible] a poor woman as this, [illegible] her misery, and to the [illegible] this quickened my re- [illegible] money, and not only so, [illegible] gave her something over [illegible] forward, and, by [illegible] found her lodging [illegible] then asking for the [illegible] door immediately, for [illegible] by her name of a little [illegible]. I presently spoke [illegible] not you robbed about [illegible] coming home from Lon- [illegible] ?' 'Yes, indeed [illegible] frighted into the [illegible] did you lose?' said I. [illegible] all the money I had in [illegible] hard for it, it was [illegible] child that I had then, [illegible] to receive it.' 'But [illegible]?' said I. 'Why,' says [illegible] I had been to fetch, [illegible] my own before.'

[illegible] woman, what will you [illegible] in a way to get your [illegible] believe the fellow that took [illegible] and perhaps I may do you [illegible] that I came to see you.' [illegible] old woman, 'I understand [illegible] cannot swear to the man's face [illegible], and beside, I would not [illegible] for my money; let him [illegible] That is very kind,' says I, [illegible] from you; but you need [illegible] that, for he will be hanged [illegible] against him or not; but are [illegible] your money again that you [illegible]' says the woman, 'I should [illegible] I have not been so hard put [illegible] great while as I am now; I [illegible] had no bread to eat, though I [illegible] and late;' and with that she [illegible]

[illegible] have broken my very heart, [illegible] poor creature worked, and was [illegible] threescore, and that I, a young [illegible] beauty, should rob her of her [illegible] my idleness and wicked life; and [illegible] from my eyes in spite of all my [illegible] repent it, and the woman perceived [illegible] woman,' said I, 'tis a sad thing [illegible] those should plunder and strip [illegible] as thou art! Well, he is at [illegible] repent it, I assure you.' 'I per- [illegible] do,' 'you are very compassionate [illegible] he may improve the time God [illegible] and that he may repent, and I [illegible] his repentance; whoever he is, I [illegible] whether he can make no recompense [illegible] I pray God forgive him; I won't do [illegible] prejudice, not I.' And with that she [illegible] for me.

[illegible] come hither to me,' says I; and [illegible] put my hand into my pocket, and [illegible] me. 'Hold up your hand,' said I; [illegible] and I told her nine half-crowns [illegible]. 'There, dame,' said I, 'is your [illegible] lost; I assure you, dame,' said I, 'I [illegible] the chief instrument to get it of him [illegible] ever since he told me the story of [illegible] rest of his wicked exploits, I never [illegible] rest till I made him promise me to [illegible] restitution.' All the while I held her [illegible] put the money into it, I looked in her face, and I perceived her colour come and go, and that she was under the greatest surprise of joy imaginable.

'Well, God bless him,' says she, 'and spare him from the disaster he is afraid of, if it be his will; for sure this is an act of so much justice, and so honest, that I never expected the like.' She ran on a great while so, and wept for him, when I told her I doubted there was no room to expect his life. 'Well,' says she, 'then pray God give him repentance, and bring him to heaven, for sure he must have something that is good at the bottom; he has a principle of honesty at bottom to be sure, however he may have been brought into bad courses, by bad company or evil example, or other temptations; but I dare say he will be brought to repentance one time or other before he dies.'

All this touched me nearer than she imagined; for I was the man that she prayed for all this while, though she did not know it, and in my heart I said amen to it; for I was sensible that I had done one of the vilest actions in the world, in attacking a poor creature in such a condition, and not listening to her entreaties, when she begged so heartily for that little money we took from her.

In a word, the good woman so moved me with her charitable prayers, that I put my hand in my pocket again for her. 'Dame,' said I, 'you are so charitable in your petitions for this miserable creature, that it puts me in mind of one thing more which I will do for him, whether he ordered me or not, and that is, to ask your forgiveness for the thief in robbing you; for it was an offence, and a trespass against you, as well as an injury to you; and therefore I ask your pardon for him: will you sincerely and heartily forgive him, dame? I do desire of you;' and with that I stood up, and, with my hat off, asked her pardon. 'O! sir,' says she, 'do not stand up, and with your hat off to me! I am a poor woman, I forgive him, and all that were with him; for there was one or more with him; I forgive them with all my heart, and I pray God to forgive them.'

'Well, dame, then,' said I, 'to make you some recompense for your charity, there is something for you more than your loss;' and with that I gave her a crown more.

Then I asked her who that was who was robbed with her? She said it was a servant-maid that lived then in the town, but she was gone from her place, and she did not know where she lived now. 'Well, dame,' says I, 'if ever you do hear of her, let her leave word where she may be found; and if I live to come and see you again, I will get the money of him for her too: I think that was but little, was it?' 'No,' says she, 'it was but 5s. 6d.;' which I knew as well as she. 'Well,' says I, 'dame, inquire her out if you have an opportunity;' so she promised me she would, and away I came.

The satisfaction this gave me was very much; but then a natural consequence attended it, which filled me with reflection afterwards; and this was, that, by the same rule, I ought to make restitution to all that I had wronged, in the like manner; and what could I do as to that? To this I knew not what to say, and so the thought in time wore off; for, in short, it was impossible to be done. I had not ability, neither did I know any of the people whom I had so injured; and that satisfying me for the present, I let it drop.

I come now to my journey with Captain Jack, my supposed brother. We set out from London on foot, and travelled the first day to Ware, for we had learnt so much of our road, that the way

lay through that town; we were weary enough the first day, having not been used at all to travelling; but we made shift to walk once up and down the town, after we came into it.

I soon found that his walking out to see the town was not to satisfy his curiosity in viewing the place, for he had no notion of anything of that kind; but to see if he could light of any purchase; for he was so natural a thief that he could see nothing on the road, but it occurred to him how easily that might be taken, and how cleverly this might be carried off, and the like.

Nothing offered in Ware to his mind, it not being market-day; and as for me, though I made no great scruple of eating and drinking at the cost of his roguery, yet I resolved not to enter upon anything, as they called it, nor to take the least thing from anybody.

When the captain found me resolved upon the negative, he asked me how I thought to travel? I asked him what he thought of himself, that was sure to be hanged if he was taken, how small soever the crime was that he should be taken for. 'How can that be?' says he; 'they don't know me in the country.' 'Ay,' says I; 'but do you think they do not send up word to Newgate as soon as any thief is taken in the country, and so inquire who is escaped from them, or who is fled, that they may be stopped? Assure yourself,' says I, 'the gaolers correspond with one another, with the greatest exactness imaginable; and if you were taken here but for stealing a basket of eggs, you shall have your accuser sent down to see if he knows you.'

This terrified him a little for a while, and kept him honest for three or four days; but it was but for a few days indeed, for he played a great many rogue's tricks without me, till at last he came to his end without me too, though it was not till many years after, as you shall hear in its order; but as these exploits are no part of my story, but of his, whose life and exploits are sufficient to make a volume larger than this, by itself; so I shall omit everything but what I was particularly concerned in, during this tedious journey.

From Ware we travelled to Cambridge, though that was not our direct road; the occasion was this; in our way, going through a village called Puckeridge, we baited at an inn, at the sign of the Falcon, and while we were there, a countryman comes to the inn, and hangs his horse at the door, while he goes in to drink; we sat in the gateway, having called for a mug of beer, and drank it up. We had been talking with the hostler about the way to Scotland, and he had bid us ask the road to Royston; 'but,' says he, 'there is a turning just here a little farther, you must not go that way, for that goes to Cambridge.'

We had paid for our beer, and sat at the door only to rest us, when on the sudden comes a gentleman's coach to the door, and three or four horsemen; the horsemen rode into the yard, and the hostler was obliged to go in with them; says he to the captain, 'Young man, pray take hold of the horse' (meaning the countryman's horse I mentioned above), 'and take him out of the way, that the coach may come up.' He did so, and beckoned me to follow him, we walked together to the turning: says he to me, 'Do you step before and turn up the lane, I'll overtake you;' so I went on up the lane, and in a few minutes he was got up upon the horse and at my heels. 'Come, get up,' says he, 'we will have a lift, if we don't get the horse by the bargain.'

I made no difficulty to get up behind him, and away we went at a good round rate, it being a good strong horse. We lost no time for an hour's riding and more, by which time we thought we were out of the reach of being pursued; and as the countryman, when he should miss his horse, would hear that we inquired the way to Royston, he would certainly pursue us that way, and not towards Cambridge. We went easier after the first hour's riding, and, coming through a town or two, we alighted by turns, and did not ride double through the villages.

Now, as it was impossible for the captain to pass by anything that he could lay his hand on, and not take it, so now having a horse to carry it off too, the temptation was the stronger. Going through a village, where a good housewife of the house had been washing, and hung her clothes out upon a hedge near the road, he could not help it, but got hold of a couple of good shirts, that were about half dry, and overtook me upon the spur, for I walked on before; I immediately got up behind, and away we galloped together as fast as the horse could well go. In this part of our expedition, his good luck or mine carried us quite out of the road; and having seen none to ask the way of, we lost ourselves, and wandered I know not how many miles to the right hand, till, partly by that means, and partly by the occasion following, we came quite into the coach road to Cambridge, from London, by Bishop-Stratford. The particular occasion that made me wander on was thus; the country was all open corn-fields, no enclosures; when, being upon a little rising ground, I bade him stop the horse, for I would get down, and walk a little to ease my legs, being tired with riding so long behind without stirrups; when I was down and looked a little about me, I saw plainly the great white road, which we should have gone, at near two miles from us.

On a sudden, looking a little back to my left, upon that road, I saw four or five horsemen, riding full speed, some a good way before the other, and hurrying on, as people in a full pursuit.

It immediately struck me; 'Ha! brother Jack,' says I, 'get off the horse this moment, and ask why afterwards;' so he jumps off. 'What is the matter?' says he. 'The matter,' says I, 'look yonder, it is well we have lost our way; do you see how they ride? they are pursuing us, you may depend upon it. Either,' says I, 'you are pursued from the last village for the two shirts, or from Puckeridge for the horse.' He had so much presence of mind, that without my mentioning it to him, he puts back the horse behind a great white thorn-bush, which grew just by him; so they could by no means see the horse, which, we being just at the top of the hill, they might otherwise have done, and so have pursued that way at a venture.

But as it was impossible for them to see the horse, so was it as impossible for them to see us at that distance, who sat down on the ground to look at them the more securely.

The road winding about, we saw them a great way, and they rode as fast as they could make their horses go. When we found they were gone quite out of sight, we mounted, and made the best of our way also; and indeed, though we were two upon one horse, yet we abated no speed where the way would admit of it, not inquiring of anybody the way to anywhere, till, after about two hours' riding, we came to a town, which, upon inquiry, they called Chesterford; and here we stopped, and asked not our way to any place, but whither that road went, and were told it was the coach road to Cambridge; also that it was the way to Newmarket, to St. Edmund's-bury, to

Norwich and Yarmouth, to Lynn, and to Ely, and the like.

We stayed here a good while, believing ourselves secure; and afterwards, towards evening, went forward to a place called Bournbridge, where the road to Cambridge turns away out of the road to Newmarket, and where there are but two houses only, both of them being inns. Here the captain says to me, 'Hark ye, you see we are pursued towards Cambridge, and shall be stopped if we go thither; now Newmarket is but ten miles off, and there we may be safe, and perhaps get an opportunity to do some business.'

'Look ye, Jack,' said I, 'talk no more of doing business, for I will not join with you in anything of that kind. I would fain get you to Scotland before you get a halter about your neck; I will not have you hanged in England, if I can help it, and therefore I won't go to Newmarket, unless you will promise me to take no false steps there.' 'Well,' says he, 'if I must not, then I won't; but I hope you will let us get another horse, won't you, that we may travel faster?' 'No,' says I, 'I won't agree to that; but if you will let me send this horse back fairly, I will tell you how we shall hire horses afterwards, for one stage, or two, and then take them as far as we please; it is only sending a letter to the owner to send for him, and then, if we are stopped, it can do us but little hurt.'

'You are a wary, politic gentleman,' says the captain; 'but I say we are better as we are, for we are out of all danger of being stopped on the way, after we are gone from this place.'

We had not parleyed thus long, but, though in the dead of the night, came a man to the other inn door; for, as I said above, there are two inns at that place, and called for a pot of beer; but the people were all in bed, and would not rise. He asked them if they had seen two fellows come that way upon one horse. The man said he had, that they went by in the afternoon, and asked the way to Cambridge, but did not stop only to drink one mug. 'O!' says he, 'are they gone to Cambridge? Then I'll be with them quickly.' I was awake in a little garret of the next inn, where we lodged; and hearing the fellow call at the door, got up, and went to the window, having some uneasiness at every noise I heard; and by that means head the whole story. Now, the case is plain, our hour was not come, our fate had determined other things for us, and we were to be reserved for it. The matter was thus: when we first came to Bournbridge, we called at the first house, and asked the way to Cambridge, drank a mug of beer, and went on, and they might see us turn off to go the way they directed; but, night coming on, and we being very weary, we thought we should not find the way; and we came back in the dusk of the evening, and went into the other house, being the first as we came back, as that, where we called before, was the first as we went forward.

You may be sure I was alarmed now, as indeed I had reason to be. The captain was in bed, and fast asleep, but I wakened him, and roused him with a noise that frighted him enough: 'Rise, Jack,' said I, 'we are both ruined, they are come after us hither.' Indeed I was wrong to terrify him at that rate; for he started, and jumped out of bed, and ran directly to the window, not knowing where he was, and, not quite awake, was just going to jump out of the window, but I laid hold of him: 'What are you going to do?' says I. 'I won't be taken,' says he; 'let me alone, where are they?'

This was all confusion; and he was so out of himself with the fright, and being overcome with sleep, that I had much to do to prevent his jumping out of the window. However, I held him fast, and thoroughly wakened him, and then all was well again, and he was presently composed.

Then I told him the story, and we sat together upon the bed-side, considering what we should do. Upon the whole, as the fellow that called was apparently gone to Cambridge, we had nothing to fear, but to be quiet till daybreak, and then to mount and be gone.

Accordingly, as soon as day peeped, we were up; and having happily informed ourselves of the road at the other house, and being told that the road to Cambridge turned off on the left hand, and that the road to Newmarket lay straight forward; I say, having learnt this, the captain told me he would walk away on foot towards Newmarket; and so, when I came to go out, I should appear as a single traveller; and accordingly he went out immediately, and away he walked, and he travelled so hard, that when I came to follow I thought once that he had dropped me, for, though I rode hard, I got no sight of him for an hour. At length, having passed the great bank, called the Devil's Ditch, I found him, and took him up behind me, and we rode double till we came almost to the end of Newmarket town. Just at the hither house in the town stood a horse at a door, just as it was at Puckeridge. 'Now,' says Jack, 'if the horse was at the other end of the town, I would have him, as sure as we had the other at Puckeridge;' but it would not do; so he got down, and walked through the town on the right hand side of the way.

He had not got half through the town, but the horse, having somehow or other got loose, came trotting gently on by himself, and nobody following him. The captain, an old soldier at such work, as soon as the horse was got a pretty way before him, and that he saw nobody followed, sets up a run after the horse, and the horse hearing him follow, ran the faster; then the captain calls out, 'Stop the horse!' and by this time the horse was got almost to the farther end of the town; the people of the house where he stood not missing him all the while.

Upon his calling out 'Stop the horse!' the poor people of the town, such as were next at hand, ran from both sides the way, and stopped the horse for him, as readily as could be, and held him for him till he came up. He very gravely comes up to the horse, hits him a blow or two, and calls him dog for running away; gives the man twopence that catched him for him, mounts, and away he comes after me.

This was the oddest adventure that could have happened, for the horse stole the captain, the captain did not steal the horse. When he came up to me, 'Now, Colonel Jack,' says he, 'what say you to good luck? would you have had me refuse the horse when he came so civilly to ask me to ride?' 'No, no,' said I, 'you have got this horse by your wit, not by design; and you may go on now I think; you are in a safer condition than I am, if we are taken.'

The next question was, what road we should take? Here were four ways before us, and we were alike strangers to them all; first, on the right hand, and at a little mile from the town, a great road went off to St. Edmund's-bury; straight on, but inclining afterwards to the right, lay the great road to Barton Mills, and Thetford, and so to Norwich; and full before us lay a great road also to Brandon and Lynn, and on the left, lay a less road to the city of Ely, and into the fens.

In short, as we knew not which road to take,

nor which way to get into the great north road, which we had left, so we, by mere unguided chance, took the way to Brandon, and so to Lynn. At Brand, or Brandon, we were told that, passing over at a place called Downham-bridge, we might cross the fen country to Wisbeach; and from thence go along the bank of the river Nyne to Peterborough, and from thence to Stamford, where we were in the northern road again; and likewise, that at Lynn we might go by the washes into Lincolnshire, and so might travel north. But, upon the whole, this was my rule, that, when we inquired the way to any particular place, to be sure we never took the road, but some other, which the accidental discourse we might have should bring in; and thus we did here, for, having chiefly asked our way into the northern road, we resolved to go directly for Lynn.

We arrived here very easy and safe; and while we were considering of what way we should travel next, we found we were got to a point, and that there was no way now left but that by the washes into Lincolnshire, and that was represented as very dangerous; so an opportunity offering of a man that was travelling over the fens, we took him for our guide, and went with him to Spalding, and from thence to a town called Deeping, and so to Stamford in Lincolnshire.

This is a large populous town, and it was market-day when we came to it; so we put in at a little house at the hither end of the town, and walked into the town.

Here it was not possible to restrain my captain from playing his feats of art, and my heart ached for him. I told him I would not go with him, for he would not promise to leave off, and I was so terribly concerned at the apprehensions of his venturous humour, that I would not so much as stir out of my lodging; but it was in vain to persuade him. He went into the market, and found a mountebank there, which was what he wanted. How he picked two pockets there in one quarter of an hour, and brought to our quarters a piece of new holland of eight or nine ells, a piece of stuff, and played three or four pranks more in less than two hours; and how afterward he robbed a doctor of physic, and yet came off clear in them; all this, I say, as above, belongs to his story, not mine.

I scolded heartily at him when he came back, and told him he would certainly ruin himself, and me too, before he left off, and threatened in so many words that I would leave him, and go back, and carry the horse to Puckeridge, where we borrowed it, and so go to London by myself.

He promised amendment; but, as we resolved (now we were in the great road) to travel by night, so it being not yet night, he gives me the slip again; and was not gone half an hour, but he comes back with a gold watch in his hand: 'Come,' says he, 'why an't you ready? I am ready to go as soon as you will;' and with that he pulls out the gold watch. I was amazed at such a thing as that in a country town; but it seems there were prayers at one of the churches in the evening, and he, placing himself as the occasion directed, found the way to be so near a lady as to get it from her side, and walked off with it unperceived.

The same night we went away, by moonlight, after having the satisfaction to hear the watch cried, and ten guineas offered for it again; he would have been glad of the ten guineas instead of the watch; but durst not venture to carry it home. 'Well,' says I, 'you are afraid, and indeed you have reason; give it me, I will venture to carry it again.' But he would not let me; but told me that when he came into Scotland we might sell anything there without danger, which was true indeed, for there they asked us no questions.

We set out, as I said, in the evening by moonlight, and travelled hard, the road being very plain and large, till we came to Grantham, by which time it was about two in the morning, and all the town, as it were, dead asleep; so we went on for Newark, where we reached about eight in the morning, and there we lay down and slept most of the day; and by this sleeping so continually in the day-time, I kept him from doing a great deal of mischief, which he would otherwise have done.

From Newark, we took advice of one that was accidentally comparing the roads, and we concluded that the road by Nottingham would be the best for us; so we turned out of the great road, and went up the side of the Trent to Nottingham. Here he played his pranks again in a manner that it was the greatest wonder imaginable to me that he was not surprised, and yet he came off clear. And now he had got so many bulky goods, that he bought him a portmanteau to carry them in. It was in vain for me to offer to restrain him any more; so, after this, he went on his own way.

At Nottingham, I say, he had such success as made us the hastier to be going than otherwise we would have been, lest we should have been baulked, and should be laid hold off; from thence we left the road, which leads to the north again, went away by Mansfield, into Scarsdale in Yorkshire.

I shall take up no more of my own story with his pranks; they very well merit to be told by themselves, but I shall observe only what relates to our journey. In a word, I dragged him along as fast as I could, till I came to Leeds in Yorkshire. Here, though it be a large and populous town, yet he could make nothing of it, neither had he any success at Wakefield; and he told me, in short, that the north-country people were certainly all thieves. 'Why so?' said I; 'the people seem to be just as other people are.' 'No, no,' says he, 'they have their eyes so about them, and are all so sharp, they look upon everybody that comes near them to be a pickpocket, or else they would never stand so upon their guard; and then again,' says he, 'they are so poor, there is but little to be got; and I am afraid,' says he, 'the farther we go north, we shall find it worse.' 'Well,' said I, 'what do you infer from thence?' 'I argue from thence,' says he, 'that we shall do nothing there, and I had as good go back into the south and be hanged, as into the north to be starved.'

Well, we came at length to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Here, on a market-day, was a great throng of people, and several of the townspeople going to market to buy provisions; and here he played his pranks, cheated a shopkeeper of £15 or £16 in goods, and got clear away with them; stole a horse, and sold that he came upon, and played so many pranks that I was quite frighted for him; I say for him, for I was not concerned for myself, having never stirred out of the house where I lodged, at least not with him, nor without some or other with me belonging to the inn, that might give an account of me.

Nor did I use this caution in vain; for he had made himself so public by his rogueries, that he was waylaid everywhere to be taken, and had he not artfully first given out that he was come from Scotland, and was going toward London, inquiring that road, and the like, which amused his

pursuers for the first day, he had been taken, and in all probability had been hanged there; but, by that artifice, he got half a day's time of them; and yet, as it was, he was put so to it, that he was fain to plunge, horse and all, into the river Tweed, and swim over, and thereby made his escape. It was true that he was before upon Scots ground (as they called it), and consequently they had no power to have carried him off, if anybody had opposed them; yet, as they were in a full chase after him, could they have come up with him, they would have run the risk of the rest, and they could but have delivered him up, if they had been questioned about it. However, as he got over the Tweed, and was landed safe, they could neither follow him, the water being too high at the usual place of going over, nor could they have attempted to have brought him away if they had taken him. The place where he took the river was where there is a ford below Kelso, but the water being up, the ford was not passable, and he had no time to go to the ferry-boat, which is about a furlong off, opposite to the town.

Having thus made his escape, he went to Kelso, where he had appointed me to come after him.

I followed with a heavy heart, expecting every hour to meet him upon the road in the custody of the constables, and such people, or to hear of him in the gaol; but when I came to a place on the border, called Woller-haugh-head, there I understood how he had been chased, and how he made his escape.

When I came to Kelso, he was easy enough to be found; for his having desperately swam the Tweed, a rapid and large river, made him much talked of, though it seems they had not heard of the occasion of it, nor anything of his character; for he had wit enough to conceal all that, and live as retired as he could till I came to him.

I was not so much rejoiced at his safety, as I was provoked at his conduct; and the more, for that I could not find he had yet the least notion of his having been void of common sense with respect to his circumstances, as well as contrary to what he promised me. However, as there was no beating anything into his head by words, I only told him, that I was glad he was at last gotten into a place of safety, and I asked him then how he intended to manage himself in that country? He said in a few words, he did not know yet, he doubted the people were very poor; but if they had any money he was resolved to have some of it.

'But do you know too,' says I, 'that they are the severest people upon criminals of your kind in the world?' He did not value that, he said, in his blunt short way, he would venture it; upon this, I told him that, seeing it was so, and he would run such ventures, I would take my leave of him, and be gone back to England. He seemed sullen, or rather it was the roughness of his untractable disposition; he said I might do what I would, he would do as he found opportunity; however, we did not part immediately, but went on towards the capital city. On the road we found too much poverty, and too few people, to give him room to expect any advantage in his way; and though he had his eyes about him as sharp as a hawk, yet he saw plainly there was nothing to be done; for as to the men, they did not seem to have much money about them; and for the women, their dress was such that, had they any money, or indeed any pockets, it was impossible to come at them; for, wearing large plaids about them and down to their knees, they were wrapped up so close, that there was no coming to make the least attempt of that kind.

Kelso was indeed a good town, and had abundance of people in it; and yet, though he stayed one Sunday there, and saw the church, which is very large and thronged with people; yet, as he told me, there was not one woman to be seen in all the church with any other dress than a plaid, except in two pews, which belonged to some noblemen, and who, when they came out, were so surrounded with footmen and servants that there was no coming near them, any more than there was any coming near the king surrounded by his guards.

We set out therefore with this discouragement, which I was secretly glad of, and went forward to Edinburgh. All the way thither we went through no considerable town, and it was but very coarse travelling for us, who were strangers; for we met with waters which were very dangerous to pass, by reason of hasty rains, at a place called Lauderdale, and where my captain was really in danger of drowning, his horse being driven down by the stream, and fell under him, by which he wetted and spoiled his stolen goods, that he brought from Newcastle, and which he had kept dry strangely, by holding them up in his arms when he swam the Tweed; but here it wanted but little that he and his horse had been lost, not so much by the depth of the water, as the fury of the current; but he had a proverb in his favour, and he got out of the water, though with difficulty enough, not being born to be drowned, as I shall observe afterwards in its place.

We came to Edinburgh the third day from Kelso, having stopped at an inn one whole day, at a place called Soutrahill, to dry our goods and refresh ourselves. We were oddly saluted at Edinburgh, the next day after we came thither. My captain having a desire to walk, and look about him, asked me if I would go and see the town? I told him yes; so we went out, and coming through a gate, that they call the Nether-bow, into the great High-street, which went up to the cross, we were surprised to see it thronged with an infinite number of people. Ay (says my captain), this will do; however, as I had made him promise to make no adventures that day, otherwise I told him I would not go out with him, so I held him by the sleeve, and would not let him stir from me.

Then we came up to the market-cross, and there, besides the great number of people who passed and repassed, we saw a great parade, or kind of meeting, like an exchange of gentlemen, of all ranks and qualities, and this encouraged my captain again, and he pleased himself with that sight.

It was while we were looking, and wondering at what we saw here, that we were surprised with a sight which we little expected; we observed the people running on a sudden, as to see some strange thing just coming along, and strange it was indeed; for we saw two men naked from the waist upwards, run by us as swift as the wind, and we imagined nothing but that it was two men running a race for some mighty wager. On a sudden we found two long small ropes or lines, which hung down at first, pulled strait, and the two racers stopped, and stood still, one close by the other. We could not imagine what this meant, but the reader may judge at our surprise, when we found a man follow after, who had the ends of both those lines in his hands, and who, when he came up to them, gave each of them two frightful lashes with a wire whip, or lash, which he held in the other hand; and then the two poor naked wretches ran on again

to the length of their line or tether, where they waited for the like salutation; and in this manner they danced the length of the whole street, which is about half a mile.

This was a dark prospect to my captain, and put him in mind, not only of what he was to expect if he made a slip in the way of his profession in this place, but also of what he had suffered, when he was but a boy, at the famous place called Bridewell.

But this was not all; for, as we saw the execution, so we were curious to examine into the crime too; and we asked a young fellow who stood near us what the two men had done, for which they suffered that punishment? The fellow, an unhappy ill-natured Scotchman, perceived by our speech that we were Englishmen, and by our question that we were strangers, told us, with a malicious wit, that they were two Englishmen, and that they were whipped so for picking pockets, and other petty thieveries, and that they were afterwards to be sent away over the border into England.

Now this was every word of it false, and was only formed by his nimble invention to insult us as Englishmen; for when we inquired farther, they were both Scotchmen, and were thus scourged for the usual offences for which we give the like punishment in England; and the man who held the line and scourged them was the city hangman; who (by the way) is there an officer of note, has a constant salary, and is a man of substance; and not only so, but a most dexterous fellow in his office, and makes a great deal of money of his employment.

This sight, however, was very shocking to us; and my captain turned to me: 'Come,' says he, 'let us go away, I won't stay here any longer.' I was glad to hear him say so, but did not think he had meant or intended what he said. However, we went back to our quarters, and kept pretty much within, only that in the evenings we walked about; but even then my captain found no employment, no encouragement. Two or three times, indeed, he made a prize of some mercery and millinery goods; but when he had them he knew not what to do with them; so that, in short, he was forced to be honest in spite of his good will to be otherwise.

We remained here about a month, when, on a sudden, my captain was gone, horse and all, and I knew nothing what was become of him; nor did I ever see or hear of him for eighteen months after; nor did he so much as leave the least notice for me, either whither he was gone, or whether he would return to Edinburgh again or no.

I took his leaving me very heinously, not knowing what to do with myself, being a stranger in the place; and, on the other hand, my money abated apace too. I had for the most part of this time my horse upon my hands to keep; and as horses yield but a sorry price in Scotland, I found no opportunity to make much of him; and, on the other hand, I had a secret resolution, if I had gone back to England, to have restored him to the owner, at Puckeridge, by Ware; and so I should have wronged him of nothing but the use of him for so long a time; but I found an occasion to answer all my designs about the horse to advantage.

There came a man to the stabler (so they call the people at Edinburgh that take in horses to keep), and wanted to know if he could hear of any returned horses for England. My landlord (so we called him) came bluntly to me one day, and asked me, If my horse was my own? It was an odd question, as my circumstances stood, and puzzled me at first; and I asked why, and what was the matter? 'Because,' says he, 'if it be a hired horse in England, as is often the case with Englishmen who come to Scotland, I could help you to send it back, and get you something for riding;' so he expressed himself.

I was very glad of the occasion; and, in short, took security there of the person, for delivering the horse safe and sound, and had 15s. sterling for the riding him. Upon this agreement, I gave order to leave the horse at the Falcon, at Puckeridge, and where I heard, many years after, that he was honestly left, and that the owner had him again, but had nothing for the loan of him.

Being thus eased of the expense of my horse, and having nothing at all to do, I began to consider with myself what would become of me, and what I could turn my hand to. I had not much diminished my stock of money, for, though I was all the way so wary that I would not join with my captain in his desperate attempts, yet I made no scruple to live at his expense, which, as I came out of England only to keep him company, had been but just, had I not known that all he had to spend upon me was what he robbed honest people of, and that I was all that while a receiver of stolen goods; but I was not come so far then as to scruple that part at all.

In the next place, I was not so anxious about my money running low, because I knew what a reserve I had made at London; but still I was very willing to have engaged in any honest employment for a livelihood; for I was sick indeed of the wandering life which I had led, and was resolved to thieve no more; but then two or three things which I had offered me I lost, because I could not write or read.

This afflicted me a great while very much; but the stabler, as I have called him, delivered me from my anxiety that way, by bringing me to an honest, but a poor young man, who undertook to teach me both to write and read, and in a little time too, and for a small expense, if I would take pains at it. I promised all possible diligence, and to work I went with it, but found the writing much more difficult to me than the reading.

However, in half a year's time, or thereabouts, I could read and write too, tolerably well, insomuch that I began to think I was now fit for business; and I got by it into the service of a certain officer of the customs, who employed me for a time; but as he set me to do little but pass and repass between Leith and Edinburgh, with the accounts which he kept for the farmers of the customs there, leaving me to live at my own expense till my wages should be due, I run out the little money I had left, in clothes and subsistence, and a little before the year's end, when I was to have £12 English money, truly my master was turned out of his place; and, which was worse, having been charged with some misapplications, was obliged to take shelter in England, and so we that were servants, for there were three of us, were left to shift for ourselves.

This was a hard case for me in a strange place, and I was reduced by it to the last extremity. I might have gone for England, an English ship being there, the master of which proffered me to give me my passage (upon telling him my distress), and to take my word for the payment of 10s. when I came there; but my captain appeared just then under new circumstances, which obliged him not to go away, and I was loath to leave him; it seems we were yet farther to take our fate together.

I have mentioned that he left me, and that I

saw him no more for eighteen months. His ramble and adventures were many in that time. He went to Glasgow, played some remarkable pranks there, escaped almost miraculously from the gallows, got over to Ireland, wandered about there, turned raparee, and did some villanous things there, and escaped from Londonderry over to the Highlands in the north of Scotland; and about a month before I was left destitute at Leith by my master, behold! my noble Captain Jack came in there, on board the ferry boat from Fife, being, after all adventures and successes, advanced to the dignity of a foot soldier in a body of recruits raised in the north for the regiment of Douglas.

After my disaster, being reduced almost as low as my captain, I found no better shift before me, at least for the present, than to enter myself a soldier too; and thus we were ranked together, with each of us a musket upon our shoulders, and, I confess, that thing did not sit so ill upon me as I thought at first it would have done; for, though I fared hard, and lodged ill (for the last, especially, is the fate of poor soldiers in that part of the world) yet to me that had been used to lodge on the ashes in the glass-house, this was no great matter. I had a secret satisfaction at being now under no necessity of stealing, and living in fear of a prison, and of the lash of the hangman; a thing which, from the time I saw it in Edinburgh, was so terrible to me, that I could not think of it without horror; and it was an inexpressible ease to my mind that I was now in a certain way of living, which was honest, and which I could say was not unbecoming a gentleman.

Whatever was my satisfaction in that part, yet other circumstances did not equally concur to make this life suit me; for after we had been about six months in this figure, we were informed that the recruits were all to march for England, and to be shipped off at Newcastle, or at Hull, to join the regiment, which was then in Flanders.

I should tell you that, before this, I was extremely delighted with the life of a soldier, and I took the exercise so naturally, that the serjeant that taught us to handle our arms, seeing me so ready at it, asked me if I had never carried arms before. I told him, no; at which he swore, though jesting, 'They call you colonel,' says he, 'and I believe you will be a colonel, or you must be some colonel's bastard, or you would never handle your arms as you do, at once or twice showing.'

This pleased me extremely, and encouraged me, and I was mightily taken with the life of a soldier; but when the captain came and told me the news, that we were to march for England, and to be shipped off for Flanders at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, I was surprised very much, and new thoughts began to come in my mind; as, first, my captain's condition was particular, for he durst not appear publicly at Newcastle, as he must have done if he had marched with the battalion (for they were a body of above 400, and therefore called themselves a battalion, though we were but recruits, and belonged to the several companies abroad), I say, he must have marched with them, and been publicly seen, in which case he would have been apprehended and delivered up. In the next place, I remembered that I had almost £100 in money in London, and if it should have been asked all the soldiers in the regiment, which of them would go to Flanders, a private sentinel, if they had £100 in their pockets, I believe none of them would answer in the affirmative; £100 being at that time sufficient to buy colours in any new regiment, though not in that regiment, which was on an old establishment: this whetted my ambition, and I dreamt of nothing but being a gentleman officer, as well as a gentleman soldier.

These two circumstances concurring, I began to be very uneasy, and very unwilling in my thoughts to go over a poor musqueteer into Flanders, to be knocked on the head at the tune of 3s. 6d. a week. While I was daily musing on the circumstances of being sent away as above, and considering what to do, my captain comes to me one evening; 'Hark ye, Jack,' says he, 'I must speak with you; let us take a walk in the fields a little out of from the houses.' We were quartered at a place called Park-End, near the town of Dunbar, about twenty miles from Berwick-upon-Tweed, and about sixteen miles from the river Tweed, the nearest way.

We walked together here, and talked seriously upon the matter. The captain told me how his case stood, and that he durst not march with the battalion into Newcastle; that if he did, he should be taken out of the ranks and tried for his life, and that I knew as well as he. 'I could go privately to Newcastle,' says he, 'and go through the town well enough, but to go publicly is to run into the jaws of destruction.' 'Well,' says I, 'that is very true; but what will you do?' 'Do!' says he; 'do you think I am so bound by honour, as a gentleman soldier, that I will be hanged for them? No, no,' says he, 'I am resolved to be gone, and I would have you go with us;' said I, 'What do you mean by us?' 'Why, here is another honest fellow, an Englishman also,' says he, 'that is resolved to desert too, and he has been a long while in the service, and says he knows how we shall be used abroad, and he will not go to Flanders, says he, not he.'

'Why,' says I, 'you will be shot to death for deserters if you are taken, and they will send out scouts for you in the morning all over the country, so that you will certainly fall into their hands.' 'As for that,' says he, 'my comrade is thoroughly acquainted with the way, and he has undertaken to bring us to the banks of the Tweed, before they can come up with us, and when we are on the other side of the Tweed, they can't take us up.'

'And when would you go away?' says I.

'This minute,' says he; 'no time to be lost; 'tis a fine moon-shining night.'

'I have none of my baggage,' says I; 'let me go back and fetch my linen, and other things.'

'Your linen is not much, I suppose,' says he, 'and we shall easily get more in England the old way.'

'No,' says I, 'no more of your old ways; it has been owing to those old ways that we are now in such a strait.'

'Well, well,' says he, 'the old ways are better than this starving life of a gentleman, as we call it.'

'But,' says I, 'we have no money in our pockets, how shall we travel?'

'I have a little,' says the captain; 'enough to help us on to Newcastle, and if we can get none by the way, we will get some collier ship to take us in, and carry us to London by sea.'

'I like that the best of all the measures you have laid yet,' said I; and so I consented to go, and went off with him immediately. The cunning rogue having lodged his comrade a mile off under the hills, had dragged me by talking with him, by little and little, that way, till just when I consented, he was in sight, and he said, 'Look, there's my comrade!' who I knew presently, having seen him among the men.

Being thus gotten under the hills, and a mile

off the way, and the day just shut in, we kept on apace, resolving, if possible, to get out of the reach of our pursuers, before they should miss us, or know anything of our being gone.

We plied our time so well, and travelled so hard, that by five o'clock in the morning we were at a little village, whose name I forget; but they told us that we were within eight miles of the Tweed; and that as soon as we should be over the river, we were on English ground.

We refreshed a little here, but marched on with but little stay; however, it was half an hour past eight in the morning before we reached the Tweed, so it was at least twelve miles, when they told us it was but eight. Here we overtook two more of the same regiment, who had deserted from Haddington, where another part of the recruits were quartered.

Those were Scotchmen, and very poor, having not one penny in their pockets; and had no more when they made their escape but 8s. between them; and when they saw us, whom they knew to be of the same regiment, they took us to be pursuers, and that we came to lay hold of them; upon which they stood upon their defence, having the regiment swords on, as we had also, but none of the mounting or clothing; for we were not to receive the clothing till we came to the regiment in Flanders.

It was not long before we made them understand that we were in the same circumstances with themselves, and so we soon became one company; and after resting some time on the English side of the river (for we were heartily tired, and the others were as much fatigued as we were) I say, after resting awhile, we set forward towards Newcastle, whither we resolved to go to get our passage by sea to London; for we had not money to hold us out any farther.

Our money was ebbed very low; for, though I had one piece of gold in my pocket, which I kept reserved for the last extremity, yet it was but half-a-guinea, and my captain had bore all our charges as far as his money would go, so that, when we came to Newcastle, we had but sixpence left in all to help ourselves, and the two Scots had begged their way all along the road.

We contrived to come into Newcastle in the dusk of the evening, and even then we durst not venture into the public part of the town, but made down towards the river, something below the town, where some glass-houses stand. Here we knew not what to do with ourselves; but, guided by our fate, we put a good face upon the matter, and went into an ale-house, sat down, and called for a pint of beer.

The house was kept by a woman only, that is to say, we saw no other; and as she appeared very frank, and entertained us cheerfully, we at last told our condition, and asked her if she could not help us to some kind master of a collier, that would give us a passage to London by sea. The subtle devil, who immediately found us proper fish for her hook, gave us the kindest words in the world, and told us she was heartily sorry she had not seen us one day sooner; that there was a collier-master, of her particular acquaintance, that went away but with the morning tide, that the ship was fallen down to Shields, but she believed was hardly over the bar yet, and she would send to his house and see if he was gone on board, for sometimes the masters do not go away till a tide after the ship, and she was sure if he was not gone she could prevail with him to take us all in; but then she was afraid we must go on board immediately, the same night.

We begged her to send to his house, for we knew not what to do, and if she could oblige him to take us on board, we did not care what time of night it was; for, as we had no money, we had no lodging, and we wanted nothing but to be on board.

We looked upon this as a mighty favour, that she sent to the master's house, and to our greater joy, she brought us word about an hour after that he was not gone, and was at a tavern in the town, whither his boy had been to fetch him; and that he had sent word he would call there in the way home.

This was all in our favour, and we were extremely pleased with it. About an hour after, the landlady being in the room with us, her maid brings us word the master was below; so down she goes to him, telling us she would go and tell him our case, and see to persuade him to take us all on board. After some time she comes up with him, and brings him into the room to us. 'Where are these honest gentlemen soldiers,' says he, 'that are in such distress?' We stood all up, and paid our respects to him. 'Well, gentlemen, and is all your money spent?'

'Indeed it is,' said one of our company, 'and we shall be infinitely obliged to you, sir, if you will give us a passage; we will be very willing to do anything we can in the ship, though we are not seamen.'

'Why,' says he, 'were none of you ever at sea in your lives?'

'No,' says we, 'not one of us.'

'You will be able to do me no service then,' says he, 'for you will be all sick. Well, however,' says he, 'for my good landlady's sake here, I'll do it. But are you all ready to go on board, for I go on board this very night?'

'Yes, sir,' says we again; 'we are ready to go this minute.'

'No, no,' says he, very kindly, 'we'll drink together. Come, landlady,' says he, 'make these honest gentlemen a sneaker of punch.'

We looked at one another, for we knew we had no money, and he perceived it. 'Come, come,' says he, 'don't be concerned at your having no money: my landlady here and I never part with dry lips. Come, goodwife,' says he, 'make the punch as I bid you.'

We thanked him, and said, 'God bless you, noble captain,' a hundred times over, being overjoyed with such good luck. While we were drinking the punch, he calls the landlady: 'Come,' says he, 'I'll step home and take my things, and bid them good-bye, and order the boat to come at high water and take me up here; and pray, goodwife,' says he, 'get me something for supper; sure if I can give these honest men their passage, I may give them a bit of victuals too; it may be they han't had much for dinner.'

With this away he went, and in a little while we heard the jack a going, and one of us going down stairs for a spy, brought us word there was a good leg of mutton at the fire. In less than an hour our captain came again, and came up to us, and blamed us that we had not drank all the punch out. 'Come,' says he, 'don't be bashful; when that is out we can have another; when I am obliging poor men, I love to do it handsomely.'

We drank on, and drank the punch out, and more was brought up, and he pushed it about apace; and then came up a leg of mutton, and I need not say that we ate heartily, being told several times that we should pay nothing. After supper was done, he bids my landlady ask if the

boat was come? And she brought word no, it was not high water by a good deal. 'No!' says he; 'well, then, give us some more punch;' so more punch was brought in, and, as was afterwards confessed, something was put into it, or more brandy than ordinary, and by that time the punch was drunk out, we were all very drunk, and, as for me, I was asleep.

About the time that was out, we were told the boat was come; so we tumbled out, almost over one another, into the boat, and away we went, and our captain in the boat. Most of us, if not all, fell asleep, till after some time, though how much, or how far going, we knew not, the boat stopped, and we were waked, and told we were at the ship's side, which was true; and with much help and holding us, for fear we should fall overboard, we were all gotten into the ship. All I remember of it was this, that as soon as we were on board, our captain, as we called him, called out thus: 'Here, boatswain, take care of these gentlemen, and give them good cabins, and let them turn in and go to sleep, for they are very weary;' and so indeed we were, and very drunk too, being the first time I had ever drank punch in my life.

Well, care was taken of us according to order, and we were put into very good cabins, where we were sure to go immediately to sleep. In the meantime, the ship, which was indeed just ready to go, and only on notice given had come to an anchor for us at Shields, weighed, stood over the bar, and went off to sea; and when we waked, and began to peep abroad, which was not till near noon the next day, we found ourselves a great way at sea; the land in sight, indeed, but at a great distance, and all going merrily on for London, as we understood it. We were very well used, and well satisfied with our condition for about three days, when we began to inquire whether we were not almost come, and how much longer it would be before we should come into the river. 'What river?' says one of the men. 'Why, the Thames,' says my Captain Jack. 'The Thames!' says the seaman, 'What do you mean by that? What, han't you had time enough to be sober yet?' so Captain Jack said no more, but looked about him like a fool; when a while after, some other of us asked the like question, and the seamen, who knew nothing of the cheat, began to smell a trick; and turning to the other Englishman that came with us, 'Pray,' says he, 'where do you fancy you are going, that you ask so often about it?' 'Why, to London,' says he, 'where should we be going? We agreed with the captain to carry us to London.'

'Not with the captain,' says he, 'I dare say; poor men, you are all cheated; and I thought so when I saw you come aboard with that kidnapping rogue Gilliman. Poor men!' adds he, 'you are all betrayed; why, you are going to Virginia, and the ship is bound to Virginia.'

The Englishman falls a storming and raving like a madman, and we gathering round him, let any man guess, if they can, what was our surprise, and how we were confounded, when we were told how it was; in short, we drew our swords, and began to lay about us, and made such a noise and hurry in the ship, that at last the seamen were obliged to call out for help. The captain commanded us to be disarmed in the first place, which was not, however, done without giving and receiving some wounds, and afterwards he caused us to be brought to him into the great cabin.

Here he talked very calmly to us, that he was really very sorry for what had befallen us; that he perceived we had been trepanned, and that the fellow who had brought us on board was a rogue, that was employed by a sort of wicked merchants not unlike himself; that he supposed he had been represented to us as captain of the ship, and asked us if it was not so? We told him, yes, and gave him a large account of ourselves, and how we came to the woman's house to inquire for some master of a collier to get a passage to London, and that this man engaged to carry us to London in his own ship, and the like, as is related above.

He told us he was very sorry for it, and he had no hand in it; but it was out of his power to help us, and let us know very plainly what our condition was; namely, that we were put on board his ship as servants to be delivered at Maryland to such a man, whom he named to us; but that, however, if we would be quiet and orderly in the ship, he would use us well in the passage, and take care we should be used well when we came there, and that he would do anything for us that lay in his power; but if we were unruly and refractory, we could not expect but he must take such measures as to oblige us to be satisfied; and that, in short, we must be handcuffed, carried down between the decks and kept as prisoners, for it was his business to take care that no disturbance must be in the ship.

My captain raved like a madman, swore at the captain, told him he would not fail to cut his throat either on board, or ashore, whenever he came within his reach; and that if he could not do it now, he would do it after he came to England again, if ever he durst show his face there again; for he might depend upon it, if he was carried away to Virginia, he should find his way to England again; that, if it was twenty years after, he would have satisfaction of him. 'Well, young man,' says the captain, smiling, 'tis very honestly said, and then I must take care of you while I have you here, and afterwards I must take care of myself.' 'Do your worst,' says Jack, boldly, 'I'll pay you home for it one time or other.' 'I must venture that, young man,' says he, still calmly, 'but for the present you and I must talk a little;' so he bids the boatswain, who stood near him, secure him, which he did. I spoke to him to be easy and patient, and that the captain had no hand in our misfortune.

'No hand in it! d——n him,' said he aloud, 'do you think he is not confederate in this villany? Would any honest man receive innocent people on board his ship and not inquire of their circumstances, but carry them away and not speak to them? and now he knows how barbarously we are treated, why does he not set us on shore again? I tell you he is a villain, and none but him; why does he not complete his villany and murder us, and then he will be free from our revenge? But nothing else shall ever deliver him from my hands, but sending us to the d—l, or going thither himself; and I am honester in telling him so fairly, than he has been to me, and am in no passion any more than he is.'

The captain was, I say, a little shocked at his boldness, for he talked a great deal more of the same kind, with a great deal of spirit and fire, and yet without any disorder in his temper; indeed I was surprised at it, for I never had heard him talk so well, and so much to the purpose in my life. The captain was, I say, a little shocked at it; however, he talked very handsomely to him, and told him, 'Look ye, young man, I bear with you the more because I am sensible your case is very hard; and yet I cannot allow you threatening me neither, and you oblige

me by that to be severer with you than I intended; however, I will do nothing to you, but what your threatening my life makes necessary.' The boatswain called out to have him to the geers, as they called it, and to have him taste the cat-o'-nine-tails; all which were terms we did not understand till afterwards, when we were told he should have been whipped and pickled, for they said it was not to be suffered. But the captain said, 'No, no, the young man has been really injured, and has reason to be very much provoked; but I have not injured him,' says he. And then he protested he had no hand in it, that he was put on board, and we also, by the owners' agent, and for their account; that it was true, that they did always deal in servants, and carried a great many every voyage, but that it was no profit to him as commander; but they were always put on board by the owners, and that it was none of his business to inquire about them; and, to prove that he was not concerned in it, but was very much troubled at so base a thing, and that he would not be instrumental to carry us away against our wills, if the wind and the weather would permit, he would set us on shore again, though, as it blowed then, the wind being at south-west, and a hard gale, and that they were already as far as the Orkneys, it was impossible.

But the captain was the same man; he told him, that let the wind blow how it would, he ought not to carry us away against our consents; and as to his pretences of his owners and the like, it was saying of nothing to him, for it was he, the captain, that carried us away, and that whatever rogue trepanned us on board (now he knew it), he ought no more to carry us away than murder us; and that he demanded to be set on shore, or else he, the captain, was a thief and a murderer.

The captain continued mild still; and then I put in with an argument, that had like to have brought us all back, if the weather had not really hindered it; which, when I came to understand sea affairs better, I found was indeed so, and that it had been impossible. I told the captain that I was sorry that my brother was so warm, but that our usage was villanous, which he could not deny. Then I took up the air of what my habit did not agree with; I told him, that we were not people to be sold for slaves, that though we had the misfortune to be in a circumstance that obliged us to conceal ourselves, having disguised ourselves, to get out of the army, as being not willing to go into Flanders, yet that we were men of substance, and able to discharge ourselves from the service when it came to that; and, to convince him of it, I told him I would give him sufficient security to pay £20 a piece for my brother and myself; and in as short time as we could send from the place he should put into London, and receive a return. And to show that I was able to do it, I pulled out my bill for £94 from the gentleman of the Custom-house, and who, to my infinite satisfaction, he knew as soon as he saw the bill. He was astonished at this; and, lifting up his hands, 'By what witchcraft,' says he, 'were you brought hither!'

'As to that,' says I, 'we have told you the story, and we add nothing to it; but we insist upon it that you will do this justice to us now.' 'Well,' says he, 'I am very sorry for it, but I cannot answer putting back the ship; neither, if I could,' says he, 'is it practicable to be done.'

While this discourse lasted, the two Scotchmen and the other Englishman were silent; but as I seemed to acquiesce, the Scotchmen began to talk to the same purpose, which I need not repeat, and had not mentioned, but for a merry passage that followed. After the Scotchmen had said all they could, and the captain still told them they must submit,—'And will you then carry us to Virginia?' 'Yes,' says the captain. 'And will we be sold,' says the Scotchman, 'when we come there?' 'Yes,' says the captain. 'Why then, sir,' says the Scotchman, 'the devil will have you at the hinder end of the bargain.' 'Say you so?' says the captain, smiling, 'well, well, let the devil and I alone to agree about that; do you be quiet, and behave civilly as you should do, and you shall be used as kindly, both here and there too, as I can.' The poor Scotchmen could say little to it, nor I, nor any of us; for we saw there was no remedy but to leave the devil and the captain to agree among themselves, as the captain had said, as to the honesty of it.

Thus, in short, we were all, I say, obliged to acquiesce, but my captain, who was so much the more obstinate when he found that I had a fund to make such an offer upon; nor could all my persuasions prevail with him. The captain of the ship and he had many pleasant dialogues about this in the rest of the voyage, in which Jack never treated him with any language but that of kidnapper and villain, nor talked of anything but of taking his revenge of him; but I omit that part, though very diverting, as being no part of my own story.

In short, the wind continued to blow hard, though very fair, till, as the seamen said, we were past the islands on the north of Scotland, and that we began to steer away westerly (which I came to understand since), as there was no land any way, for many hundred leagues; so we had no remedy but patience, and to be easy as we could; only my surly Captain Jack continued the same man all the way.

We had a very good voyage, no storms all the way, and a northerly wind almost twenty days together; so that, in a word, we made the capes of Virginia in two-and-thirty days, from the day we steered west, as I have said, which was in the latitude of 60 degrees 30 minutes, being to the north of the isle of Great Britain; and this they said was a very quick passage.

Nothing material happened to me during the voyage; and indeed, when I came there, I was obliged to act in so narrow a compass, that nothing very material could present itself.

When we came ashore, which was in a great river, which they call Potomac, the captain asked us, but me more particularly, whether I had anything to propose to him now? Jack answered, 'Yes, I have something to propose to you, captain; that is, that I have promised you to cut your throat, and depend upon it I will be as good as my word.' 'Well, well,' says the captain, 'if I can't help it, you shall;' so he turned away to me. I understood him very well what he meant; but I was now out of the reach of any relief; and as for my note, it was now but a bit of paper of no value, for nobody could receive it but myself. I saw no remedy, and so talked coldly to him of it, as of a thing I was indifferent about; and indeed I was grown indifferent, for I considered all the way on the voyage, that as I was bred a vagabond, had been a pickpocket and a soldier, and was run from my colours, and that I had no settled abode in the world, nor any employ to get anything by, except that wicked one I was bred to, which had the gallows at the heels of it, I did not see but that this service might be as well to me as other business. And this I was particularly satisfied with, when they

told me, that after I had served out the five years' servitude, I should have the courtesy of the country (as they called it) that is, a certain quantity of land to cultivate and plant for myself. So that now I was like to be brought up to something by which I might live, without that wretched thing called stealing, which my very soul abhorred, and which I had given over, as I have said, ever since that wicked time that I robbed the poor widow of Kentish-town.

In this mind I was when I arrived at Virginia; and so, when the captain inquired of me what I intended to do, and whether I had anything to propose (that is to say, he meant whether I would give him my bill, which he wanted to be fingering very much); I answered coldly, My bill would be of no use to me now, for nobody would advance anything upon it; only this I would say to him, that if he would carry me and Captain Jack back to England, and to London again, I would pay him the £20 off my bill for each of us. This he had no mind to. 'For, as to your brother,' says he, 'I would not take him into my ship for twice £20. He is such a hardened, desperate villain,' says he, 'I should be obliged to carry him in irons, as I brought him hither.'

Thus we parted with our captain, or kidnapper, call him as you will. We were then delivered to the merchants, to whom we were consigned, who again disposed of us as they thought fit; and in a few days we were separated.

As for my Captain Jack, to make short of the story, that desperate rogue had the good luck to have a very easy good master, whose business and good humour he abused very much; and, in particular, took an opportunity to run away with a boat, which his master entrusted him and another with, to carry some provisions down the river to another plantation which he had there. This boat and provisions they ran away with, and sailed north to the bottom of the bay, as they call it, and into a river called Susquehanna, and there, quitting the boat, they wandered through the woods, till they came to Pennsylvania, from whence they made shift to get passage to New-England, and from thence home; where, falling in among his old companions, and to the old trade, he was at length taken and hanged, about a month before I came to London, which was near twenty years afterward.

My part was harder at the beginning, though better at the latter end. I was disposed of, (that is to say) sold to a rich planter, whose name was Smith, and with me the other Englishman, who was my fellow-deserter, that Jack brought to me when we went off from Dunbar.

We were now fellow-servants, and it was our lot to be carried up a small river or creek, which falls into Potomac river, about eight miles from the great river. Here we were brought to the plantation, and put in among about fifty servants, as well negroes as others; and being delivered to the head man, or director, or manager of the plantation, he took care to let us know that we must expect to work, and very hard too; for it was for that purpose his master bought servants, and for no other. I told him, very submissively, that since it was our misfortune to come into such a miserable condition as we were in, we expected no other; only we desired we might be showed our business, and be allowed to learn it gradually, since he might be sure we had not been used to labour; and, I added, that when he knew particularly by what methods we were brought and betrayed into such a condition, he would perhaps see cause at least to show us that favour, if not more. This I spoke with such a moving tone, as gave him curiosity to inquire into the particulars of our story, which I gave him at large, a little more to our advantage too than ordinary.

This story, as I hoped it would, did move him to a sort of tenderness; but yet he told us that his master's business must be done, and that he expected we must work as above; that he could not dispense with that upon any account whatever. Accordingly, to work we went; and indeed we had three hard things attending us; namely, we worked hard, lodged hard, and fared hard. The first I had been an utter stranger to, the last I could shift well enough with.

During this scene of life, I had time to reflect on my past hours, and upon what I had done in the world; and though I had no great capacity of making a clear judgment, and very little reflections from conscience, yet it made some impressions upon me; and particularly, that I was brought into this miserable condition of a slave by some strange directing power, as a punishment for the wickedness of my younger years; and this thought was increased upon the following occasion: the master, whose service I was now engaged in, was a man of substance and figure in the country, and had abundance of servants, as well negroes as English; in all, I think, he had near two hundred; and among so many, as some grew every year infirm and unable to work, others went off upon their time being expired, and others died; and by these and other accidents the number would diminish, if they were not often recruited and filled, and this obliged him to buy more every year.

It happened while I was here, that a ship arrived from London with several servants, and among the rest was seventeen transported felons, some burnt in the hand, others not; eight of whom my master bought for the time specified in the warrant for their transportation respectively, some for a longer, some a shorter term of years.

Our master was a great man in the country, and a justice of peace, though he seldom came down to the plantation where I was; yet, as the new servants were brought on shore, and delivered at our plantation, his worship came thither, in a kind of state, to see and receive them. When they were brought before him, I was called, among other servants, as a kind of guard, to take them into custody after he had seen them, and carry them to the work. They were brought by a guard of seamen from the ship, and the second mate of the ship came with them, and delivered them to our master, with the warrant for their transportation, as above.

When his worship had read over the warrants, he called them over by their names, one by one; and having let them know, by his reading the warrants over again to each man respectively, that he knew for what offences they were transported, he talked to every one separately very gravely; let them know how much favour they had received in being saved from the gallows, which the law had appointed for their crimes; that they were not sentenced to be transported, but to be hanged; and that transportation was granted them upon their own request and humble petition.

Then he laid before them, that they ought to look upon the life they were just going to enter upon as just beginning the world again; that if they thought fit to be diligent and sober, they would (after the time they were ordered to serve was expired) be encouraged by the constitution of the country to settle and plant for themselves;

and that even he himself would be so kind to them, that if he lived to see any of them serve their time faithfully out, it was his custom to assist his servants in order to their settling in that country, according as their behaviour might merit from him; and they would see and know several planters round about them who now were in very good circumstances, and who formerly were only his servants, in the same condition with them, and came from the same place (that is to say), Newgate; and some of them had the mark of it in their hands, but were now very honest men, and lived in very good repute.

Among the rest of his new servants, he came to a young fellow not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, and his warrant mentions that he was, though a young man, yet an old offender; that he had been several times condemned, but had been respited or pardoned, but still he continued an incorrigible pickpocket; that the crime for which he was now transported was for picking a merchant's pocket-book, or letter-case, out of his pocket, in which was bills of exchange for a very great sum of money; that he had afterwards received the money upon some of the bills, but that going to a goldsmith in Lombard-street with another bill, and having demanded the money, he was stopped, notice having been given of the loss of them; that he was condemned to die for the felony, and being so well known for an old offender, had certainly died, but the merchant, upon his earnest application, had obtained that he should be transported, on condition that he restored all the rest of his bills, which he had done accordingly.

Our master talked a long time to this young fellow; mentioned, with some surprise, that he so young should have followed such a wicked trade so long as to obtain the name of an old offender at so young an age; and that he should be styled incorrigible, which is to signify, that notwithstanding his being whipt two or three times, and several times punished by imprisonment, and once burnt in the hand, yet nothing would do him any good, but that he was still the same. He talked mighty religiously to this boy, and told him, God had not only spared him from the gallows, but had now mercifully delivered him from the opportunity of committing the same sin again, and put it into his power to live an honest life, which perhaps he knew not how to do before; and though some part of his life now might be laborious, yet he ought to look on it to be no more than being put out apprentice to an honest trade, in which, when he came out of his time, he might be able to set up for himself, and live honestly.

Then he told him, that while he was a servant he would have no opportunity to be dishonest, so when he came to be for himself he would have no temptation to it; and so, after a great many other kind things said to him and the rest, they were dismissed.

I was exceedingly moved at this discourse of our master's, as anybody would judge I must be, when it was directed to such a young rogue, born a thief, and bred up a pickpocket, like myself; for I thought all my master said was spoken to me, and sometimes it came into my head that sure my master was some extraordinary man, and he knew all things that ever I had done in my life.

But I was surprised to the last degree, when my master, dismissing all the rest of us servants, pointed at me, and speaking to his head clerk, 'Here,' says he, 'bring that young fellow hither to me.'

I had been near a year in the work, and I had plied it so well, that the clerk, or head man, either flattered me, or did really believe that I behaved very well; but I was terribly frighted to hear myself called out aloud, just as they used to call for such as had done some misdemeanour, and were to be lashed or otherwise corrected.

I came in like a malefactor indeed, and thought I looked like one just taken in the fact, and carried before the justice; and indeed, when I came in, for I was carried into an inner-room, or parlour, in the house to him; his discourse to the rest was in a large hall, where he sat in a seat like a lord judge upon the bench, or a petty king upon his throne.

When I came in, I say, he ordered his man to withdraw, and I standing half naked and bareheaded, with my haugh or hoe in my hand (the posture and figure I was in at my work), near the door, he bade me lay down my hoe, and come nearer. Then he began to look a little less stern and terrible than I fancied him to look before, or, perhaps, both his countenance then and before might be, to my imagination, differing from what they really were; for we do not always judge those things by the real temper of the person, but by the measure of our apprehensions.

'Hark ye, young man, how old are you?' says my master; and so our dialogue began.

Jack. Indeed, sir, I do not know.

Mast. What is your name?

Jack. They call me Colonel here, but my name is Jack, an't please your worship.

Mast. But, prithee, what is thy name?

Jack. Jack.

Mast. What, is thy Christian name, then, Colonel, and thy surname Jack?

Jack. Truly, sir, to tell your honour the truth, I know little or nothing of myself, nor what my true name is; but thus I have been called ever since I remember; which is my Christian name, or which my surname, or whether I was ever christened or not, I cannot tell.

Mast. Well, however, that's honestly answered. Pray how came you hither, and on what account are you made a servant here?

Jack. I wish your honour could have patience with me to hear the whole story; it is the hardest and most unjust thing that ever came before you.

Mast. Say you so? Tell it me at large then. I'll hear it, I promise that, if it be an hour long.

This encouraged me, and I began at being a soldier, and being persuaded to desert at Dunbar, and gave him all the particulars, as they are related above, to the time of my coming on shore, and the captain talking to me about my bill after I arrived here. He held up his hands several times as I went on, expressing his abhorrence of the usage I had met with at Newcastle, and inquired the name of the master of the ship; 'for,' said he, 'that captain, for all his smooth words, must be a rogue.' So I told him his name, and the name of the ship, and he took it down in his book, and then we went on.

Mast. But pray answer me, honestly too, to another question, what was it made you so much concerned at my talking to the boy there, the pickpocket?

Jack. An't please your honour, it moved me to hear you talk so kindly to a poor slave.

Mast. And was that all? speak truly now.

Jack. No, indeed, but a secret wish came into my thoughts, that you that were so good to such a creature as that, could but one way or other know my case, and that if you did, you would certainly pity me, and do something for me.

Mast. Well, but was there nothing in his case

that hit your own, that made you so affected with it? for I saw tears come from your eyes, and it was that made me call to speak to you.

Jack. Indeed, sir, I have been a wicked idle boy, and was left desolate in the world; but that boy is a thief, and condemned to be hanged; I never was before a court of justice in my life.

Mast. Well, I won't examine you too far; if you were never before a court of justice, and are not a criminal transported, I have nothing further to inquire of you. You have been ill-used, that's certain, and was it that that affected you?

Jack. Yes, indeed, please your honour: (we all called him his honour, or his worship.)

Mast. Well, now I do know your case, what can I do for you? You speak of a bill of £94, of which you would have given the captain £40 for your liberty; have you that bill in your keeping still?

Jack. Yes, sir, here it is. (I pulled it out of the waistband of my drawers, where I always found means to preserve it, wrapped up in a piece of paper, and pinned to the waistband, and yet almost worn out too with often pinning and removing; so I gave it to him to read, and he read it).

Mast. And is this gentleman in being that gave you the bill?

Jack. Yes, sir, he was alive and in good health when I came from London, which you may see by the date of the bill, for I came away the next day.

Mast. I do not wonder that the captain of the ship was willing to get this bill of you when you came on shore here.

Jack. I would have given it into his possession, if he would have carried me and my brother back again to England, and have taken what he asked for us out of it.

Mast. Ay, but he knew better than that too; he knew, if he had any friends there, they would call him to an account for what he had done; but I wonder he did not take it from you while you were at sea, either by fraud or by force.

Jack. He did not attempt that indeed.

Mast. Well, young man, I have a mind to try if I can do you any service in this case. On my word, if the money can be paid, and you can get it safe over, I might put you in a way how to be a better man than your master, if you will be honest and diligent.

Jack. As I behave myself in your service, sir, you will, I hope, judge of the rest.

Mast. But perhaps you hanker after returning to England.

Jack. No, indeed, sir, if I can but get my bread honestly here, I have no mind to go to England; for I know not how to get my bread there; if I had, I had not 'listed for a soldier.

Mast. Well, but I must ask you some questions about that part hereafter; for 'tis indeed something strange that you should 'list for a soldier, when you had £94 in your pocket.

Jack. I shall give your worship as particular account of that as I have of the other part of my life, if you please, but 'tis very long.

Mast. Well, we will have that another time; but to the case in hand, are you willing I should send to anybody at London to talk with that gentleman that gave you the bill; not to take the money of him, but to ask him only whether he has so much money of yours in his hands; and whether he will part with it when you shall give order, and send the bill, or a duplicate of it; that is, says he, the copy? and it was well he did say so, for I did not understand the word duplicate at all.

Jack. Yes, sir, I will give you the bill itself, if you please; I can trust it with you, though I could not with him.

Mast. No, no, young man, I won't take it from you.

Jack. I wish your worship would please to keep it for me, for if I should lose it, then I am quite undone.

Mast. I will keep it for you, Jack, if you will; but then you shall have a note under my hand, signifying that I have it, and will return it you upon demand, which will be as safe to you as the bill; I won't take it else.

So I gave my master the bill, and he gave me his note for it; and he was a faithful steward for me, as you will hear in its place. After this conference I was dismissed and went to my work; but about two hours after, the steward, or the overseer of the plantation, came riding by, and coming up to me as I was at work, pulled a bottle out of his pocket, and calling me to him, gave me a dram of rum; when, in good manners, I had taken but a little sup, he held it out to me again, and bade me take another, and spoke wondrous civilly to me, quite otherwise than he used to do.

This encouraged me, and heartened me very much; but yet I had no particular view of anything, or which way I should have any relief.

A day or two after, when we were all going out to our work in the morning, the overseer called me to him again, and gave me a dram, and a good piece of bread, and bade me come off from my work about one o'clock, and come to him to the house, for he must speak with me.

When I came to him, I came, to be sure, in the ordinary habit of a poor half-naked slave. 'Come hither, young man,' says he, 'and give me your hoe.' When I gave it to him, 'Well,' says he, 'you are to work no more in this plantation.'

I looked surprised, and as if I was frighted. 'What have I done, sir,' said I, 'and whither am I to be sent away?'

'Nay, nay,' says he, and looked very pleasantly; 'do not be frighted, 'tis for your good, 'tis not to hurt you. I am ordered to make an overseer of you, and you shall be a slave no longer.'

'Alas!' says I to him, 'I an overseer! I am in no condition for it, I have no clothes to put on, no linen, nothing to help myself.'

'Well, well,' says he, 'you may be better used than you are aware of; come hither with me.' So he led me into a vast great warehouse, or rather set of warehouses, one within another, and calling the warehousekeeper, 'Here,' says he, 'you must clothe this man, and give him everything necessary, upon the foot of number five, and give the bill to me; our master has ordered me to allow it in the account of the west plantation.' This was, it seems, the plantation where I was to go.

Accordingly, the warehousekeeper carried me into an inner warehouse, where were several suits of clothes of the sort his orders mentioned; which were plain, but good sorts of clothes, ready made, being of a good broadcloth, about 11s. a-yard in England, and with this he gave me three good shirts, two pair of shoes, stockings, and gloves, a hat, six neckcloths, and, in short, everything I could want; and when he had looked everything out, and fitted them, he lets me into a little room by itself. 'Here,' says he, 'go in there a slave, and come out a gentleman;' and with that carried everything into the room, and, shutting the door, bid me put them on, which I did most willingly; and now you may believe that I began to hope for something better than ordinary.

In a little while after this came the overseer,

and gave me joy of my new clothes, and told me I must go with him; so I was carried to another plantation, larger than that where I worked before, and where there were two overseers, or clerks, one within doors, and one without. This last was removed to another plantation, and I was placed there in his room, that is to say, as the clerk without doors, and my business was to look after the servants and negroes, and take care that they did their business, provide their food, and, in short, both govern and direct them.

I was elevated to the highest degree in my thoughts at this advancement, and it is impossible for me to express the joy of my mind upon this occasion. But there came a difficulty upon me, that shocked me so violently, and went so against my very nature, that I really had almost forfeited my place about it, and, in all appearance, the favour of our master, who had been so generous to me; and this was, that when I entered upon my office, I had a horse given me and a long horsewhip, like what we call in England a hunting-whip. The horse was to ride up and down all over the plantation, to see the servants and negroes did their work, and, the plantation being so large, it could not be done on foot, at least so often and so effectually as was required; and the horsewhip was given me to correct and lash the slaves and servants when they proved negligent or quarrelsome, or, in short, were guilty of any offence. This part turned the very blood within my veins, and I could not think of it with any temper, that I, who was but yesterday a servant or slave like them, and under the authority of the same lash, should lift up my hand to the cruel work which was my terror but the day before. This, I say, I could not do; insomuch that the negroes perceived it, and I had soon so much contempt upon my authority, that we were all in disorder.

The ingratitude of their return for the compassion I showed them provoked me, I confess, and a little hardened my heart; and I began with the negroes, two of whom I was obliged to correct; and I thought I did it most cruelly; but after I had lashed them till every blow I struck them hurt myself, and I was ready to faint at the work, the rogues laughed at me, and one of them had the impudence to say, behind my back, that, if he had the whipping of me, he would show me better how to whip a negro.

Well, however, I had no power to do it in such a barbarous manner as I found it was necessary to have it done; and the defect began to be a detriment to our master's business, and now I began indeed to see that the cruelty so much talked of, used in Virginia and Barbadoes, and other colonies, in whipping the negro slaves, was not so much owing to the tyranny, and passion, and cruelty of the English as had been reported, the English not being accounted to be of a cruel disposition, and really are not so; but that it is owing to the brutality and obstinate temper of the negroes, who cannot be managed by kindness and courtesy, but must be ruled with a rod of iron, beaten with scorpions, as the Scripture calls it, and must be used as they do use them, or they would rise and murder all their masters, which, their numbers considered, would not be hard for them to do, if they had arms and ammunition suitable to the rage and cruelty of their nature.

But I began to see at the same time that this brutal temper of the negroes was not rightly managed; that they did not take the best course with them to make them sensible, either of mercy or punishment; and it was evident to me that even the worst of those tempers might be brought to a compliance, without the lash, or at least without so much of it as they generally inflicted.

Our master was really a man of humanity himself, and was sometimes so full of tenderness that he would forbid the severities of his overseers and stewards; but he saw the necessity of it, and was obliged at last to leave it to the discretion of his upper servants; yet he would often bid them be merciful, and bid them consider the difference of the constitution of the bodies of the negroes; some being less able to bear the tortures of their punishment than others, and some of them less obstinate too than others.

However, somebody was so officious as to inform him against me upon this occasion; and let him know that I neglected his affairs, and that the servants were under no government; by which means his plantation was not duly managed, and that all things were in disorder.

This was a heavy charge for a young overseer, and his honour came like a judge, with all his attendants, to look into things and hear the cause. However, he was so just to me, as that, before he censured me, he resolved to hear me fully, and that not only publicly, but in private too; and the last part of this was my particular good fortune, for, as he had formerly allowed me to speak to him with freedom, so I had the like freedom now, and had full liberty to explain and defend myself.

I knew nothing of the complaint against me, till I had it from his own mouth, nor anything of his coming, till I saw him in the very plantation, viewing his work, and viewing the several pieces of ground that were ordered to be new planted; and after he had rode all round, and seen things in the condition which they were to be seen in, how everything was in its due order, and the servants and negroes were all at work, and everything appearing to his mind, he went into the house.

As I saw him come up the walks, I ran towards him, and made my homage, and gave him my humble thanks for the goodness he had showed me in taking me from the miserable condition I was in before, and employing and entrusting me in his business; and he looked pleasant enough, though he did not say much at first, and I attended him through the whole plantation, gave him an account of everything as he went along, answered all his objections and inquiries everywhere in such a manner as it seems he did not expect; and, as he acknowledged afterwards, everything was very much to his satisfaction.

There was an overseer, as I observed, belonging to the same plantation, who was, though not over me, yet in a work superior to mine; for his business was to see the tobacco packed up, and deliver it either on board the sloops, or otherwise, as our master ordered, and to receive English goods from the grand warehouse, which was at the other plantation, because that was nearest the water side; and, in short, to keep the accounts.

This overseer, an honest and upright man, made no complaint to him of his business being neglected, as above, or of anything like it, though he inquired of him about it, and that very strictly too.

I should have said, that as he rid over the plantation, he came in his round to the place where the servants were usually corrected, when they had done any fault, and there stood two negroes, with their hands tied behind them, as it were under sentence; and when he came near them, they fell on their knees, and made pitiful

signs to him for mercy. 'Alas, alas!' says he, turning to me, 'why did you bring me this way? I do not love such sights; what must I do now? I must pardon them; prithee, what have they done?' I told him the particular offences which they were brought to the place for; one had stole a bottle of rum, and had made himself drunk with it, and, when he was drunk, had done a great many mad things, and had attempted to knock one of the white servants' brains out with a handspike; but that the white man had avoided the blow, and, striking up the negro's heels, had seized him, and brought him prisoner thither, where he had lain all night; and that I had told him he was to be whipped that day, and the next three days, twice every day.

'And could you be so cruel?' (says his honour); 'why, you would kill the poor wretch; and so, beside the blood which you would have to answer for, you would lose me a lusty man negro, which cost me at least £30 or £40, and bring a reproach upon my whole plantation; nay, and more than that, some of them in revenge would murder me, if ever it was in their power.'

'Sir,' says I, 'if those fellows are not kept under by violence, I believe you are satisfied nothing is to be done with them; and it is reported in your works, that I have been rather their jest than their terror, for want of using them as they deserve; and I was resolved, how much soever it is against my own disposition, that your service should not suffer for my unseasonable forbearance; and therefore, if I had scourged him to death'—'Hold,' says he, 'no, no, by no means any such severity in my bounds. Remember, young man, you were once a servant; deal as you would acknowledge it would be just to deal with you in his case, and mingle always some mercy. I desire it, and let the consequence of being too gentle be placed to my account.'

This was as much as I could desire, and the more, because what passed was in public, and several, both negroes and white servants, as well as the particular persons who had accused me, heard it all, though I did not know it. 'A cruel dog of an overseer,' says one of the white servants behind; 'he would have whipped poor bullet-head' (so they called the negro that was to be punished) 'to death, if his honour had not happened to come to-day.'

However, I urged the notorious crime this fellow was guilty of, and the danger there was in such forbearance, from the refractory and incorrigible temper of the negroes, and pressed a little the necessity of making examples; but he said, 'Well, well, do it the next time, but not now;' so I said no more.

The other fellow's crime was trifling compared with this; and the master went forward, talking of it to me, and I following him, till we came to the house; when, after he had been sat down a while, he called me to him; and, not suffering my accusers to come near till he had heard my defence, he began with me thus.

Mast. Hark ye, young man, I must have some discourse with you. Your conduct is complained of since I set you over this plantation. I thought your sense of the obligation I had laid on you, would have secured your diligence and faithfulness to me.

Jack. I am very sorry any complaint should be made of me, because the obligation I am under to your honour, (and which I freely confess) does bind me to your interest in the strongest manner imaginable; and, however I may have mistaken my business, I am sure I have not willingly neglected it.

Mast. Well, I shall not condemn you without hearing you, and therefore I called you in now to tell you of it.

Jack. I humbly thank your honour. I have but one petition more, and that is, that I may know my accusation; and, if you please, my accusers.

Mast. The first you shall, and that is the reason of my talking to you in private; and if there is any need of a further hearing, you shall know your accusers too. What you are charged with, is just contrary to what appeared to me just now, and therefore you and I must come to a new understanding about it, for I thought I was too cunning for you, and now I think you have been too cunning for me.

Jack. I hope your honour will not be offended that I do not fully understand you.

Mast. I believe you do not. Come, tell me honestly, did you really intend to whip the poor negro twice a day for four days together, that is to say, to whip him to death, for that would have been the English of it, and the end of it?

Jack. If I may be permitted to guess, sir, I believe I know the charge that is brought against me; and that your honour has been told that I have been too gentle with the negroes, as well as other servants; and that when they deserved to be used with the accustomed severity of the country, I have not given them half enough; and that by this means they are careless of your business, and that your plantation is not well looked after, and the like.

Mast. Well, you guess right; go on.

Jack. The first part of the charge I confess, but the last I deny; and appeal to your honour's strictest examination into every part of it.

Mast. If the last part could be true, I would be glad the first were; for it would be an infinite satisfaction to me that, my business not being neglected, nor our safety endangered, those poor wretches could be used with more humanity; for cruelty is the aversion of my nature, and it is the only uncomfortable thing that attends me in all my prosperity.

Jack. I freely acknowledge, sir, that at first it was impossible for me to bring myself to that terrible work. How could I, that was but just come out of the terror of it myself, and had but the day before been a poor naked miserable servant myself, and might be to-morrow reduced to the same condition again; how could I use this (showing a horsewhip) terrible weapon on the naked flesh of my fellow-servants, as well as fellow-creatures? At least, sir, when my duty made it absolutely necessary, I could not do it without the utmost horror. I beseech you, pardon me if I have such a tenderness in my nature, that though I might be fit to be your servant, I am incapable of being an executioner, having been an offender myself.

Mast. Well, but how then can my business be done? and how will this terrible obstinacy of the negroes, who, they tell me, can be no otherwise governed, be kept from neglect of their work, or even insolence and rebellion?

Jack. This brings me, sir, to the latter part of my defence; and here I hope your honour will be pleased to call my accusers, or that you will give yourself the trouble of taking the exactest view of your plantation, and see, or let them show you, if anything is neglected, if your business has suffered in anything, or if your negroes or other servants are under less government than they were before; and if, on the contrary, I have found out that happy secret, to have good order kept, the business of the plantation done, and

that with diligence and despatch, and that the negroes are kept in awe, the natural temper of them subjected, and the safety and peace of your family secured, as well by gentle means as by rough, by moderate correction as by torture and barbarity, by a due awe of just discipline as by the horror of unsufferable torments, I hope your honour will not lay that sin to my charge.

Mast. No, indeed, you would be the most acceptable manager that ever I employed; but how, then, does this consist with the cruel sentence you had passed on the poor fellow that is in your condemned hole yonder, who was to be whipped eight times in four days?

Jack. Very well, sir. First, sir, he remains under the terrible apprehensions of a punishment so severe as no negro ever had before; this fellow, with your leave, I intended to release to-morrow without any whipping at all, after talking to him in my way about his offence, and raising in his mind a sense of the value of pardon; and if this makes him a better servant than the severest whipping will do, then, I presume, you would allow I have gained a point.

Mast. Ay, but what if it should not be so? for these fellows have no sense of gratitude.

Jack. That is, sir, because they are never pardoned. If they offend, they never know what mercy is, and what, then, have they to be grateful for?

Mast. Thou art in the right indeed; where there is no mercy showed, there is no obligation laid upon them.

Jack. Besides, sir, if they have at any time been let go, which is very seldom, they are not told what the case is; they take no pains with them to imprint principles of gratitude on their minds, to tell them what kindness is shown them, and what they are indebted for it, and what they might gain in the end by it.

Mast. But do you think such usage would do? Would it make any impression? You persuade yourself it would, but you see 'tis against the received notion of the whole country.

Jack. There are, it may be, public and national mistakes and errors in conduct, and this is one.

Mast. Have you tried it? You cannot say it is a mistake till you have tried and proved it to be so.

Jack. Your whole plantation is a proof of it. This very fellow had never acted as he did, if he had not gotten rum in his head, and been out of the government of himself; so that, indeed, all the offence I ought to have punished him for had been that of stealing a bottle of rum, and drinking it all up; in which case, like Noah, he did not know the strength of it, and when he had it in his head he was a madman, he was as one raging and distracted; so that, for all the rest, he deserved pity rather than punishment.

Mast. Thou art right, certainly right, and thou wilt be a rare fellow if thou canst bring these notions into practice. I wish you had tried it upon any one particular negro, that I might see an example; I would give £500 if it could be brought to bear.

Jack. I desire nothing, sir, but your favour, and the advantage of obliging you. I will show you an example of it among your own negroes, and all the plantation will acknowledge it.

Mast. You make my very heart glad within me, Jack. If you can bring this to pass, I here give you my word, I'll not only give you your own freedom, but make a man of you for this world as long as you live.

Upon this I bowed to him very respectfully, and told him the following story. 'There is a negro, sir, in the plantation, who has been your servant several years before I came; he did a fault that was of no great consequence in itself, but perhaps would have been worse if they had indeed gone farther; and I had him brought into the usual place, and tied him by the thumbs for correction, and he was told that he should be whipped and pickled in a dreadful manner. After I had made proper impressions on his mind of the terror of his punishment, and found that he was sufficiently humbled by it, I went into the house, and caused him to be brought out, just as they do when they go to correct the negroes on such occasions. When he was stripped and tied up, he had two lashes given him, that were indeed very cruel ones, and I called to them to hold. "Hold," said I, to the two men that had just begun to lay on upon the poor fellow, "Hold;" said I, "let me talk with him."

'So he was taken down; then I began, and represented to him how kind you, that were his great master,* had been to him; that you had never done him any harm, that you had used him gently, and he had never been brought to this punishment in so many years, though he had done some faults before; that this was a notorious offence, for he had stolen some rum, and made himself and two other negroes drunk-mad,† and had abused two women negroes, who had husbands in our master's service, but in another plantation; and played several pranks, and for this I had appointed him this punishment.

'He shook his head, and made signs that he was *muchee sorree*, as he called it. "And what will you say or do," said I, "if I should prevail with the great master to pardon you? I have a mind to go and see if I can beg for you." He told me he would lie down, let me kill him. "Me will," says he, "run, go, fetch, bring for you as long as me live." This was the opportunity I had a mind to have, to try whether, as negroes have all the other faculties of reasonable creatures, they had not also some sense of kindness, some principles of natural generosity, which, in short, is the foundation of gratitude, for gratitude is the product of generous principles.'

'You please me with the beginning of this story,' says he. 'I hope you have carried it on.'

'Yes, sir,' says I, 'it has been carried on farther perhaps than you imagine, or will think has been possible in such a case.

'But I was not so arrogant as to assume the merit to myself. "No, no," said I, "I do not ask you to go or run for me, you must do all that for our great master, for it will be from him entirely that you will be pardoned at all, for your offence is against him; and what will you say, will you be grateful to him, and run, go, fetch, bring, for him as long as you live, as you have said you would for me?"

'"Yes, indeed," says he, "and *muchee do, muchee do*, for you too (he would not leave me out); you ask him for me."

'Well, I put off all his promised gratitude to me from myself, as was my duty, and placed it to your account; told him I knew you was *muchee good, muchee pitiful*, and I would persuade you if I could; and so told him I would go to you, and he should be whipped no more till I came again. "But, hark ye, Mouchat," says I (that was the negro's name), "they tell me, when I came hither,

* So the negroes call the owner of the plantation, or at least so they called him, because he was a great man in the country, having three or four large plantations.

† To be drunk in a negro, is to be mad; for when they get rum they are worse than raving, and fit to do any manner of mischief.

that there is no showing kindness to any of you negroes; that when we spare you from whipping you laugh at us, and are the worse."

'He looked very serious at me, and said, "O, that no so; the masters say so, but no be so, no be so, indeede, indeede," and so we parleyed.

'*Jack.* Why do they say so then? To be sure they have tried you all.

'*Negro.* No, no, they no try; they say so, but no try.

'*Jack.* I hear them all say so.

'*Negro.* Me tell you the true; they have no mercie, they beat us cruel, all cruel, they never have show mercie. How can they tell we be no better?

'*Jack.* What, do they never spare?

'*Negro.* Master, me speakee the true; they never give mercie, they always whippee, lashee, knockee down, all cruel; negro be muchee better man, do muchee better work, but they tell us no mercie.

'*Jack.* But what, do they never show any mercy?

'*Negro.* No, never, no, never; all whippee, all whippee, cruel, worse than they whippee de horse, whippee de dog.

'*Jack.* But would they be better if they did?

'*Negro.* Yes, yes, negro be muchee better if they be mercie; when they be whippee, whippee, negro muchee cry, muchee hate, would kill if they had de gun; but when they makee de mercie, then negro tell de great tankee, and love to workee, and do muchee workee; and because he good master to them.

'*Jack.* They say no, you would laugh at them and mock when they show mercy.

'*Negro.* How they say when they show mercie! They never show mercie; me never see them show one mercie since me live.

'Now, sir,' said I, 'if this be so, really they go, I dare say, contrary to your inclination, for I see you are but too full of pity for the miserable; I saw it in my own case; and upon a presumption, that you had rather have your work done from a principle of love than fear, without making your servants bleed for every trifle, if it were possible; I say, upon this presumption I dealt with this Mouchat, as you shall hear.'

Mast. I have never met with anything of this kind since I have been a planter, which is now about forty years. I am delighted with the story; go on, I expect a pleasant conclusion.

Jack. The conclusion, sir, will be I believe as much to your satisfaction as the beginning; for it every way answered my expectation, and will yours also, and show you how you might be faithfully served if you pleased, for 'tis certain you are not so served now.

Mast. No, indeed; they serve me but just as they do the devil, for fear I should hurt them; but 'tis contrary to an ingenuous spirit to delight in such service; I abhor it, if I could but know how to get any other.

Jack. It is easy, sir, to show you, that you may be served upon better principles, and consequently be better served, and more to your satisfaction; and I dare undertake to convince you of it.

Mast. Well, go on with the story.

Jack. After I had talked thus to him, I said, 'Well, Mouchat, I shall see how you will be afterwards, if I can get our great master to be merciful to you at this time.'

'*Negro.* Yes, you shall see, you muchee see, muchee see.

'Upon this I called for my horse and went from him, and made as if I rode away to you, who they told me was in the next plantation; and having stayed four or five hours, I came back and talked to him again, told him that I had waited on you, and that you had heard of his offence, was highly provoked, and had resolved to cause him to be severely punished for an example to all the negroes in the plantation; but that I had told you how penitent he was, and how good he would be if you would pardon him; and had at last prevailed on you. That you had told me what all people said of the negroes; how that to show them mercy was to make them think you were never in earnest with them, and that you did but trifle and play with them. However, that I had told you what he had said of himself, and that it was not true of the negroes, and that the white men said it, but that they could not know because they did never show any mercy; and therefore had never tried: that I had persuaded you to show mercy, to try whether kindness would prevail as much as cruelty. "And now, Mouchat," said I, "you will be let go, pray let our great master see that I have said true." So I ordered him to be untied, gave him a dram of rum out of my pocket bottle, and ordered them to give him some victuals.

'When the fellow was let loose, he came to me and kneeled down to me, and took hold of my legs and of my feet, and laid his head upon the ground, and sobbed and cried like a child that had been corrected, but could not speak for his life; and thus he continued a long time. I would have taken him up, but he would not rise; but I cried as fast as he, for I could not bear to see a poor wretch lie on the ground to me, that was but a servant the other day like himself. At last, but not till a quarter of an hour, I made him get up, and then he spoke. "Me muchee know good great master, muchee good you master. No negro unthankful, me die for them, do me so muchee kind."

'I dismissed him then, and bid him go to his wife (for he was married), and not work that afternoon; but, as he was going away, I called him again, and talked thus to him.

'"Now, Mouchat," says I, "you see the white men can show mercy; now you must tell all the negroes what has been reported of them, that they regard nothing but the whip; that if they are used gently they are the worse, not the better; and that this is the reason why the white men show them no mercy; and convince them, that they would be much better treated, and used kindlier, if they would show themselves as grateful for kind usage, as humble after torment; and see if you can work on them."

'"Me go, me go," says he, "me muchee talk to them; they be muchee glad as me be, and do great work to be used kind by de great master."'

Mast. Well, but now what testimony have you of this gratitude you speak of? Have you seen any alteration among them?

Jack. I come next to that part, sir. About a month after this, I caused a report to be spread abroad in the plantation that I had offended you, the great master, and that I was turned out of the plantation, and was to be hanged. Your honour knows that, some time ago, you sent me upon your particular business into Potuxent river, where I was absent 12 days; then I took the opportunity to have this report spread about among the negroes, to see how it would work.

Mast. What; to see how Mouchat would take it?

Jack. Yes, sir, and it made a discovery indeed. The poor fellow did not believe it presently; but finding I was still absent, he went to the head

clerk, and standing at his door, said nothing, but looked like a fool of ten years old. After some time, the upper overseer came out, and seeing him stand there, at first said nothing, supposing he had been sent of some errand; but observing him to stand stock still, and that he was in the same posture and place, during the time that he had passed and repassed two or three times, he stops short the last time of his coming by. 'What do you want,' says he to him, 'that you stand idle here so long?'

'Me speakee, me tell something,' says he.

Then the overseer thought some discovery was at hand, and began to listen to him. 'What would you tell me?' says he.

'Me tell! pray,' says he, 'where be de other master?'

He meant, he would ask where he was. 'What other master do you mean?' says the clerk. 'What, do you want to speak with the great master? He can't be spoke by you; pray, what is your business, cannot you tell it to me?'

'No, no, me no speakee the great master, the other master,' says Mouchat.

'What, the colonel?' says the clerk.

'Yes, yes, the colonel,' says he.

'Why, don't you know that he is to be hanged to-morrow,' says the clerk, 'for making the great master angry?'

'Yes, yes,' says Mouchat, 'me know, me know; but me want speak, me tell something.'

'Well, what would you say?' says the clerk.

'O! me no let him makee de great master angry;' with that he kneeled down to the clerk.

'What ails you?' says the clerk. 'I tell you he must be hanged.'

'No, no,' says he, 'no hang de master; me kneel for him to great master.'

'You kneel for him!' says the clerk. 'What, do you think the great master will mind you? He has made the great master angry, and must be hanged, I tell you; what signifies your begging?

'*Negro.* O! me pray, me pray the great master for him.

'*Clerk.* Why, what ails you, that you would pray for him?

'*Negro.* O! he beggee the great master for me, now me beggee for him. The great master muchee good, muchee good, he pardon me when the other master beggee me; now he pardon him when me beggee for him again.

'*Clerk.* No, no, your begging won't do; will you be hanged for him? If you do that, something may be.

'*Negro.* Yes, yes, me be hang for de poor master that beggee for me. Mouchat shall hang; the great master shall hangee me, whippee me, anything to save the poor master that beggee me; yes, yes, indeed.

'*Clerk.* Are you in earnest, Mouchat?

'*Negro.* Yes indeed, me tellee de true; the great master shall know me tellee de true, for he shall see the white man hangee me Mouchat; poor negro Mouchat will be hangee, be whippee, anything for the poor master that beggee for me.

With this the poor fellow cried most pitifully, and there was no room to question his being in earnest; when on a sudden I appeared, for I was fetched to see all this transaction. I was not in the house at first, but was just come home from the business you sent me of, and heard it all, and indeed neither the clerk nor I could bear it any longer, so he came out to me; 'Go to him,' says he, 'you have made an example that will never be forgot, that a negro can be grateful. Go to him,' adds he, 'for I can talk to him no longer.' So I appeared, and spoke to him presently, and let him see that I was at liberty; but to hear how the poor fellow behaved, your honour cannot but be pleased.

Mast. Prithee go on, I am pleased with it all; 'tis all a new scene of negro life to me, and very moving.

Jack. For a good while he stood as if he had been thunderstruck and stupid; but, looking steadily at me, though not speaking a word, at last he mutters to himself, with a kind of a laugh, 'Ay, ay,' says he, 'Mouchat see, Mouchat no see, me wakee, me no wakee; no hangee, no hangee, he live truly, very live;' and then on a sudden he runs to me, snatches me away as if I had been a boy of ten years old, and takes me up upon his back and runs away with me, till I was fain to cry out to him to stop; then he sets me down, and looks at me again, then falls a-dancing about me, as if he had been bewitched, just as you have seen them do about their wives and children when they are merry.

Well, then, he began to talk with me, and told me what they had said to him, how I was to be hanged. 'Well,' says I, 'Mouchat, and would you have been satisfied to be hanged to save me?' 'Yes, yes,' says he, 'be truly hangee, to beggee you.'

'But why do you love me so well, Mouchat?' said I.

'Did you no beggee me,' he says, 'at the great master? You savee me, make great master muchee good, muchee kind, no whippee me; me no forget; me be whipped, be hanged, that you no be hanged; me die, that you no die; me no let any bad be with you all while that me live.'

Now, sir, your honour may judge whether kindness, well managed, would not oblige these people as well as cruelty; and whether there are principles of gratitude in them or no.

Mast. But what then can be the reason that we never believed it to be so before?

Jack. Truly, sir, I fear that Mouchat gave the true reason.

Mast. What was that, pray? That we were too cruel?

Jack. That they never had any mercy showed them; that they never tried them whether they would be grateful or no; that if they did a fault, they were never spared, but punished with the utmost cruelty; so that they had no passion, no affection to act upon, but that of fear, which necessarily brought hatred with it; but that if they were used with compassion they would serve with affection as well as other servants. Nature is the same, and reason governs in just proportions in all creatures; but having never been let taste what mercy is, they know not how to act from a principle of love.

Mast. I am convinced it is so; but now, pray tell me, how did you put this in practice with the poor negroes now in bonds yonder, when you passed such a cruel sentence upon them, that they should be whipped twice a day, for four days together; was that showing mercy?

Jack. My method was just the same; and if you please to inquire of Mr. ———, your other servant, you will be satisfied that it was so; for we agreed upon the same measures as I took with Mouchat; namely, first to put them into the utmost horror and apprehensions of the cruelest punishment that they ever heard of, and thereby enhance the value of their pardon, which was to come as from yourself, but not without our great intercession. Then I was to argue with them, and work upon their reason, to make the mercy

that was showed them sink deep into their minds, and give lasting impressions; explain the meaning of gratitude to them, and the nature of an obligation, and the like, as I had done with Mouchat.

Mast. I am answered; your method is certainly right, and I desire you may go on with it; for I desire nothing on this side heaven more, than to have all my negroes serve me from principles of gratitude for my kindness to them. I abhor to be feared like a lion, like a tyrant; it is a violence upon nature every way, and is the most disagreeable thing in the world to a generous mind.

Jack. But, sir, I am doubtful that you may not believe that I intended to act thus with those poor fellows; I beseech you to send for Mr. ———, that he may tell you what we had agreed on, before I speak with him.

Mast. What reason have I to doubt that?

Jack. I hope you have not; but I should be very sorry you should think me capable of executing such a sentence, as you have heard me own I had passed on them; and there can be no way effectually to clear it up but this.

Mast. Well, seeing you put so much weight upon it, he shall be called for.

[He was called, and, being ordered by the master to tell the measures that were concerted between them for the punishment or management of those negroes, he gave it just as Jack had done before.]

Jack. I hope, sir, you are now not only satisfied of the truth of the account I gave, relating to the method we had agreed on, but of its being so proper, and so likely to answer your end.

Mast. I am fully satisfied, and shall be glad to see that it answers the end; for, as I have said, nothing can be more agreeable to me, nothing has so much robbed me of the comfort of all my fortunes, as the cruelty used, in my name, on the bodies of those poor slaves.

Jack. It is certainly wrong, sir; it is not only wrong as it is barbarous and cruel, but it is wrong, too, as it is the worst way of managing and of having your business done.

Mast. It is my aversion, it fills my very soul with horror; I believe if I should come by while they were using those cruelties on the poor creatures, I should either sink down at the sight of it, or fly into a rage and kill the fellow that did it; though it is done too by my own authority.

Jack. But, sir, I dare say I shall convince you also that it is wrong in respect of interest; and that your business shall be better discharged, and your plantations better ordered, and more work done by the negroes, who shall be engaged by mercy and lenity, than by those who are driven and dragged by the whips and the chains of a merciless tormentor.

Mast. I think the nature of the thing speaks itself; doubtless it should be so, and I have often thought it would be so, and a thousand times wished it might be so; but all my English people pretend otherwise, and that it is impossible to bring the negroes to any sense of kindness, and consequently not to any obedience of love.

Jack. It may be true, sir, that there may be found here and there a negro of a senseless, stupid, sordid disposition, perfectly untractable, undocible, and incapable of due impressions; especially incapable of the generosity of principle which I am speaking of. You know very well, sir, there are such among the Christians, as well as among the negroes; whence else came the English proverb, That if you save a thief from the gallows, he shall be the first to cut your throat? But, sir, if such a refractory, undocible fellow comes in our way, he must be dealt with, first by the smooth ways, to try him, then by the violent way, to break his temper, as they break a horse; and, if nothing will do, such a wretch should be sold off, and others bought in his room; for the peace of the plantation should not be broken for one devilish tempered fellow; and if this was done, I doubt not you should have all your plantations carried on, and your work done, and not a negro or a servant upon it, but what would not only work for you, but even die for you if there was an occasion for it, as you see this poor Mouchat would have done for me.

Mast. Well, go on with your measures, and may you succeed. I'll promise you I will fully make you amends for it. I long to have these cruelties out of use, in my plantation especially; as for others, let them do as they will.

Our master being gone, I went to the prisoners, and first I suffered them to be told that the great master had been there, and that he had been inclined to pardon them, till he knew what their crime was; but then he said it was so great a fault that it must be punished; besides, the man that talked to them told them, that the great master said, that he knew if he had pardoned them they would be but the worse, for that the negroes were never thankful for being spared, and that there were no other ways to make them obedient, but by severity.

One of the poor fellows, more sensible than the other, answered, if any negro be badder for being kindly used, they should be whipped till they were muchee better; but that he never knew that, for that he never knew the negro be kindly use.

This was the same thing as the other had said, and indeed, was but too true, for the overseers really knew no such thing as mercy; and that notion of the negroes being no other way to be governed but by cruelty, had been the occasion that no other method was ever tried among them.

Again, if a slack hand had at any time been held upon them, it had not been done with discretion, or as a point of mercy, and managed with the assistance of argument to convince the negroes of the nature and reason of it, and to show them what they ought to do in return for it; but it was perhaps the effect of negligence, ill conduct, and want of application to the business of the plantation; and then it was no wonder that the negroes took the advantage of it.

Well, I carried on the affair with these two negroes just as I did with Mouchat, so I need not repeat the particulars; and they were delivered with infinite acknowledgments and thanks, even to all the extravagances of joy usual in those people on such occasions. And such was the gratitude of those two pardoned fellows, that they were the most faithful and most diligent servants ever after that belonged to the whole plantation, Mouchat excepted.

In this manner I carried on the plantation fully to his satisfaction; and before a year more was expired, there was scarce any such thing as correction known in the plantation, except upon a few boys, who were incapable of the impressions that good usage would have made, even upon them too, till they had lived to know the difference.

It was some time after this conference that our great master, as we called him, sent for me again to his dwelling-house, and told me he had had an answer from England from his friend, to

whom he had written about my bill. I was a little afraid that he was going to ask me leave to send it to London; but he did not say anything like that, but told me that his friend had been with the gentleman, and that he owned the bill, and that he had all the money in his hand that the bill had mentioned; but that he had promised the young man that had given him the money (meaning me) not to pay the money to anybody but himself, though they should bring the bill; the reason of which was, that I did not know who might get the bill away from me.

'But now, Colonel Jack,' says he, 'as you wrote him an account where you was, and by what wicked arts you were trepanned, and that it was impossible for you to have your liberty till you could get the money, my friend at London has written to me, that, upon making out a due copy of the bill here, attested by a notary and sent to him, and your obligation likewise attested, whereby you oblige yourself to deliver the original to his order, after the money is paid, he will pay the money.'

I told him I was willing to do whatever his honour directed; and so the proper copies were drawn as I had been told were required.

'But now, what will you do with this money, Jack?' says he, smiling; 'will you buy your liberty of me, and go to planting?'

I was too cunning for him now indeed, for I remembered what he had promised me; and I had too much knowledge of the honesty of his principles, as well as of the kindness he had for me, to doubt his being as good as his word; so I turned all this talk of his upon him another way. I knew that when he asked me if I would buy my liberty and go to planting, it was to try if I would leave him; so I said, 'As to buying my liberty, sir, that is to say, going out of your service, I had much rather buy more time in your service, and I am only unhappy that I have but two years to serve.'

'Come, come, Colonel,' says he, 'don't flatter me; I love plain dealing. Liberty is precious to everybody; if you have a mind to have your money brought over, you shall have your liberty to begin for yourself, and I will take care you shall be well used by the country, and get you a good plantation.'

I still insisted that I would not quit his service for the best plantation in Maryland; that he had been so good to me, and I believed I was so useful to him, that I could not think of it; and at last I added, I hoped he could not believe but I had as much gratitude as a negro.

He smiled, and said he would not be served upon those terms; that he did not forget what he had promised, nor what I had done in his plantation; and that he was resolved in the first place to give me my liberty. So he pulls out a piece of paper, and throws it to me: 'There,' says he, 'there's a certificate of your coming on shore, and being sold to me for five years, of which you have lived three with me, and now you are your own master.' I bowed, and told him that I was sure if I was my own master, I would be his servant as long as he would accept of my service. And now we strained courtesies, and he told me I should be his servant still; but it should be on two conditions, 1st, That he would give me £30 a year and my board, for my managing the plantation I was then employed in; and 2dly, That at the same time he would procure me a new plantation to begin upon my own account; 'for, Colonel Jack,' says he, smiling, 'though you are but a young man, yet 'tis time you were doing something for yourself.'

I answered, that I could do little at a plantation for myself, unless I neglected his business, which I was resolved not to do on any terms whatever; but that I would serve him faithfully, if he would accept of me, as long as he lived. 'So you shall,' says he again, 'and serve yourself too.' And thus we parted for that time.

Here I am to observe in the general, to avoid dwelling too long upon a story, that as the two negroes who I delivered from punishment were ever after the most diligent and laborious poor fellows in the whole plantation as above, except Mouchat, of whom I shall speak more by and by, so they not only were grateful themselves for their good usage, but they influenced the whole plantation; so that the gentle usage and lenity with which they had been treated, had a thousand times more influence upon them to make them diligent, than all the blows and kicks, whippings, and other tortures could have, which they had been used to. And now the plantation was famous for it, so that several other planters began to do the same, though I cannot say it was with the same success, which might be for want of taking pains with them, and working upon their passions in a right manner. It appeared that negroes were to be reasoned into things as well as other people, and it was by thus managing their reason that most of the work was done.

However, as it was, the plantations in Maryland were the better for this undertaking, and they are to this day less cruel and barbarous to their negroes than they are in Barbadoes and Jamaica; and, 'tis observed, the negroes are not in these colonies so desperate, neither do they so often run away, or so often plot mischief against their master, as they do in those.

I have dwelt the longer upon it, that, if possible, posterity might be persuaded to try gentler methods with those miserable creatures, and to use them with humanity; assuring them that if they did so, adding the common prudence that every particular case would direct them to for itself, the negroes would do their work faithfully and cheerfully; they would not find any of that refractoriness and sullenness in their temper that they pretend now to complain of, but they would be the same as their Christian servants, except that they would be the more thankful, and humble, and laborious of the two.

I continued in this station between five and six years after this, and in all that time we had not one negro whipped, except, as I observed before, now and then an unlucky boy, and that only for trifles. I cannot say but we had some ill-natured, ungovernable negroes; but if at any time such offended, they were pardoned the first time, in the manner as above, and the second time were ordered to be turned out of the plantation; and this was remarkable, that they would torment themselves at the apprehension of being turned away, more by a great deal than if they had been to be whipped, for then they were only sullen and heavy; nay, at length we found the fear of being turned out of the plantation had as much effect to reform them, that is to say, make them more diligent, than any torture would have done; and the reason was evident, namely, because in our plantation they were used like men, in the other like dogs.

My master owned the satisfaction he took in this blessed change, as he called it, as long as he lived; and as he was so engaged by seeing the negroes grateful, he showed the same principle of gratitude to those that served him, as he looked for in those that he served, and particularly to me; and so I come briefly to that part. The

first thing he did, after giving me my liberty as above, and making me an allowance, was to get the country bounty to me, that is to say, a quantity of land to begin and plant for myself.

But this he managed a way by himself; and as I found afterwards, took up, that is, purchased in my name, about three hundred acres of land, in a more convenient place than it would have otherwise been allotted me; and this he did by his interest with the lord proprietor; so that I had an extent of ground marked out to me, not next, but very near one of his own plantations. When I made my acknowledgment for this to him, he told me plainly that I was not beholden to him for it at all, for he did it that I might not be obliged to neglect his business for the carrying on my own; and on that account he would not reckon to me what money he paid, which, however, according to the custom of the country, was not a very great sum, I think about £40 or £50.

Thus he very generously gave me my liberty, advanced this money for me, put me into a plantation for myself, and gave me £30 a year wages for looking after one of his own plantations.

'But, Colonel,' says he to me, 'giving you this plantation is nothing at all to you, if I do not assist you to support it and carry it on; and therefore I will give you credit for whatever is needful to you for the carrying it on, such as tools, provisions for servants, and some servants to begin, materials to build out-houses, and conveniences of all sorts for the plantation; and to buy hogs, cows, horses for stock, and the like, and I'll take it out of your cargo, which will come from London, for the money of your bill.'

This was highly obliging and very kind, and the more so, as it afterwards appeared. In order to this, he sent two servants of his own, who were carpenters; as for timber, boards, planks, and all sorts of such things, in a country almost all made of wood, they could not be wanting. These run me up a little wooden house in less than three weeks' time, where I had three rooms, a kitchen, an out-house, and two large sheds at a distance from the house, for storehouses, almost like barns, with stables at the end of them; and thus I was set up in the world, and, in short, removed, by the degrees that you have heard, from a pickpocket to a kidnapped miserable slave in Virginia (for Maryland is Virginia, speaking of them at a distance); then from a slave to a head officer or overseer of slaves, and from thence to a master planter.

I had now (as above) a house, a stable, two warehouses, and 300 acres of land; but (as we say) bare walls make giddy hussies, so I had neither axe nor hatchet to cut down the trees; horse, nor hog, nor cow to put upon the land; not a hoe or a spade to break ground, nor a pair of hands but my own to go to work upon.

But Heaven and kind masters make up all those things to a diligent servant; and I mention it, because people who are either transported or otherwise trepanned into those places, are generally thought to be rendered miserable and undone; whereas, on the contrary, I would encourage them, upon my own experience, to depend upon it, that if their own diligence in the time of service gains them but a good character, which it will certainly do if they can deserve it, there is not the poorest and most despicable felon that ever went over, but may (after his time is served) begin for himself, and may in time be sure of raising a good plantation.

For example, I will now take a man in the meanest circumstances of a servant, who has served out his five or seven years, (suppose a transported wretch for seven years); the custom of the place was then (what is since I know not), that on his master's certifying that he had served his time out faithfully, he had fifty acres of land allotted him for planting, and on this plan he begins.

Some had a horse, a cow, and three hogs given, or rather lent them, as a stock for the land, which they made an allowance for at a certain time and rate.

Custom has made it a trade to give credit to such beginners as these, for tools, clothes, nails, ironwork, and other things necessary for their planting, and which the persons so giving credit to them are to be paid for out of the crop of tobacco which they shall plant; nor is it in the debtor's power to defraud the creditor of payment in that manner; and as tobacco is their coin, as well as their product, so all things are to be purchased at a certain quantity of tobacco, the price being so rated.

Thus the naked planter has credit at his beginning, and immediately goes to work, to cure the land and plant tobacco; and from this little beginning have some of the most considerable planters in Virginia, and in Maryland also, raised themselves; namely, from being without a hat or a shoe, to estates of forty or fifty thousand pounds; and in this method, I may add, no diligent man ever miscarried, if he had health to work, and was a good husband; for he every year increases a little, and every year adding more land, and planting more tobacco, which is real money, he must gradually increase in substance, till at length he gets enough to buy negroes and other servants, and then never works himself any more.

In a word, every Newgate wretch, every desperate forlorn creature, the most despicable ruined man in the world, has here a fair opportunity put into his hands to begin the world again, and that upon a foot of certain gain, and in a method exactly honest, with a reputation that nothing past will have any effect upon; and innumerable people have raised themselves from the worst circumstances in the world, namely, from the cells in Newgate.

But I return to my own story. I was now a planter, and encouraged by a kind benefactor; for that I might not be wholly taken up with my new plantation, he gave me freely, and without any consideration, my grateful negro Mouchat. He told me it was a debt due to the affection that poor creature had always had for me, and so indeed it was; for as the fellow would once have been hanged for me, so now, and to his last, he loved me so much that it was apparent he did everything with pleasure that he did for me; and he was so overcome of joy when he heard that he was to be my negro, that the people in the plantation really thought it would turn his head, and that the fellow would go distracted.

Besides this, he sent me two servants more, a man and a woman, but these he put to my account, as above. Mouchat and these two fell immediately to work for me, and they began with about two acres of land, which had but little timber on it at first, and most of that was cut down by the two carpenters who built my house, or shed rather, for so it should be called.

These two acres I got in good forwardness, and most of it well planted with tobacco; though some of it we were obliged to plant with garden-stuff for food, such as potatoes, carrots, cabbages, peas, beans, &c.

It was a great advantage to me that I had so

bountiful a master, who helped me out in every case; for in this very first year I received a terrible blow; for my bill (as I have observed) having been copied, and attested in form, and sent to London, my kind friend and Custom-house gentleman paid me the money; and the merchant at London, by my good master's direction, had laid it all out in a sorted cargo of goods for me, such as would have made a man of me all at once; but to my inexpressible terror and surprise, the ship was lost, and that just at the entrance into the capes, that is to say, the mouth of the bay. Some of the goods were recovered, but spoiled; and, in short, nothing but the nails, tools, and ironwork were good for anything; and though the value of them was pretty considerable in proportion to the rest, yet my loss was irreparably great; and indeed the greatness of the loss consisted in its being irreparable.

I was perfectly astonished at the first news of the loss, knowing that I was in debt to my patron or master so much, that it must be several years before I should recover it; and as he brought me the bad news himself, he perceived my disorder, that is to say, he saw I was in the utmost confusion, and a kind of amazement; and so indeed I was, because I was so much in debt. But he spoke cheerfully to me: 'Come,' says he, 'do not be so discouraged; you may make up this loss.' 'No, sir,' says I, 'that never can be; for it is my all, and I shall never be out of debt.' 'Well, but,' says he, 'you have no creditor, however, but me; and now remember I once told you I would make a man of you, and I will not disappoint you for this disaster.'

I thanked him, and did it with more ceremony and respect than ever, because I thought myself more under the hatches than I was before. But he was as good as his word, for he did not baulk me in the least of anything I wanted; and as I had more ironwork saved out of the ship, in proportion, than I wanted, I supplied him with some part of it, and took up some linen and clothes, and other necessaries from him in exchange.

And now I began to increase visibly. I had a large quantity of land cured, that is, freed from timber, and a very good crop of tobacco in view; and I got three servants more and one negro, so that I had five white servants and two negroes, and with this my affairs went very well on.

The first year, indeed, I took my wages or salary (that is to say) of £30 a year, because I wanted it very much; but the second and third year I resolved not to take it on any account whatsoever, but to leave it in my benefactor's hands, to clear off the debt I had contracted.

And now I must impose a short digression on the reader, to note that, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of a most wretched education, yet now, when I began to feel myself, as I may say, in the world, and to be arrived to an independent state, and to foresee that I might be something considerable in time; I say, now I found different sentiments of things taking place in my mind; and first, I had a solid principle of justice and honesty, and a secret horror at things past, when I looked back upon my former life; that original something, I knew not what, that used formerly to check me in the first meannesses of my youth, and used to dictate to me, when I was but a child, that I was to be a gentleman, continued to operate upon me now in a manner I cannot describe; and I continually remembered the words of the ancient glassmaker to the gentleman that he reproved for swearing, that to be a gentleman was to be an honest man; that without honesty, human nature was sunk and degenerated; the gentleman lost all the dignity of his birth, and placed himself even below an honest beggar. These principles growing upon my mind in the present circumstances I was in, gave me a secret satisfaction that I can give no description of. It was an inexpressible joy to me that I was now like to be, not only a man, but an honest man; and it yielded me a greater pleasure that I was ransomed from being a vagabond, a thief, and a criminal, as I had been from a child, than that I was delivered from slavery, and the wretched state of a Virginia sold servant. I had notion enough in my mind of the hardships of the servant or slave, because I had felt it, and worked through it; I remembered it as a state of labour and servitude, hardship and suffering. But the other shocked my very nature, chilled my blood, and turned the very soul within me. The thought of it was like reflections upon hell and the damned spirits; it struck me with horror, it was odious and frightful to look back on, and it gave me a kind of a fit, a convulsion or nervous disorder, that was very uneasy to me.

But to look forward, to reflect how things were changed, how happy I was that I could live by my own endeavours, and was no more under the necessity of being a villain, and of getting my bread at my own hazard and the ruin of honest families; this had in it something more than commonly pleasing and agreeable, and, in particular, it had a pleasure that till then I had known nothing of. It was a sad thing to be under a necessity of doing evil, to procure that subsistence which I could not support the want of, to be obliged to run the venture of the gallows rather than the venture of starving, and to be always wicked for fear of want.

I cannot say that I had any serious religious reflections, or that these things proceeded yet from the uneasiness of conscience, but from mere reasonings with myself, and from being arrived to a capacity of making a right judgment of things more than before; yet I own I had such an abhorrence of the wicked life I had led, that I was secretly easy, and had a kind of pleasure in the disaster that was upon me about the ship; and that, though it was a loss, I could not but be glad that those ill-gotten goods were gone, and that I had lost what I had stolen; for I looked on it as none of mine, and that it would be fire in my flax if I should mingle it with what I had now, which was come honestly by, and was (as it were) sent from heaven to lay the foundation of my prosperity, which the other would be only as a moth to consume.

At the same time my thoughts dictated to me, that though this was the foundation of my new life, yet that this was not the superstructure, and that I might still be born for greater things than these; that it was honesty and virtue alone that made men rich and great, and gave them a fame as well as a figure in the world; and that therefore I was to lay my foundation in these, and expect what might follow in time.

To help these thoughts, as I had learned to read and write when I was in Scotland, so I began now to love books, and particularly I had an opportunity of reading some very considerable ones; such as Livy's Roman history, the history of the Turks, the English history of Speed, and others; the history of the Low Country wars, the history of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and the history of the Spaniards' conquest of Mexico, with several others, some of which I bought at a planter's house, who was lately dead, and his goods sold, and others I borrowed.

I considered my present state of life to be my

mere youth, though I was now above thirty years old, because in my youth I had learned nothing; and if my daily business, which was now great, would have permitted, I would have been content to have gone to school. However, fate, that had yet something else in store for me, threw an opportunity into my hand, namely, a clever fellow, that came over a transported felon from Bristol, and fell into my hands for a servant. He had led a loose life, that he acknowledged; and being driven to extremities, took to the highway, for which, had he been taken, he would have been hanged; but falling into some low-priced rogueries afterwards, for want of opportunity for worse, was catched, condemned, and transported, and, as he said, was glad he came off so.

He was an excellent scholar, and I perceiving it, asked him one time, if he could give a method how I might learn the Latin tongue? He said, smiling, Yes, he could teach it me in three months, if I would let him have books, or even without books, if he had time. I told him, a book would become his hands better than a hoe; and if he could promise to make me but understand Latin enough to read it, and understand other languages by it, I would ease him of the labour which I was now obliged to put him to, especially if I was assured that he was fit to receive that favour of a kind master. In short, I made him to me what my benefactor made me to him; and from him I gained a fund of knowledge, infinitely more valuable than the rate of a slave, which was what I had paid for it; but of this hereafter.

With these thoughts I went cheerfully about my work. As I had now five servants, my plantation went on, though gently, yet safely, and increased gradually, though slowly; but the third year, with the assistance of my old benefactor, I purchased two negroes more, so that now I had seven servants; and having cured land sufficient for supply of their food, I was at no difficulty to maintain them; so that my plantation began now to enlarge itself, and as I lived without any personal expense, but was maintained at my old great master's (as we called him), and at his charge, with £30 a year besides, so all my gains were laid up for increase.

In this posture I went on for twelve years, and was very successful in my plantation, and had gotten, by means of my master's favour, who now I called my friend, a correspondant in London, with whom I traded, shipped over my tobacco to him, and received European goods in return, such as I wanted to carry on my plantation, and sufficient to sell to others also.

In this interval, my good friend and benefactor died, and I was left very disconsolate on account of my loss, for it was indeed a great loss to me; he had been a father to me, and I was like a forsaken stranger without him, though I knew the country and the trade too, well enough, and had for some time chiefly carried on his whole business for him, yet I seemed now at a loss; my counsellor and my chief supporter was gone, and I had no confidant to communicate myself to, on all occasions, as formerly; but there was no remedy. I was, however, in a better condition to stand alone than ever; I had a very large plantation, and had near seventy negroes and other servants. In a word, I was grown really rich, considering my first circumstances, that began (as I may say) with nothing; that is to say, I had nothing of stock, but I had a great beginning, that indeed I needed no other stock, and if I had had £500 to have begun with, and not the assistance, advice, and countenance of such a man, I had not been in a better condition; but he promised to make a man of me, and so he did, and in one respect (I may say) I have merited it of him, for I brought his plantation into such order, and the government of his negroes into such a regulation, that if he had given £500 to have had it done, he would have thought his money well bestowed; his work was always in order, going forward to his mind, everything was in a thriving posture, his servants all loved him, even negroes and all, and yet there was no such thing as a cruel punishment, or severities known among them.

In my own plantation it was the same thing. I wrought so upon the reason and the affections of my negroes, that they served me cheerfully, and, by consequence, faithfully and diligently; when in my neighbour's plantation there was not a week hardly passed without such horrible outcries, roarings and yellings of the servants, either under torture, or in fear of it, that their negroes would, in discourse with ours, wish themselves dead and gone (as it seems they believed they should after death) into their own country.

If I met with a sullen stupid fellow, as sometimes it was unavoidable, I always parted with him, and sold him off; for I would not keep any that sense of kind usage would not oblige. But I seldom met with such bad ones; for, by talking to them in a plain, reasoning way, I found the temper of the roughest of them would break and soften; the sense of their own interest would prevail with them at first or last; and if it had not, the contrary temper was so general among my people, that their own fellows and countrymen would be against them, and that served to bring them to reason as soon as any other thing; and this, those who think it worth their while, will easily find, viz. that having prevailed effectually over one leading man among them to be tractable, and pleased, and grateful, he shall make them all like him, and that in a little while, with more ease than can be imagined.

I was now a planter, and also a student. My pedagogue, I mentioned above, was very diligent, and proved an extraordinary man indeed. He taught me not only with application, but with admirable judgment in the teaching part; for I have seen it in many instances since that time, that every good scholar is not fitted for a schoolmaster, and that the art of teaching is quite different from that of knowing the language taught.

But this man had both, and proved of great use to me, and I found reason, in the worth of the person, to be very kind to him, his circumstances considered. I once took the liberty to ask him how it came to pass that he, who must have had a liberal education, and great advantages to have advanced him in the world, should be capable of falling into such miserable circumstances as he was in when he came over? I used some caution in entering upon an inquiry, which (as I said) might not be pleasant to him to relate; but that I would make him amends by telling him, that if he desired not to enter into it with me, I would readily excuse him, and would not take it ill at all; this I did, because to a man under such afflictions one should always be tender, and not put them upon relating anything of themselves which was grievous to them, or which they had rather was concealed.

But he told me that it was true, that to look back upon his past life was indeed *renovare dolorem*; but that such mortifications were now useful to him, to help forward that repentance which he hoped he was sincerely entered upon; and that though it was with horror he looked back upon misspent time, and ill-applied gifts,

which a bountiful Creator had blessed him with, and spared to him for a better improvement, yet he thought he ought to load himself with as much of the shame as it pleased God to make his lot, since he had already loaded himself with the guilt in a shameless manner; till God (he still hoped in mercy to him) had cut him short, and brought him to public disgrace, though he could not say he had been brought to justice, for then he had been sent into eternity in despair, and not been sent to Virginia, to repent of the wickedest life that ever man lived. He would have gone on, but I found his speech interrupted by a passionate struggle within, between his grief and his tears.

I took no more notice of it than to tell him, that I was sorry I had asked him about it, but that it was my curiosity. When I saw that ignorant, untaught, untractable creatures come into misery and shame, I made no inquiry after their affairs; but when I saw men of parts and learning take such steps, I concluded it must be occasioned by something exceeding wicked. 'So indeed' (said he) 'the judge said to me when I begged mercy of him in Latin. He told me, that when a man with such learning falls into such crimes, he is more inexcusable than other men, because his learning recommending him, he could not want advantages, and had the less temptation to crimes.'

'But, sir,' said he, 'I believe my case was what I find is the case of most of the wicked part of the world, viz. that to be reduced to necessity is to be wicked; for necessity is not only the temptation, but is such a temptation as human nature is not empowered to resist. How good then,' says he, 'is that God, which takes from you, sir, the temptation, by taking away the necessity?'

I was so sensible of the truth of what he said (knowing it by my own case), that I could not enter any farther upon the discourse; but he went on voluntarily. 'This, sir,' says he, 'I am so sensible of, that I think the case I am reduced to much less miserable than the life which I lived before, because I am delivered from the horrid necessity of doing such ill things, which was my ruin and disaster then, even for my bread, and am not now obliged to ravish my bread out of the mouths of others by violence and disorder; but am fed, though I am made to earn it by the hard labour of my hands, and I thank God for the difference.' He paused here, but went on thus:

'How much is the life of a slave in Virginia to be preferred to that of the most prosperous thief in the world! Here I live miserable, but honest; suffer wrong, but do no wrong; my body is punished, but my conscience is not loaded; and, as I used to say, that I had no leisure to look in, but I would begin when I had some recess, some time to spare; now God has found me leisure to repent.' He run on in this manner a great while, giving thanks, I believe most heartily, for his being delivered from the wretched life he had lived, though his misery were to be tenfold as much as it was.

I was sincerely touched with his discourse on this subject; I had known so much of the real difference of the case, that I could not but be affected with it, though till now, I confess, I knew little of the religious part. I had been an offender as well as he, though not altogether in the same degree, but I knew nothing of the penitence; neither had I looked back upon anything as a crime, but as a life dishonourable, and not like a gentleman, which run much in my thoughts, as I have several times mentioned.

'Well, but now,' says I, 'you talk penitently, and I hope you are sincere; but what would be your case if you were delivered from the miserable condition of a slave, sold for money, which you are now in? Should you not, think you, be the same man?'

'Blessed be God,' says he, 'that if I thought I should, I would sincerely pray that I might not be delivered, and that I might for ever be a slave rather than a sinner.'

'Well but,' says I, 'suppose you be under the same necessity, in the same starving condition, should you not take the same course?'

He replied very sharply, 'That shows us the need we have of the petition in the Lord's prayer, "Lead us not into temptation;" and of Solomon's or Agar's prayer, "Give me not poverty, lest I steal." I should ever beg of God not to be left to such snares as human nature cannot resist. But I have some hope, that I should venture to starve rather than to steal; but I also beg to be delivered from the danger, because I know not my own strength.'

This was honestly spoken indeed; and there really were such visible tokens of sincerity in all his discourse, that I could not suspect him. On some of our discourses on this subject, he pulled out a little dirty paper-book, in which he had wrote down such a prayer in verse, as I doubt few Christians in the world could subscribe to; and I cannot but record it, because I never saw anything like it in my life; the lines are as follow:

Lord! whatsoever sorrows rack my breast,
Till crime removes too, let me find no rest;
How dark soe'er my state, or sharp my pain,
Oh! let not troubles cease, and sin remain.
For Jesus' sake remove not my distress,
Till free triumphant grace shall repossess
The vacant throne from whence my sins depart,
And make a willing captive of my heart;
Till grace completely shall my soul subdue,
Thy conquest full, and my subjection true.

There were more lines on the same subject, but these were the beginning; and these touching me so sensibly, I have remembered them distinctly ever since, and have, I believe, repeated them to myself a thousand times.

I pressed him no more, you may be sure, after an answer so very particular and affecting as this was; it was easy to see the man was a sincere penitent, not sorrowing for the punishment he was suffering under; for his condition was no part of his affliction, he was rather thankful for it, as above; but his concern was a feeling and affecting sense of the wicked and abominable life he had led, the abhorred crimes he had committed both against God and man, and the little sense he had had of the condition he was in, and that even till he came to the place where he now was.

I asked him if he had no reflections of this kind after or before his sentence? He told me Newgate (for the prison at Bristol is called so, it seems, as well as that at London) was a place that seldom made penitents, but often made villains worse, till they learnt to defy God and devil. But that, however, he could look back with this satisfaction, that he could say he was not altogether insensible of it, even then; but nothing that amounted to a thorough serious looking up to heaven; that he often indeed looked in, and reflected upon his past misspent life, even before he was in prison, when the intervals of his wicked practices gave some time for reflection, and he would sometimes say to himself, Whither am I going? to what will all these things bring me at last? and where will they end? sin and shame follow one another, and I shall certainly

come to the gallows. 'Then,' said he, 'I would strike upon my breast, and say, O wicked wretch! when will you repent? and would answer myself as often, Never! never! never! except it be in a gaol, or at a gibbet.

'Then,' said he, 'I would weep and sigh, and look back a little upon my wretched life, the history of which would make the world amazed; but, alas! the prospect was so dark, and it filled me with so much terror, that I could not bear it. Then I would fly to wine and company for relief; that wine brought on excess, and that company, being always wicked like yourself, brought on temptation, and then all reflection vanished, and I was the same devil as before.'

He spoke this with so much affection, that his face was ever smiling when he talked of it, and yet his eyes had tears standing in them at the same time; for he had a delightful sorrow, if that be a proper expression in speaking of it.

This was a strange relation to me, and began to affect me after a manner that I did not understand. I loved to hear him talk of it, and yet it always left a kind of a dead lump behind it upon my heart, which I could give no reason for, nor imagine to what it tended; I had a heaviness on my soul, without being able to describe it, or to say what ailed me.

Well, he went on with his relation. 'After this,' says he, 'I fell into the hands of a justice for a trifle, a piece of sport in our crime; and I, that for a hundred robberies, as well on the highway as otherwise, the particulars of which would fill a book to give an account of, ought, whenever I was taken, to be hanged in chains, and who, if it had been public, could not have failed of having twenty people come in against me, was privately hurried into a country gaol under a wrong name, tried for a small fact, within benefit of clergy, and in which I was not principally guilty, and by this means obtained the favour of being transported.

'And what, think you,' said he, 'has most sensibly affected me, and brought on the blessed change that, I hope I may say, God has wrought in my soul? Not the greatness of my crimes, but the wonders of that merciful providence, which, when it has mercy in store for a man, often brings him into the briers, into sorrow and misery for lesser sins, that men may be led to see how they are spared from the punishment due to them, for the greater guilt which they know lies upon them. Do you think that, when I received the grant of transportation, I could be insensible what a miracle of divine goodness such a thing must be, to one who had so many ways deserved to be hanged, and must infallibly have died, if my true name had been known, or if the least notice had been given that it was such a notorious wretch as I that was in custody? There began the first motive of repentance; for certainly the goodness of our great Creator in sparing us, when we forfeit our lives to his justice, and his merciful bringing us out of the miseries which we plunge ourselves into, when we have no way to extricate ourselves; his bringing those very miseries to be the means of our deliverance, and working good to us out of evil, when we are working the very evil out of his good; I say, these things are certainly the strongest motives to repentance that are in the world; and the sparing thieves from the gallows certainly makes more penitents than the gallows itself.

'It is true,' continued he, 'that the terror of punishment works strongly upon the mind; in view of death men are filled with horror of soul, and immediately they call that repentance which I doubt is too often mistaken, being only a kind of anguish in the soul, which breeds a grief for the punishment that is to be suffered; an amazement founded upon the dreadful view of what is to follow. But the sense of mercy is quite another thing; this seizes all the passions and all the affections, and works a sincere unfeigned abhorrence of the crime, as a crime; as an offence against our Benefactor, as an act of baseness and ingratitude to Him who has given us life, and all the blessings and comforts of life; and who has conquered us by continuing to do us good, when He has been provoked to destroy us.

'This, sir,' says he, 'has been the fountain of that repentance which I so much rejoice in; this is the delightful sorrow,' says he, 'that I spoke of just now; and this makes smiles sit on my face while tears run from my eyes, a joy that I can no otherwise express, than by telling you, sir, that I never lived a happy day since I came to an age of acting in the world, till I landed in this country, and worked in your plantation, naked and hungry, weary and faint, oppressed with cold in one season, and heat in the other; then I began to see into my own ways, and see the difference between the hardships of the body and the torment of the mind. Before I revelled in fulness, and here I struggled with hard fare; then I wallowed in sloth and voluptuous ease; here I laboured till nature sometimes was just sinking under the load; but with this difference in the felicity of either case, namely, that there I had a hell in my soul, was filled with horror and confusion, was a daily terror to myself, and always expected a miserable end; whereas here I had a blessed calm of soul, an emblem and forerunner of heaven, thankful and humble, adoring that mercy that had snatched me out of the jaws of the devil; these took up my thoughts, and made my most weary hours pleasant to me, my labour light, and my heart cheerful. I never lay down on my hard lodging but I praised God with the greatest excess of affection, not only that it was not the condemned hole, and that I was delivered from the death I had deserved, but that it was not Shooter's Hill, that I was not still a robber, a terror to just and honest men, a plunderer of the innocent and the poor, a thief, and a villain, that ought to be rooted out from the earth for the safety of others; but that I was delivered from the horrid temptation of sinning to support my luxury, and making one vice necessary to another; and this, I bear witness, is sufficient to sweeten the bitterest sorrow, and make any man be thankful for Virginia, or a worse place, if that can be.'

He then entertained me with an opinion of his, that if it were possible for the face of heaven and hell to be disclosed and laid open, and that men could be made capable of seeing distinctly and separately the joys and glory and utmost felicity of one, and the horrors of the other, and to make a judgment of both according to the power of human reasoning, the first would have a stronger and more powerful effect to reform the world than the latter. But this we had further discourses about on many occasions.

If it should be inquired how I was capable of hearing all this, and having no impressions made upon my mind by it, especially when it so many ways suited my own case, and the condition of the former part of my life, I shall answer that presently by myself. However, I took no notice of it to him, for he had quite other notions of me than I had of myself; nor did I, as is usual in such cases, enter into any confidence with him on my own story, only that I took sometimes the occasion to let him know that I did not come

over to Virginia in the capacity of a criminal, or that I was not transported; which, considering how many of the inhabitants there were so who then lived in good circumstances, was needful enough to be done.

But as to myself, it was enough that I was in condition now; 'twas no matter to anybody what I had been; and as it was grown pretty much out of memory from what original disaster I came into the country, or that I was ever a servant otherwise than voluntary, and that it was no business of mine to expose myself, so I kept that part close; but for all that, it was impossible for me to conceal the disorder I was in as often as he talked of these things. I had hitherto gone on upon a notion of things founded only in their appearance, as they affected me with good or evil; esteeming the happy and unhappy part of life to be those that gave me ease or sorrow, without regarding, or indeed much understanding, how far those turns of life were influenced by the Giver of life, or how far they were all directed by a sovereign God that governs the world, and all the creatures it had made.

As I had no education but as you have heard, so I had had no instruction, no knowledge of religion, or indeed of the meaning of it; and though I was now in a kind of search after religion, it was a mere looking, as it were, into the world to see what kind of a thing or place it was, and what had been done in it; but as to Him that made it, there had truly been scarce a creature among all that He had made, with souls in them, that were so entirely without the knowledge of God as I was, and made so little inquiry about it.

But the serious, affectionate discourse of this young man began to have different effects upon me, and I began to say to myself, 'This man's reflections are certainly very just; but what a creature am I, and what have I been doing? I that never once did this in all my life, that never said so much! God, I thank Thee for all that I have been saved from, or all that I have been brought to in this world; and yet my life has been as full of variety, and I have been as miraculously delivered from dangers and mischiefs, and as many of them, as ever he has; and if it has all been brought to pass by an invisible hand, in mercy to me, what have I been doing, and where have I lived, that I only should be the most thoughtless and unthankful of all God's creatures!'

This indeed began to grow upon me, and made me very melancholy; but as to religion, I understood so little about it, that if I had resolved upon any such thing as a new course of life, or to set about a religious change, I knew not at which end to begin, or what to do about it.

One day it happened that my tutor, for so I always called him, had the Bible in his hand, and was looking in it, as he generally did many times a day, though I knew not for what. Seeing the Bible, I took it out of his hands, and went to look into it, which I had done so little before, that I think I might safely say I had never read a chapter in it all my life. He was talking of the Bible then as a book only, and where he had it, and how he brought it to Virginia; and in some ecstasy he took and kissed it. 'This blessed book,' says he, 'this was all the treasure I brought out from England with me, and a comfortable treasure it has been to me,' added he; 'I would not have been without it in my sorrows for any other treasure in the world;' and so he went on at large.

I that had no notion of what he meant, only, as I have said above, some young infant thoughts about the works of providence in the world, and its merciful dealings with me, took the book out of his hand and went to look into it, and the book opened at the Acts xxvi. v. 28, where Felix says to St. Paul, 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.' 'I think,' says I, 'here's a line hits me to a tittle, upon the long account you have given of yourself, and I must say them to you, as the governor here said;' and so I read the words to him. He blushed at the text, and returns, I could answer you in the very words the apostle returned to him in the next verse: 'I would thou wert both, I wish almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds.'

I was now more than 30 years old by my own account, and as well as it was possible for me to keep a reckoning of my age, who had nobody left that ever knew my beginning. I was, I say, above 30 years old, and had gone through some variety in the world; but as I was perfectly abandoned in my infancy, and utterly without instruction in my youth, so I was entirely ignorant of everything that was worthy the name of religion in the world; and this was the first time that ever any notion of religious things entered into my heart. I was surprised at this man's talk, and that several ways, particularly he talked so feelingly of his past circumstances, and they were so like my own, that every time he made a religious inference from his own condition, and argued from one condition of his to another, it struck into my thoughts like a bullet from a gun, that I had certainly as much to be thankful for and to repent of as he had, except only that I had no knowledge of better things to be thankful for, which he had; but in return for that, I was delivered and set up in the world, made a master, and easy, and was in good circumstances, being raised from the very same low distressed condition as he was in, I mean a sold servant; but that he remained so still, so that if his sin had been greater than mine, so his distress was still greater.

This article of gratitude struck deep, and lay heavy upon my mind. I remembered that I was grateful to the last degree to my old master, who had raised me from my low condition, and that I loved the very name of him, or as might be said, the very ground he trod on; but I had not so much as once thought of any higher obligation, no, nor so much as, like the Pharisee, had said once, 'God, I thank Thee,' to Him for all the influence which his providence must have had in my whole affair.

It occurred to me presently, that if none of all these things befall us without the direction of a Divine Power, as my new instructor had told me at large, and that God had ordered everything, the most minute and least transaction of life, insomuch 'that not a hair of our head shall fall to the ground without his permission;' I say, it occurred to me that I had been a most unthankful dog to that Providence that had done so much for me; and the consequence of the reflection was immediately this, How justly may that power, so disobliged, take away again his wool and his flax, with which I am now clothed, and reduce me to the misery of my first circumstances!

This perplexed me much, and I was very pensive and sad; in which, however, my new instructor was a constant comforter to me, and I learned every day something or other from him, upon which I told him one morning, that I thought he must leave off teaching me Latin, and teach me religion.

He spoke with a great deal of modesty of his

being incapable of informing me of anything that I did not know, and proposed to me to read the Scriptures every day, as the sure and only fund of instruction. I answered that, in the words of the eunuch to St. Philip, when the apostle asked him if he understood what he read: 'How can I, unless some one guide me?'

We talked frequently upon this subject; and I found so much reason to believe he was a sincere convert, that I can speak of him as no other in all I have to say of him. However, I cannot say my thoughts were yet ripened for an operation of that kind. I had some uneasiness about my past life; and I lived now, and had done so before I knew him, a very regular sober life, always taken up in my business, and running into no excesses; but as to commencing penitent, as this man had done, I cannot say I had any convictions upon me sufficient to bring it on, nor had I a fund of religious knowledge to support me in it; so it wore off again gradually, as such things generally do where the first impressions are not deep enough.

In the meantime, as he read over long lectures of his own disasters to me, and applied them all seriously to me, so our discourse was always very solid and weighty, and we had nothing of levity between us, even when we were not concerned in religious discourses. He read history to me; and where books were wanting, he gave me ideas of those things which had not been recorded by our modern histories, or at least that our number of books would not reach. By these things he raised an unquenchable thirst in me, after seeing something that was doing in the world; and the more, because all the world was at that time engaged, more or less, in the great war wherein the French king might be said to be engaged with and against all the powers of Europe.

Now I looked upon myself as one buried alive in a remote part of the world, where I could see nothing at all, and hear but a little of what was seen, and that little not till at least half a year after it was done, and sometimes a year or more; and, in a word, the old reproach often came in the way, namely, that even this was not yet the life of a gentleman.

It was true, that this was much nearer to it than that of a pickpocket, and still nearer than that of a sold slave; but, in short, this would not do, and I could receive no satisfaction in it. I had now a second plantation, a very considerable one, and it went forward very well. I had on it almost 100 servants already of sundry sorts, and an overseer that I had a great deal of reason to say I might depend upon, and but that I had a third in embryo, and newly begun, I had nothing to hinder me from going where I pleased.

However, I now began to frame my thoughts for a voyage to England, resolving then to act as I should see cause, but with a secret resolution to see more of the world, if possible, and realize those things to my mind, which I had hitherto only entertained remote ideas of by the help of books.

Accordingly I pushed forward the settlement of my third plantation, in order to bring it to be in a posture, either to be let to a tenant, or left in trust with an overseer, as I should find occasion.

Had I resolved to leave it to an overseer, or steward, no man in the world could have been fit for it like my tutor; but I could not think of parting with him who was the cause of my desire of travelling, and who I concluded to make my partner in my travels.

It was three years after this before I could get things in order, fit for my leaving the country. In this time I delivered my tutor from his bondage, and would have given him his liberty; but, to my great disappointment, I found that I could not empower him to go for England till his time was expired, according to the certificate of his transportation, which was registered; so I made him one of my overseers, and thereby raised him gradually to a prospect of living in the same manner, and by the like steps that my good benefactor raised me, only that I did not assist him to enter upon planting for himself as I was assisted, neither was I upon the spot to do it; but this man's diligence and honest application, even unassisted, delivered himself, any farther than, as I say, by making him an overseer, which was only a present ease and deliverance to him, from the hard labour and fare which he endured as a servant.

However, in this trust he behaved so faithfully, and so diligently, that it recommended him in the country; and when I came back I found him in circumstances very different from what I left him in, besides his being my principal manager for near twenty years, as you shall hear in its place.

I mention these things the more at large, that, if any unhappy wretch, who may have the disaster to fall into such circumstances as these, may come to see this account, they may learn the following short lessons from these examples:

I. That Virginia, and a state of transportation, may be the happiest place and condition they were ever in for this life, as, by a sincere repentance, and a diligent application to the business they are put to, they are effectually delivered from a life of flagrant wickedness, and put in a perfect new condition, in which they have no temptation to the crimes they formerly committed, and have a prospect of advantage for the future.

II. That in Virginia, the meanest and most despicable creature, after his time of servitude is expired, if he will but apply himself with diligence and industry to the business of the country, is sure (life and health supposed) both of living well and growing rich.

As this is a foundation which the most unfortunate wretch alive is entitled to, a transported felon is, in my opinion, a much happier man than the most prosperous untaken thief in the nation; nor are those poor young people so much in the wrong as some imagine them to be, that go voluntarily over to those countries; and, in order to get themselves carried over and placed there, freely bind themselves there; especially if the persons into whose hands they fall do anything honestly by them; for, as it is to be supposed that those poor people knew not what course to take before, or had miscarried in their conduct before, here they are sure to be immediately provided for, and, after the expiration of their time, to be put in a condition to provide for themselves. But I return to my own story, which now begins a new scene.

I was now making provision for my going to England, after having settled my plantation in such hands as was fully to my satisfaction. My first work was to furnish myself with such a stock of goods and money as might be sufficient for my occasions abroad, and particularly might allow me to make large returns to Maryland, for the use and supply of all my plantations; but when I came to look nearer into the voyage, it occurred to me that it would not be prudent to put my cargo all on board the same ship that I went in; so I shipped at several times 500 hogs-

heads of tobacco in several ships for England, giving notice to my correspondent in London that I would embark about such a time to come over myself, and ordering him to insure for a considerable sum, proportioned to the value of my cargo.

About two months after this I left the place, and embarked for England in a stout ship, carrying 24 guns, and about 600 hogsheads of tobacco, and we left the capes of Virginia on the 1st of August. We had a very sour and rough voyage for the first fortnight, though it was in a season so generally noted for good weather.

After we had been about eleven days at sea, having the wind most part of the time blowing very hard at west, or between the west and north-west, by which we were carried a great way farther to the eastward than they usually go in their course for England, we met with a furious tempest, which held us five days, blowing most of the time excessive hard, and by which we were obliged to run away afore the wind as the seamen call it, wheresoever it was our lot to go. By this storm our ship was greatly damaged, and some leaks we had, but not so bad that by the diligence of the seamen they were stopped; however, the captain, after having beaten up again as well as he could against the weather, and the sea going very high, at length he resolved to go away for the Bermudas.

I was not seaman enough to understand what the reason of their disputes was, but in their running for the islands, it seems they overshot the latitude, and could never reach the islands of Bermudas again. The master and the mate differed to an extremity about this, their reckonings being more than usually wide of one another, the storm having driven them a little out of their knowledge. The master being a positive man, insulted the mate about it, and threatened to expose him for it when he came to England. The mate was an excellent sea artist, and an experienced sailor, but withal a modest man; and though he insisted upon his being right, did it in respectful terms, and as it became him; but after several days' dispute, when the weather came to abate, and the heavens to clear up, that they could take their observations and know where they were, it appeared that the mate's account was right, and the captain was mistaken, for they were then in the latitude of 29 degrees, and quite out of the wake of the Bermudas.

The mate made no indecent use of the discovery at all, and the captain being convinced, carried it civilly to him, and so the heats were over among them; but the next question was, what they should do next? Some were for going one way, some another, but all agreed that they were not in a condition to go on the direct course for England, unless they could have a southerly or south-west wind, which had not been our fate since we came to sea.

Upon the whole, they resolved by consent to steer away to the Canaries, which was the nearest land they could make, except the Cape de Verd Islands, which were too much to the southward for us, if it could be avoided.

Upon this, they stood away N.E., and the wind hanging still westerly, or to the northward of the west, we made good way, and in about 15 days' sail we made the Pico Teneriffe, being a monstrous hill in one of the Canary Islands. Here we refreshed ourselves, got fresh water and some fresh provisions, and plenty of excellent wine, but no harbour to run into, to take care of the ship, which was leaky and tender, having had so much very bad weather; so we were obliged to do as well as we could, and put to sea again, after riding at the Canaries four days only.

From the Canaries we had tolerable weather and a smooth sea, till we came into the soundings, so they call the mouth of the British Channel, and the wind blowing hard at the N. and N.W. obliged us to keep a larger offing, as the seamen call it, at our entrance into the Channel, when, behold! in the grey of the morning, a French cruiser or privateer of 26 guns appeared, and crowded after us with all the sail they could make. In short, our captain exchanged a broadside or two with them, which was terrible work to me, for I had never seen such before, the Frenchman's guns having raked us, and killed and wounded six of our best men.

In short, after a fight long enough to show us that if we would not be taken we must resolve to sink by her side, for there was no room to expect deliverance, and a fight long enough to save the master's credit, we were taken, and the ship carried away to St. Maloes.

I was not much concerned for the loss I had in the ship, because I knew I had sufficient in the world somewhere or other; but as I was effectually stripped of everything I had about me, and even almost my clothes from my back, I was in but a very indifferent condition; but somebody informing the captain of the privateer that I was a passenger and a merchant, he called for me and inquired into my circumstances, and coming to hear from myself how I had been used, obliged the seamen to give me a coat and hat, and a pair of shoes, which they had taken off me, and himself gave me a morning-gown of his own to wear while I was in his ship, and, to give him his due, treated me very well.

I had, however, besides my being taken, the mortification to be detained on board the cruiser, and seeing the ship I was in manned with Frenchmen and sent away, as above, for St. Maloes; and this was a greater mortification to me afterwards, when, being brought into St. Maloes, I heard that our ship was re-taken in her passage to St. Maloes by an English man-of-war, and carried to Portsmouth.

When our ship was sent away, the Rover cruised abroad again in the mouth of the Channel for some time, but met with no purchase; at last they made a sail, which proved to be one of their nation, and one of their own trade, from whom they learned (the news having been carried to England, that some French privateers lay off and on in the soundings) that three English man-of-war were come out from Plymouth on purpose to cruise in the Channel, and that they would certainly meet with us. Upon this intelligence, the Frenchman, a bold, brave fellow, far from shrinking from his work, steers away N.E. for St. George's Channel, and in the latitude of 48 and a half, unhappily enough meets with a large and rich English ship, bound home from Jamaica; it was in the grey of the morning, and very clear, when a man on the roundtop cried out, *Au voile*, a sail. I was in hopes indeed, it had been the English man-of-war; and by the hurry and clutter they were in to get all ready for a fight, I concluded it was so, and got out of my hammock, for I had no cabin to lie in, that I might see what it was; but I soon found that my hopes were in vain, and it was on the wrong side; for that being on our larboard bow, the ship lying then northward to make the coast of Ireland, by the time I was turned out, I could perceive they had all their sails bent and full, having begun the chase, and making great way. On the other hand, it was evident the ship saw them too, and

knew what they were; and, to avoid them, stretched away with all the canvas they could lay on for the coast of Ireland, to run in there for harbour.

Our privateer, it was plain, infinitely outsailed her, running two feet for her one, and towards evening came up with them. Had they been able to have held it but six hours longer, they would have got into Limerick river, or somewhere under shore, so that we should not have ventured upon them; but we came up with them, and the captain, when he saw there was no remedy, bravely brought to, and prepared to fight. She was a ship of 30 guns, but deep in the sea, cumbered between decks with goods, and could not run out her lower deck guns, the sea also going pretty high, though at last she ventured to open her gun-room ports, and fire with three guns on a side; but her worst fate was, she sailed heavy, being deep loaden, and the Frenchman had run up by her side, and poured in his broadside, and was soon ready again. However, as she was well manned too, and that the English sailors bestirred themselves, they gave us their broadsides too very nimbly and heartily, and I found the Frenchman had a great many men killed at the first brush, but the next was worse for the English ship, though she did not sail so well as the Frenchman, was a bigger ship and strong built, and as we (the French) bore down upon them again, the English run boldly on board us, and laid thwart our hawse, lashing themselves fast to us. Then it was that the English captain run out his lower tier of guns, and indeed tore the Frenchman so, that, had he held it, the privateer would have had the worst of it. But the Frenchman, with admirable readiness indeed, and courage, the captain appearing everywhere with his sword in his hand, bestirred themselves, and loosing themselves from the English ship, thrusting her off with brooms, and pouring their small shot so thick, that the other could not appear upon deck; I say, clearing themselves thus, they came to lie a broadside of each other, when, by long firing, the English ship was at length disabled, her mizen-mast and bowsprit shot away, and, which was worst of all, her captain killed; so that, after a fight which held all night (for they fought in the dark), and part of the next day, they were obliged to strike.

I was civilly desired by the French captain to go down into the hold while the fight held, and, besides the civility of it, I found he was not willing I should be upon deck; perhaps he thought I might have some opportunity to do hurt, though I knew not how it could be. However, I was very ready to go down, for I had no mind to be killed, especially by my own friends, so I went down and sat by the surgeon, and had the opportunity to find, that the first broadside the English fired, seven wounded men were brought down to the surgeon, and 33 more afterward; that is to say, when the English lay thwart their bow; and after they cleared themselves there were about 11 more; so that they had 51 men wounded, and about 22 killed; the Englishman had 18 men killed and wounded, among whom was the captain.

The French captain, however, triumphed in this prize, for it was an exceeding rich ship, having abundance of silver on board; and after the ship was taken, and they had plundered all the great cabin afforded, which was very considerable, the mate promised the captain that, if he would give him his liberty, he would discover 6000 pieces-of-eight to him privately, which none of the men should know of; the captain engaged, and gave it under his hand to set him at liberty as soon as he came on shore. Accordingly, in the night, after all was either turned in, as they call it, or employed on the duty of the watch, the captain and the mate of the prize went on board, and having faithfully discovered the money, which lay in a place made on purpose to conceal it, the captain resolved to let it lie till they arrived, and then he conveyed it on shore for his own use; so that the owners, nor the seamen, ever came to any share of it, which by the way was a fraud in the captain; but the mate paid his ransom by the discovery, and the captain gave him his liberty very punctually, as he had promised, and 200 pieces-of-eight to carry him to England, and to make good his losses.

When he had made this prize, the captain thought of nothing more than how to get safe to France with her, for she was a ship sufficient to enrich all his men and his owners also. The account of her cargo, by the captain's books, of which I took a copy, was in general:

260 hogsheads of sugar.
187 smaller casks of sugar.
176 barrels of indigo.
28 casks of pimento.
42 bags of cotton wool.
80 cwt. of elephants' teeth.
60 small casks of rum.
18,000 pieces of eight, besides the 6000 concealed.
Several parcels of drugs, tortoise-shell, sweetmeats called succades, chocolate, lime juice, and other things of considerable value.

This was a terrible loss among the English merchants, and a noble booty for the rogues that took it; but as it was in open war, and by fair fighting, as they call it, there was no objection to be made against them, and, to give them their due, they fought bravely for it.

The captain was not so bold as to meet the English men-of-war before, but he was as wary now; for having a prize of such value in his hands, he was resolved not to lose her again if he could help it; so he stood away to the southward, and that so far, that I once thought he was resolved to go into the Straits, and home by Marseilles. But having sailed to the latitude of 45, 3 qrs., or thereabouts, he steered away east into the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, and carried us all into the river of Bourdeaux, where, on notice of his arrival with such a prize, his owners or principals came overland to see him, and where they consulted what to do with her. The money they secured, to be sure, and some of the cargo; but the ships sailed afterwards along the coast to St. Malo, taking the opportunity of some French men-of-war, which were cruising on the coast, to be their convoy as far as Ushant.

Here the captain rewarded and dismissed the English mate, as I have said, who got a passage from thence to Dieppe by sea, and after that into England, by the help of a passport, through Flanders to Ostend: the captain, it seems, the more willingly shipped him off, that he might not discover to others what he had discovered to him.

I was now at Bourdeaux, in France, and the captain asked me one morning what I intended to do. I did not understand him at first; but he soon gave me to understand that I was now either to be delivered up to the state as an English prisoner, and so be carried to Dinant, in Brittany, or to find means to have myself exchanged, or to pay my ransom, and this ransom he told me at first was 300 crowns.

I knew not what to do, but desired he would give me time to write to England to my friends; for that I had a cargo of goods sent to them by me from Virginia, but I did not know but it might have fallen into such hands as his were, and if it was, I knew not what would be my fate. He readily granted that, so I wrote by the post, and had the satisfaction, in answer to it, to hear that the ship I was taken in had been retaken, and carried into Portsmouth; which I doubted would have made my new master more strict, and perhaps insolent; but he said nothing of it to me, nor I to him, though, as I afterwards understood, he had advice of it before.

However, this was a help to me, and served to more than pay my ransom to the captain; and my correspondent in London, hearing of my being alive, and at Bourdeaux, immediately sent me a letter of credit upon an English merchant at Bourdeaux for whatever I might have occasion for. As soon as I received this, I went to the merchant, who honoured the letter of credit, and told me I should have what money I pleased. But as I, who was before a mere stranger in the place, and knew not what course to take, had now, as it were, a friend to communicate my affairs to and consult with, as soon as I told him my case, 'Hold,' says he, 'if that be your case, I may perhaps find a way to get you off without a ransom.'

There was, it seems, a ship bound home to France from Martinico, taken off Cape Finisterre by an English man-of-war, and a merchant of Rochelle being a passenger, was taken on board, and brought into Plymouth. This man had made great solicitation by his friends to be exchanged, pleading poverty, and that he was unable to pay any ransom. My friend told me something of it, but not much; only bade me not be too forward to pay any money to the captain, but pretend I could not hear from England. This I did till the captain appeared impatient.

After some time the captain told me I had used him ill; that I had made him expect a ransom, and he had treated me courteously, and been at expense to subsist me, and that I held him in suspense; but that, in short, if I did not procure the money, he would send me to Dinant in ten days, to lie there as the king's prisoner till I should be exchanged. My merchant gave me my cue, and by his direction I answered, I was very sensible of his civility, and sorry he should lose what expenses he had been at; but that I found my friends forgot me, and what to do I did not know, and that, rather than impose upon him, I must submit to go to Dinant, or where he thought fit to send me; but that if ever I obtained my liberty, and came into England, I would not fail to reimburse him what expense he had been at for my subsistence; and so, in short, made my case very bad in all my discourse. He shook his head and said little, but the next day entered me in the list of English prisoners to be at the king's charge, as appointed by the intendant of the place, and to be sent away into Brittany.

I was then out of the captain's power, and immediately the merchant, with two others who were friends to the merchant prisoner at Plymouth, went to the intendant, and gained an order for the exchange; and my friend giving security for my being forthcoming, in case the other was not delivered, I had my liberty immediately, and went home with him to his house.

Thus we bilked the captain of his ransom money; but, however, my friend went to him, and letting him know that I was exchanged by the governor's order, paid him whatever he could say he was in disburse on my account; and it was not then in the captain's power to object, or to claim anything for a ransom.

I got passage from hence to Dunkirk on board a French vessel, and having a certificate of an exchanged prisoner from the intendant at Bourdeaux, I had a passport given me to go into the Spanish Netherlands, and so whither I pleased.

Accordingly I came to Ghent, in April ——, just as the armies were going to take the field. I had no dislike to the business of the army, but I thought I was a little above it now, and had other things to look to; for that, in my opinion, nobody went into the field but those that could not live at home; and yet I resolved to see the manner of it a little too; so having made an acquaintance with an English officer, quartered at Ghent, I told him my intention, and he invited me to go with him, and offered me his protection as a volunteer, that I should quarter with him in his tent, and live as I would, and either carry arms or not, as I saw occasion.

The campaign was none of the hardest that had been, or was like to be; so that I had the diversion of seeing the service, as it was proper to call it, without much hazard; indeed, I did not see any considerable action, for there was not much fighting that campaign. As to the merit of the cause on either side I knew nothing of it, nor had I suffered any of the disputes about it to enter into my thoughts. The Prince of Orange had been made king of England, and the English troops were all on his side; and I heard a great deal of swearing and damning for King William among the soldiers; but as for fighting, I observed the French beat them several times, and particularly the regiment my friend belonged to was surrounded in a village where they were posted, I knew not upon what occasion, and all taken prisoners. But by great good hap, I being not in service, and so not in command, was strolled away that day to see the country about; for it was my delight to see the strong towns, and observe the beauty of their fortifications; and while I diverted myself thus, I had the happy deliverance of not being taken by the French for that time.

When I came back, I found the enemy possessed of the town; but as I was no soldier, they did me no harm, and having my French passport in my pocket, they gave me leave to go to Newport, where I took the packet-boat, and came over to England, landing at Deal instead of Dover, the weather forcing us into the Downs; and thus my short campaign ended, and this was my second essay at the trade of soldiering.

When I came to London, I was very well received by my friend, to whom I had consigned my effects, and I found myself in very good circumstances; for all my goods, which, as above, by several ships, I had consigned to him, came safe to hand; and my overseers that I had left behind, had shipped at several times 400 hogsheads of tobacco to my correspondent in my absence, being the product of my plantation, or part of it, for the time of my being abroad; so that I had above a thousand pounds in my factor's hands, 200 hogsheads of tobacco besides left in hand, not sold.

I had nothing to do now, but entirely to conceal myself from all that had any knowledge of me before, and this was the easiest thing in the world to do; for I was grown out of everybody's knowledge, and most of those I had known were grown out of mine. My captain, who went with me, or, rather, who carried me away, I found by inquiring at the proper place, had been rambling

about the world, came to London, fell into his own trade, which he could not forbear, and growing an eminent highwayman, had made his exit at the gallows, after a life of fourteen years most exquisite and successful rogueries, the particulars of which would make (as I observed) an admirable history. My other brother Jack, who I called major, followed the like wicked trade, but was a man of more gallantry and generosity; and having committed innumerable depredations upon mankind, yet had always so much dexterity as to bring himself off, till at last he was laid fast in Newgate, and loaded with irons, and would certainly have gone the same way as the captain; but he was so dexterous a rogue, that no gaol, no fetters, would hold him; and he, with two more, found means to knock off their irons, worked their way through the wall of the prison, and let themselves down on the outside in the night. So escaping, they found means to get into France, where he followed the same trade, and with so much success, that he grew famous by the name of Anthony, and had the honour, with three of his comrades, whom he had taught the English way of robbing generously (as they called it), without murdering or wounding, or ill-using those they robbed, I say, he had the honour to be broke upon the wheel at the Greve in Paris.

All these things I found means to be fully informed of, and to have a long account of the particulars of their conduct, from some of their comrades who had the good fortune to escape, and who I got the knowledge of, without letting them so much as guess at who I was, or upon what account I inquired.

I was now at the height of my good fortune; indeed I was in very good circumstances, and being of a frugal temper from the beginning, I saved things together as they came, and yet lived very well too; particularly I had the reputation of a very considerable merchant, and one that came over vastly rich from Virginia; and as I frequently bought supplies for my several families and plantations there, as they wrote to me for them, so I passed (I say) for a great merchant.

I lived single indeed, and in lodgings, but I began to be very well known, and though I had subscribed my name only Jack to my particular correspondent, yet the French, among whom I lived near a year (as I have said) not understanding what Jack meant, called me Monsieur Jacque, and Colonel Jacques, and so gradually Colonel Jacque; so I was called in the certificate of exchanging me with the other prisoner, so that I went so also into Flanders; upon which, and seeing my certificate of exchange (as above), I was called Colonel Jacques in England by my friend, who I called correspondent; and thus I passed for a foreigner, and a Frenchman, and I was infinitely fond of having everybody take me for a Frenchman; and as I spoke French very well, having learned it by continuing so long among them, so I went constantly to the French church in London, and spoke French upon all occasions, as much as I could; and, to complete the appearance of it, I got me a French servant to do my business, I mean as to my merchandise, which only consisted in receiving and disposing of tobacco, of which I had about 500 to 600 hogsheads a year from my own plantations, and in supplying my people with necessaries, as they wanted them.

In this private condition I continued about two years more, when the devil owing me a spleen ever since I refused being a thief, paid me home, with my interest, by laying a snare in my way, which had almost ruined me.

There dwelt a lady in the house opposite to the house I lodged in, who made an extraordinary figure indeed; she went very well dressed, and was a most beautiful person. She was well-bred, sung admirably fine, and sometimes I could hear her very distinctly, the houses being over against one another, in a narrow court, not much unlike Three-King-court in Lombard-street.

This lady put herself so often in my way, that I could not in good manners forbear taking notice of her, and giving her the ceremony of my hat, when I saw her at the window, or at the door, or when I passed her in the court, so that we became almost acquainted at a distance. Sometimes she also visited at the house I lodged at, and it was generally contrived that I should be introduced when she came, and thus by degrees we became more intimately acquainted, and often conversed together in the family, but always in public, at least for a great while.

I was a mere boy in the affair of love, and knew the least of what belonged to a woman of any man in Europe of my age; the thoughts of a wife, much less of a mistress, had never so much as taken the least hold of my head, and I had been till now as perfectly unacquainted with the sex, and as unconcerned about them, as I was when I was ten years old, and lay in a heap of ashes at a glass-house.

But I know not by what witchcraft in the conversation of this woman, and her singling me out upon several occasions, I began to be ensnared, I knew not how, or to what end; and was on a sudden so embarrassed in my thoughts about her, that, like a charm, she had me always in her circle. If she had not been one of the subtlest women on earth, she could never have brought me to have given myself the least trouble about her; but I was drawn in by the magic of a genius capable to deceive a more wary capacity than mine, and it was impossible to resist her.

She attacked me without ceasing, with the fineness of her conduct, and with arts which were impossible to be ineffectual; she was ever, as it were, in my view, often in my company, and yet kept herself so on the reserve, so surrounded continually with obstructions, that for several months after she could perceive I sought an opportunity to speak to her, she rendered it impossible, nor could I ever break in upon her, she kept her guard so well.

This rigid behaviour was the greatest mystery that could be, considering, at the same time, that she never declined my seeing her, or conversing with me in public; but she held it on, she took care never to sit next me, that I might slip no paper into her hand, or speak softly to her; she kept somebody or other always between, that I could never come up to her; and thus, as if she was resolved really to have nothing to do with me, she held me at the bay several months.

All this while nothing was more certain than that she intended to have me, if she could catch, and it was indeed a kind of a catch, for she managed all by art, and drew me in with the most resolute backwardness, that it was almost impossible not to be deceived by it. On the other hand, she did not appear to be a woman despicable, neither was she poor, or in a condition that should require so much art to draw any man in; but the cheat was really on my side, for she was unhappily told that I was vastly rich, a great merchant, and that she would live like a queen, which I was not at all instrumental in putting upon her, neither did I know that she went upon that motive.

She was too cunning to let me perceive how

easy she was to be had; on the contrary, she run all the hazards of bringing me to neglect her entirely, that one would think any woman in the world could do; and I have wondered often since, that how it was possible it should fail of making me perfectly averse to her; for as I had a perfect indifferency for the whole sex, and never, till then, entertained any notion of them, they were no more to me than a picture hanging up against a wall.

As we conversed freely together in public, so she took a great many occasions to rally the men, and the weakness they were guilty of, in letting the women insult them as they did. She thought if the men had not been fools, marriage had been only treaties of peace between two neighbours, or alliances offensive or defensive, which must necessarily have been carried on sometimes by interviews and personal treaties, but oftener by ambassadors, agents, and emissaries on both sides; but that the women had outwitted us, and brought us upon our knees, and made us whine after them, and lower ourselves, so as we could never pretend to gain our equality again.

I told her I thought it was a decency to the ladies, to give them the advantage of denying a little, that they might be courted, and that I should not like a woman the worse for denying me. 'I expect it, madam,' says I, 'when I wait on you to-morrow,' intimating that I intended it. 'You shan't be deceived, sir,' says she, 'for I'll deny now, before you ask me the question.'

I was dashed so effectually, with so malicious, so devilish an answer, that I returned with a little sullenness, 'I shan't trespass upon you yet, madam, and I shall be very careful not to offend you when I do.'

'It is the greatest token of your respect, sir,' says she, 'that you are able to bestow upon me, and the most agreeable too, except one, which I will not be out of hopes of obtaining of you in a little time.'

'What is in my power to oblige you in, madam,' said I, 'you may command me in at any time, especially the way we are talking of;' this I spoke still with a resentment very sincere.

'It is only, sir, that you would promise to hate me with as much sincerity as I will endeavour to make you a suitable return.'

'I granted that request, madam, seven years before you asked it,' said I; 'for I heartily hated the whole sex, and scarce know how I came to abate that good disposition in compliment to your conversation; but I assure you that abatement is so little, that it does no injury to your proposal.'

'There's some mystery in that indeed, sir,' said she; 'for I desired to assist your aversion to women in a more particular manner, and hoped it should never abate under my management.' We said a thousand ill-natured things after this, but she outdid me, for she had such a stock of bitterness upon her tongue, as no woman ever went beyond her, and yet all this while she was the pleasantest and most obliging creature in every part of our conversation that could possibly be, and meant not one word of what she said, no, not a word. But I must confess it no way answered her end, for it really cooled all my thoughts of her; and I, that had lived in so perfect an indifferency to the sex all my days, was easily returned to that condition again, and began to grow very cold and negligent in my usual respects to her upon all occasions.

She soon found she had gone too far with me; and, in short, that she was extremely out in her politics; that she had to do with one that was not listed yet among the whining sort of lovers, and knew not what it was to adore a mistress in order to abuse her; and that it was not with me as it was with the usual sort of men in love, that are warmed by the cold, and rise in their passions as the ladies fall in their returns. On the contrary, she found that it was quite altered: I was civil to her, as before, but not so forward; when I saw her at her chamber window, I did not throw mine open, as I usually had done, to talk with her; when she sung in the parlour, where I could easily hear it, I did not listen; when she visited at the house where I lodged, I did not always come down, or if I did, I had business which obliged me to go abroad; and yet all this while, when I did come into her company I was as intimate as ever.

I could easily see that this madded her to the heart, and that she was perplexed to the last degree, for she found that she had all her game to play over again; that so absolute a reservedness, even to rudeness and ill manners, was a little too much; but she was a mere posture-mistress in love, and could put herself into what shapes she pleased.

She was too wise to show a fondness, or forwardness that looked like kindness; she knew that was the meanest and last step a woman can take, and lays her under the foot of the man she pretends to; but she was not come to that neither. This cameleon put on another colour, turned, on a sudden, the gravest, soberest, majestic madam, so that any one would have thought she was advanced in age in one week from two and twenty to fifty, and this she carried on with so much government of herself, that it did not in the least look like art; but if it was a representation of nature only, it was so like nature itself that nobody living can be able to distinguish. She sung very often in her parlour, as well by herself as with two young ladies who came often to see her; I could see by their books, and her guitar in her hand, that she was singing, but she never opened the window, as she was wont to do; upon my coming to my window, she kept her own always shut, or if it was open, she would be sitting at work, and not look up, it may be, once in half an hour.

If she saw me by accident all this while, she would smile, and speak as cheerfully as ever, but it was but a word or two, and so make her honours and be gone; so that, in a word, we conversed just as we did after I had been there a week.

She tired me quite out at this work; for though I began the strangeness, indeed, yet I did not design the carrying it on so far; but she held it to the last, just in the same manner as she began it. She came to the house where I lodged as usual, and we were often together, supped together, played at cards together, danced together; for in France I accomplished myself with everything that was needful to make me what I believed myself to be even from a boy, I mean a gentleman; I say, we conversed together, as above, but she was so perfectly another thing to what she used to be in every part of her conversation, that it presently occurred to me that her former behaviour was a kind of a rant, or fit; that either it was the effect of some extraordinary levity that had come upon her, or that it was done to mimic the coquettes of the town, believing it might take with me, who she thought was a Frenchman, and that it was what I loved; but her new gravity was her real natural temper, and indeed it became her so much better, or, as I should say, she acted it so well, that it really brought me back to have

not as much only, but more mind to her than ever I had before.

However, it was a great while before I discovered myself, and I stayed indeed to find out, if possible, whether this change was real or counterfeit; for I could not easily believe it was possible the gay humour she used to appear in could be a counterfeit. It was not, therefore, till a year and almost a quarter, that I came to any resolution in my thoughts about her, when, on a mere accident, we came to a little conversation together.

She came to visit at our house as usual, and it happened all the ladies were gone abroad; but, as it fell out, I was in the passage, or entry of the house, going towards the stairs, when she knocked at the door; so stepping back, I opened the door, and she, without any ceremony, came in, and ran forward into the parlour, supposing the women had been there. I went in after her, as I could do no less, because she did not know that the family was abroad.

Upon my coming in she asked for the ladies; I told her, I hoped she came to visit me now, for that the ladies were all gone abroad. 'Are they?' (said she), as if surprised (though I understood afterwards she knew it before, as also that I was at home), and then rises up to be gone. 'No, madam,' said I, 'pray do not go; when ladies come to visit me, I do not use to tire them of my company so soon.' 'That's as ill-natured,' says she, 'as you could possibly talk. Pray don't pretend I came to visit you. I am satisfied who I came to visit, and satisfied that you know it.' 'Yes, madam,' said I; 'but if I happen to be all of the family that's left at home, then you came to visit me.'

'I never receive visits from those that I hate,' says she.

'You have me there, indeed,' said I; 'but you never gave me leave to tell you why I hated you. I hated you because you would never give me an opportunity to tell you I loved you; sure, you took me for some frightful creature, that you would never come near enough, so much as to let me whisper to you that I love you.'

'I never care to hear anything so disagreeable,' says she, 'though it be spoken ever so softly.'

We rallied thus for an hour; in short, she showed the abundance of her wit, and I an abundant deficiency of mine; for though three or four times she provoked me to the last degree, so that once I was going to tell her I had enough of her company, and if she pleased, I would wait upon her to the door; yet she had always so much witchcraft on her tongue, that she brought herself off again; till, to make the story short, we came at last to talk seriously on both sides about matrimony, and she heard me freely propose it, and answered me directly upon many occasions. For example, she told me I would carry her away to France, or to Virginia, and that she could not think of leaving England, her native country. I told her, I hoped she did not take me for a kidnapper. By the way, I did not tell her how I had been kidnapped myself. She said no; but the consequence of my affairs, which were it seems mostly abroad, might oblige me to go, and she could never think of marrying any man that she could not be content to go all over the world with, if he had occasion to go himself. This was handsomely expressed, indeed. I made her easy on that point, and thus we began the grand parley, which, indeed, she drew me into with the utmost art and subtlety, such as was peculiar to herself, but was infinitely her advantage in our treating of marriage; for she made me effectually court her, though, at the same time, in her design she courted me with the utmost skill, and such skill it was, that her design was perfectly impenetrable to the last moment.

In short, we came nearer and nearer every time we met, and after one casual visit more, in which I had the mighty favour of talking with her alone, I then waited on her every day at her own house, or lodgings rather; and so we set about the work to a purpose, and in about a month we gave the world the slip, and were privately married, to avoid ceremony, and the public inconveniency of a wedding.

We soon found a house proper for our dwelling, and so went to housekeeping. We had not been long together, but I found that gay temper of my wife returned, and she threw off the mask of her gravity and good conduct, that I had so long fancied was her mere natural disposition; and now, having no more occasion for disguises, she resolved to seem nothing but what really she was, a wild, untamed colt, perfectly loose and careless to conceal any part, no, not the worst of her conduct.

She carried on this air of levity to such an excess, that I could not but be dissatisfied at the expense of it, for she kept company that I did not like, lived beyond what I could support, and sometimes lost at play more than I cared to pay; upon which, one day, I took occasion to mention it, but lightly, and said to her, by way of raillery, that we lived merrily for as long as it would last. She turned short upon me: 'What do you mean,' says she; 'why, you do not pretend to be uneasy, do ye?' 'No, no, madam, not I, by no means. It is no business of mine, you know,' said I, 'to inquire what my wife spends, or whether she spends more than I can afford, or less. I only desire the favour to know, as near as you can guess, how long you will please to take to despatch me, for I would not be too long a dying.'

'I do not know what you talk of,' says she; 'you may die as leisurely or as hastily as you please, when your time comes. I an't a going to kill you, as I know of.'

'But you are a going to starve me, madam,' said I; 'and hunger is as leisurely a death as breaking upon the wheel.'

'I starve you! Why, are not you a great Virginian merchant; and did I not bring you £1500? What would you have? Sure, you can maintain a wife out of that, can't you?'

'Yes, madam,' says I, 'I could maintain a wife, but not a gamester, though you had brought me £1500 a year; no estate is big enough for a box and dice.'

She took fire at that, and flew out in a passion, and, after a great many bitter words, told me, in short, that she saw no occasion to alter her conduct; and as for my not maintaining her, when I could not maintain her longer, she would find some way or other to maintain herself.

Some time after the first rattle of this kind, she vouchsafed to let me know that she was pleased to be with child. I was at first glad of it, in hopes it would help to abate her madness; but it was all one; and her being with child only added to the rest, for she made such preparations for her lying-in, and the other appendixes of a child's being born, that, in short, I found she would be downright distracted; and I took the liberty to tell her one day, that she would soon bring herself and me to destruction, and entreated her to consider that such figures as those were quite above us, and out of our circle; and, in short, that I neither could nor would allow such expenses; that, at this rate, two or three children

would effectually ruin me, and that I desired her to consider what she was doing.

She told me, with an air of disdain, that it was none of her business to consider anything of that matter; that if I could not allow it, she would allow it herself, and I might do my worst.

I begged her to consider things for all that, and not drive me to extremities; that I married her to love and cherish her, and use her as a good wife ought to be used, but not to be ruined and undone by her. In a word, nothing could mollify her, nor any argument persuade her to moderation; but withal she took it so heinously that I should pretend to restrain her, that she told me, in so many words, she would drop her burthen with me, and then, if I did not like it, she would take care of herself, she would not live with me an hour, for she would not be restrained, not she; and talked a long while at that rate.

I told her, as to her child, which she called her burthen, it should be no burthen to me; as to the rest, she might do as she pleased. It might, however, do me this favour, that I should have no more lyings-in at the rate of £136 at a time, as I found she intended it should be now. She told me she could not tell that; if she had no more by me, she hoped she should by somebody else. 'Say you so, madam?' said I. 'Then they that get them shall keep them.' She did not know that, neither, she said, and so turned it off jeering, and as it were laughing at me.

This last discourse nettled me, I must confess; and the more, because I had a great deal of it, and very often; till, in short, we began at length to enter into a friendly treaty about parting.

Nothing could be more criminal than the several discourses we had upon this subject. She demanded a separate maintenance, and, in particular, at the rate of £300 a year; and I demanded security of her that she should not run me in debt. She demanded the keeping of the child, with an allowance of £100 a year for that, and I demanding that I should be secured from being charged for keeping any she might have by somebody else, as she had threatened me.

In the interval, and during these contests, she dropped her burthen (as she called it), and brought me a son, a very fine child.

She was content, during her lying-in, to abate a little, though it was but a very little indeed, of the great expense she had intended, and, with some difficulty and persuasion, was content with a suit of childbed-linen of £15, instead of one she had intended of threescore; and this she magnified as a particular testimony of her condescension, and a yielding to my avaricious temper, as she called it.

But after she was up again, it was the same thing; and she went on with her humour to that degree, that in a little time she began to carry it on to other excesses, and to have a sort of fellows come to visit her, which I did not like; and once, in particular, stayed abroad all night. The next day, when she came home, she began to cry out first; told me where (as she said) she lay, and that the occasion was a christening, where the company had a feast, and stayed too late; that, if I was dissatisfied, I might inform myself there of all the particulars, where she lay, and the like. I told her coldly, 'Madam, you do well to suggest my being dissatisfied, for you may be sure I am, and you could expect no other; that as to going to your haunts to inform myself, that is not my business. It is your business to bring testimonies of your behaviour, and to prove where you lay, and in what company; it is enough to me that you lay out of your own house, without your husband's knowledge or consent; and before you and I converse again, I must have some satisfaction of the particulars.'

She answered, With all her heart; she was as indifferent as I; and since I took so ill her lying at a friend's house on an extraordinary occasion, she gave me to understand that it was what she would have me expect, and what she would have the liberty to do when she thought fit.

'Well, madam,' said I, 'if I must expect what I cannot allow, you must expect I shall shut my doors by day, against those that keep out of them at night.'

She would try me, she said very speedily; and if I shut the doors against her, she would find a way to make me open them.

'Well, madam,' says I, 'you threaten me hard, but I would advise you to consider before you take such measures, for I shall be as good as my word.' However, it was not long that we could live together upon these terms; for I found very quickly what company she kept, and that she took a course which I ought not to bear; so I began the separation first, and refused her my bed. We had indeed refrained all converse as husband and wife for about two months before, for I told her very plainly I would father no brats that were not of my own getting; and matters coming thus gradually to an extremity, too great to continue as it was, she went off one afternoon, and left me a line in writing, signifying that affairs had come to such a pass between us, that she did not think fit to give me the opportunity of shutting her out of doors, and that therefore she had retired herself to such a place; naming a relation of her own, as scandalous as herself; and that she hoped I would not give her the trouble to sue for her support in the ordinary course of law, but that, as her occasions required, she should draw bills upon me, which she expected I would not refuse.

I was extremely satisfied with this proceeding, and took care to let her hear of it, though I gave no answer at all to her letter; and as I had taken care before, that whenever she played such a prank as this, she should not be able to carry much with her, so, after she was gone, I immediately broke up housekeeping, sold my furniture by public outcry, and in it everything in particular that was her own, and set a bill upon my door, giving her to understand by it that she had passed the Rubicon; that as she had taken such a step of her own accord, so there was no room left her ever to think of coming back again.

This was what any one may believe I should not have done, if I had seen any room for a reformation; but she had given me such testimonies of a mind alienated from her husband, in particular espousing her own unsufferable levity, that there was indeed no possibility of our coming afterwards to any terms again.

However, I kept a couple of trusty agents so near her, that I failed not to have a full account of her conduct, though I never let her know anything of me, but that I was gone over to France. As to her bills which she said she would draw upon me, she was as good as her word in drawing one of £30, which I refused to accept, and never gave her leave to trouble me with another.

It is true, and I must acknowledge it, that all this was a very melancholy scene of life to me; and but that she took care, by carrying herself to the last degree provoking, and continually to insult me, I could never have gone on to the parting with so much resolution, for I really loved her very sincerely, and could have been

anything but a beggar and a cuckold with her; but those were intolerable to me, especially as they were put upon me with so much insult and rudeness.

But my wife carried it at last to a point that made all things light and easy to me, for after above a year's separation, and keeping such company as she thought fit, she was pleased to be with child again, in which she had, however, so much honesty as not to pretend that she had had anything to do with me. What a wretched life she led after this, and how she brought herself to the utmost extremity of misery and distress, I may speak of hereafter.

I had found, soon after our parting, that I had a great deal of reason to put myself into a posture at first not to be imposed upon by her; for I found very quickly that she had run herself into debt in several places very considerably; and that it was upon a supposition that I was liable to those debts. But I was gone, and it was absolutely necessary I should do so; upon which, she found herself obliged, out of her wicked gains, however, whatever she made of them, to discharge most of those debts herself.

As soon as she was delivered of her child, in which my intelligence was so good, that I had gotten sufficient proof of it, I sued her in the ecclesiastical court, in order to obtain a divorce; and as she found it impossible to avoid it, so she declined the defence, and I gained a legal decree, or what they call it, of divorce, in the usual time of such process; and now I thought myself a freeman once again, and began to be sick of wedlock with all my heart.

I lived retired, because I knew she had contracted debts which I should be obliged to pay, and I was resolved to be gone out of her reach, with what speed I could; but it was necessary that I should stay till the Virginia fleet came in, because I looked for at least 300 hogsheads of tobacco from thence, which I knew would heal all my breaches; for, indeed, the extravagance of three years with this lady had sunk me most effectually, even far beyond her own fortune, which was considerable, though not quite £1500, as she had called it.

But all the mischiefs I met with on account of this match were not over yet; for, when I had been parted with her about three months, and had refused to accept her bill of £30, which I mentioned above, though I was removed from my first lodgings too, and thought I had effectually secured myself from being found out, yet there came a gentleman well dressed to my lodgings one day, and was let in before I knew of it, or else I should scarce have admitted him.

He was led into a parlour, and I came down to him in my gown and slippers; when I came into the room, he called me as familiarly by my name as if he had known me twenty years, and pulling out a pocket-book, he shows me a bill upon me, drawn by my wife, which was the same bill for £30 that I had refused before.

'Sir,' says I, 'this bill has been presented before, and I gave my answer to it then.'

'Answer, sir,' says he, with a kind of jeering, taunting air; 'I do not understand what you mean by an answer. It is not a question, sir, it is a bill to be paid.'

'Well, sir,' says I, 'it is a bill, I know that, and I gave my answer to it before.'

'Sir, sir,' says he, very saucily, 'your answer! There is no answer to a bill, it must be paid; bills are to be paid, not to be answered. They say you are a merchant, sir; merchants always pay their bills.'

I began to be angry too a little, but I did not like my man, for I found he began to be quarrelsome; however, I said, 'Sir, I perceive you are not much used to presenting bills. Sir, a bill is always first presented, and presenting is a question; it is asking if I will accept or pay the bill, and then whether I say yes or no, it is an answer one way or other. After it is accepted, it indeed requires no more answer one way or other; after it is accepted, it indeed requires no more answer but payment when it is due. If you please to inform yourself, this is the usage which all merchants or tradesmen of any kind, who have bills drawn upon them, act by.'

'Well, sir,' says he, 'and what then? What is this to the paying me the £30?'

'Why, sir,' says I, 'it is this to it, that I told the person that brought it, I should not pay it.'

'Not pay it!' says he, 'but you shall pay it. Ay, ay, you will pay it.'

'She that draws it has no reason to draw any bills upon me, I am sure,' said I, 'and I shall pay no bills she draws, I assure you.'

Upon this, he turns short upon me. 'Sir, she that draws this bill is a person of too much honour to draw any bill without reason, and it is an affront to say so of her, and I shall expect satisfaction of you for that by itself; but first the bill, sir, the bill; you must pay the bill, sir.'

I returned as short. 'Sir, I affront nobody; I know the person as well as you, I hope, and what I have said of her is no affront; she can have no reason to draw bills upon me, for I owe her nothing.'

I omit intermingling the oaths he laced his speech with, as too foul for my paper; but he told me he would make me know she had friends to stand by her; that I had abused her, and he would let me know it, and do her justice; but first, I must pay his bill.

I answered in short, I would not pay the bill, nor any bills she should draw.

With that he steps to the door and shuts it, and swore by G—d he would make me pay the bill before we parted; and laid his hand upon his sword, but did not draw it out.

I confess I was frightened to the last degree, for I had no sword, and if I had, I must own that, though I had learned a great many good things in France, to make me look like a gentleman, I had forgot the main article of learning how to use a sword, a thing so universally practised there; and to say more, I had been perfectly unacquainted with quarrels of this nature; so that I was perfectly surprised when he shut the door, and knew not what to say or do.

However, as it happened, the people of the house hearing us pretty loud, came near the door, and made a noise in the entry, to let me know they were at hand; and one of the servants going to open the door, and finding it locked, called out to me, 'Sir, for God's sake open the door! What is the matter? Shall we fetch a constable?' I made no answer, but it gave me courage; so I sat down composed in one of the chairs, and said to him, 'Sir, this is not the way to make me pay the bill; you had much better be easy, and take your satisfaction another way.'

He understood me of fighting, which upon my word was not in my thoughts, but I meant that he had better take his course at law.

'With all my heart,' says he, 'they say you are a gentleman, and they call you Colonel. Now, if you are a gentleman, I accept your challenge, sir, and if you will walk out with me, I will take it for full payment of the bill, and will decide it as gentlemen ought to do.'

'I challenge you, sir!' said I, 'not I, I made no challenge. I said, this is not the way to make me pay a bill that I have not accepted; that is, that you had better seek your satisfaction at law.'

'Law!' says he, 'law! gentleman's law is my law; in short, sir, you shall pay me or fight me;' and then, as if he had mistaken, he turns short upon me: 'Nay,' says he, 'you shall both fight me and pay me, for I will maintain her honour;' and in saying this, he bestowed about six or seven damme's and oaths, by way of parenthesis.

This interval delivered me effectually, for just at the word 'Fight me, for I will maintain her honour,' the maid had brought in a constable, with three or four neighbours to assist him.

He heard them come in, and began to be a little in a rage, and asked me if I intended to mob him instead of paying; and laying his hand on his sword, told me, if any man offered to break in upon him, he would run me through the first moment, that he might have the fewer to deal with afterwards.

I told him he knew I had called for no help, believing he could not be earnest in what he had said, and that if anybody attempted to come in upon us, it was to prevent the mischief he threatened, and which he might see I had no weapons to resist.

Upon this the constable called, and charged us both in the king's name to open the door. I was sitting in a chair, and offered to rise; he made a motion as if he would draw, upon which I sat down again, and the door not being opened, the constable set his foot against it and came in.

'Well, sir,' says my gentleman, 'and what now? what is your business here?' 'Nay, sir,' says the constable, 'you see my business, I am a peace-officer, all I have to do is to keep the peace; and I find the people of the house frightened for fear of mischief between you, and they have fetched me to prevent it.' 'What mischief have they supposed you should find?' says he. 'I suppose,' says the constable, 'they were afraid you should fight.' 'That is because they did not know this fellow here; he never fights. They call him Colonel,' says he; 'I suppose he might be born a colonel, for I dare say he was born a coward; he never fights, he dares not see a man; if he would have fought, he would have walked out with me, but he scorns to be brave; they would never have talked to you of fighting, if they had known him. I tell you, Mr. Constable, he is a coward, and a coward is a rascal;' and with that he came to me, and stroked his finger down my nose pretty hard, and laughed and mocked most horridly, as if I was a coward. Now, for aught I knew, it might be true, but I was now what they call a coward made desperate, which is one of the worst of men in the world to encounter with, for being in a fury, I threw my head in his face, and closing with him, threw him fairly on his back by main strength, and had not the constable stepped in and taken me off, I had certainly stamped him to death with my feet, for my blood was now all in a flame, and the people of the house were frightened now as much the other way, lest I should kill him, though I had no weapon at all in my hand.

The constable too reproved me in his turn; but I said to him, 'Mr. Constable, do not you think I am sufficiently provoked? Can any man bear such things as these? I desire to know who this man is, and who sent him hither?'

'I am,' says he, 'a gentleman, and come with a bill to him for money, and he refuses to pay it.' 'Well,' says the constable very prudently, 'that is none of my business, I am no justice of the peace to hear the cause; be that among yourselves, but keep your hands off one another, and that is as much as I desire. And therefore, sir,' says the constable to him, 'if I may advise you, seeing he will not pay the bill, and that must be decided between you as the law directs, I would have you leave it for the present, and go quietly away.'

He made many impertinent harangues about the bill, and insisted that it was drawn by my own wife. I said angrily, then it was drawn by a whore. He bullied me upon that, told me I durst not tell him so anywhere else; so I answered, I would very soon publish her for a whore to all the world, and cry her down; and thus we scolded for near half an hour, for I took courage when the constable was there, for I knew that he would keep us from fighting, which indeed I had no mind to, and so at length I got rid of him.

I was heartily vexed at this rencounter, and the more, because I had been found out in my lodging, which I thought I had effectually concealed. However, I resolved to remove the next day, and in the meantime I kept within doors all that day till the evening, and then I went out in order not to return thither any more.

Being come out into Gracechurch-street, I observed a man follow me, with one of his legs tied up in a string, and hopping along with the other, and two crutches. He begged for a farthing; but I inclining not to give him anything, the fellow followed me still, 'I have nothing for you! Pray do not be so troublesome!' with which words he knocked me down with his crutches.

Being stunned with the blow, I knew nothing what was done to me afterwards; but coming to myself again, I found I was wounded very frightfully in several places, and that among the rest my nose was slit upwards, one of my ears almost cut off, and a great cut with a sword on the side of the forehead, also a stab into the body, though not dangerous.

Who had been near me, or struck me, besides the cripple that struck me with his crutch, I knew not, nor do I know to this hour; but I was terribly wounded, and lay bleeding on the ground some time, till, coming to myself, I got strength to cry out for help; and people coming about me, I got some hands to carry me to my lodging, where I lay by it more than two months before I was well enough to go out of doors, and when I did go out, I had reason to believe that I was waited for by some rogues, who watched an opportunity to repeat the injury I had met with before.

This made me very uneasy, and I resolved to get myself out of danger if possible, and to go over to France, or home, as I called it, to Virginia, so to be out of the way of villains and assassinations; for every time I stirred out here, I thought I went in danger of my life; and therefore, as before, I went out at night, thinking to be concealed, so now I never went out but in open day, that I might be safe, and never without one or two servants to be my lifeguard.

But I must do my wife a piece of justice here too, and that was, that hearing what had befallen me, she wrote me a letter, in which she treated me more decently than she had been wont to do. She said she was very sorry to hear how I had been used, and the rather, because she understood it was on presenting her bill to me. She said she hoped I could not, in my worst dispositions, think so hardly of her, as to believe it was done by her knowledge or consent, much less by her

order or direction; that she abhorred such things, and protested, if she had the least knowledge, or so much as a guess at the villains concerned, she would discover them to me. She let me know the person's name to whom she gave the bill, and where he lived, and left it to me to oblige him to discover the person who had brought it, and used me so ill, and wished I might find him, and bring him to justice, and have him punished with the utmost severity of the law.

I took this so kindly of my wife, that I think in my conscience, had she come after it herself, to see how I did, I had certainly taken her again; but she satisfied herself with the civility of another letter, and desiring me to let her know as often as I could how I was, adding, that it would be infinitely to her satisfaction to hear I was recovered of the hurt I had received, and that he was hanged at Tyburn who had done it.

She used some expressions, signifying, as I understood them, her affliction at our parting, and her continued respect for me, but did not make any motion towards returning. Then she used some arguments to me to pay her bills: intimating that she had brought me a large fortune, and now had nothing to subsist on, which was very severe.

I wrote her an answer to this letter, though I had not to the other, letting her know how I had been used; that I was satisfied, upon her letter, that she had no hand in it, that it was not in her nature to treat me so, who had never injured her, used any violence with her, or been the cause or desire of our parting: that, as to her bill, she could not but know how much her expensive way of living had straitened and reduced me, and would, if continued, have ruined me; that she had in less than three years spent more than as much as she brought to me, and would not abate her expensive way, though calmly entreated by me, with protestations that I could not support so great an expense, but chose rather to break up her family and go from me, than to restrain herself to reasonable limits, though I used no violence with her, but entreaties and earnest persuasions, backed with good reason; letting her know how my estate was, and convincing her that it must reduce us to poverty at least; that, however, if she would recall her bill, I would send her £30, which was the sum mentioned in her bill, and, according to my ability, would not let her want, if she pleased to live within due bounds; but then I let her know also, that I had a very bad account of her conduct, and that she kept company with a scandalous fellow, who I named to her; that I was loath to believe such things of her, but that, to put an entire end to the report, and restore her reputation, I let her know that still, after all I had heard, if she would resolve to live without restraints, within the reasonable bounds of my capacity, and treat me with the same kindness, affection, and tenderness as I always had treated her, and ever would, I was willing to receive her again, and would forget all that was past; but that, if she declined me now, it would be for ever; for if she did not accept my offer, I was resolved to stay here no longer, where I had been so ill-treated on many occasions, but was preparing to go into my own country, where I would spend my days in quiet, and in a retreat from the world.

She did not give such an answer to this as I expected; for though she thanked me for the £10, yet she insisted upon her justification in all other points; and though she did not refuse to return to me, yet she did not say she accepted it, and, in short, said little or nothing to it, only a kind of claim to a reparation of her injured reputation, and the like.

This gave me some surprise at first, for I thought, indeed, any woman in her circumstances would have been very willing to have put an end to all her miseries, and to the reproach which was upon her, by a reconciliation, especially considering she subsisted at that time but very meanly. But there was a particular reason which prevented her return, and which she could not plead to in her letter, yet was a good reason against accepting an offer which she would otherwise have been glad of; and this was, that as I have mentioned above, she had fallen into bad company, and had prostituted her virtue to some of her flatterers, and, in short, was with child; so that she durst not venture to accept my offer.

However, as I observed above, she did not absolutely refuse it, intending (as I understood afterward) to keep the treaty of it on foot, till she could drop her burthen, as she called it before; and having been delivered privately, have accepted my proposal afterward; and, indeed, this was the most prudent step she could take, or, as we may say, the only step she had left to take. But I was too many for her here too; my intelligence about her was too good for her to conceal such an affair from me, unless she had gone away before she was visibly big, and unless she had gone farther off too than she did, for I had an account to a tittle of the time when, and place where, and the creature of which she was delivered, and then my offers of taking her again were at an end, though she wrote me several penitent letters, acknowledging her crime, and begging me to forgive her; but my spirit was above all that now, nor could I ever bear the thoughts of her after that, but pursued a divorce, and accordingly obtained it, as I have mentioned already.

Things being at this pass, I resolved (as I have observed above) to go over to France, after I had received my effects from Virginia, and accordingly I came to Dunkirk in the year 1700, and here I fell into company with some Irish officers of the regiment of Dillon, who by little and little entered me into the army, and, by the help of Lieutenant-General Connor, an Irishman, and some money, I obtained a company in his regiment, and so went into the army directly.

I was exceedingly pleased with my new circumstances, and now, I used to say to myself, I was come to what I was born to, and that I had never till now lived the life of a gentleman.

Our regiment, after I had been some time in it, was commanded into Italy, and one of the most considerable actions that I was in was the famous attack upon Cremona, in the Milanese, where the Germans being privately, and by treachery, let into the town in the night, through a kind of common sewer, surprised the town, and got possession of the greatest part of it, surprising the Mareschal Duke de Villeroy, and taking him prisoner as he came out of his quarters, and beating the few French troops which were left in the citadel; but were in the middle of their victory so boldly and resolutely attacked by two Irish regiments, who were quartered in the street leading to the river Po, and who kept possession of the water-gate, or Po gate of the town, by which the German reinforcements should have come in, that after a most desperate fight, the Germans had their victory wrung out of their hands, and not being able to break through us to let in their friends, were obliged at length to quit the town again, to the eternal honour of

those Irish regiments, and indeed of their whole nation, and for which we had a very handsome compliment from the king of France.

I now had the satisfaction of knowing, and that for the first time too, that I was not that cowardly low-spirited wretch that I was when the fellow bullied me in my lodgings about the bill of £30. Had he attacked me now, though in the very same condition, I should, naked and unarmed as I was, have flown in the face of him, and trampled him under my feet; but men never know themselves till they are tried, and courage is acquired by time, and experience of things.

Philip de Comines tells us that after the battle of Monteleri, the Count de Charolois, who till then had an utter aversion to the war, and abhorred it, and everything that belonged to it, was so changed by the glory he obtained in that action, and by the flattery of those about him, that afterwards the army was his mistress, and the fatigues of war his chief delight. It is too great an example for me to bring in my own case; but so it was, that they flattered me so with my bravery, as they called it, on the occasion of this action, that I fancied myself brave, whether I was so or not, and the pride of it made me bold and daring to the last degree on all occasions; but what added to it was that somebody gave a particular account to the court of my being instrumental to the saving the city and the whole Cremonese, by my extraordinary defence of the Po gate, and by my managing that defence after the lieutenant-colonel, who commanded the party where I was posted, was killed; upon which the king sent me a public testimony of his accepting my service, and sent me a brevet to be a lieutenant-colonel, and the next courier brought me actually a commission for lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of ——.

I was in several skirmishes and petty encounters before this, by which I gained the reputation of a good officer; but I happened to be in some particular posts too, by which I got somewhat that I liked much better, and that was a good deal of money.

Our regiment was sent from France to Italy by sea. We embarked at Toulon and landed at Savona, in the territory of Genoa, and marched from thence to the duchy of Milan. At the first town we were sent to take possession of, which was Alexandria, the citizens rose upon our men in a most furious manner, and drove the whole garrison, which consisted of 800 men, that is, French, and soldiers in the French service, quite out of the town.

I was quartered in a burgher's house, just by one of the ports, with eight of my men and a servant, where, calling a short council with my men, we were resolved to maintain the house we were in, whatever it cost, till we received orders to quit it from the commanding officer. Upon this, when I saw our men could not stand their ground in the street, being pressed hard by the citizens, I turned out of doors all the family, and kept the house as a castle, which I was governor in. And as the house joined to the city gate, I resolved to maintain it, so as to be the last that should quit the place, my own retreat being secured by being so near the port.

Having thus emptied the house of the inhabitants, we made no scruple of filling our pockets with whatever we could find there; in a word, we left nothing we could carry away, among which it came to my lot to dip into the burgher's cabinet, whose house it was where we were, and there I took about the quantity of 200 pistoles in money and plate, and other things of value. There was great complaint made to Prince Vaudemont, who was then governor of the Milanese, of this violence; but as the repulse the citizens gave us was contrary to his order, and to the general design of the prince, who was then wholly in the interest of King Philip, the citizens could obtain nothing, and I found that if we had plundered the whole city it would have been the same thing; for the governor had order to take our regiment in, and it was an act of open rebellion to resist us as they did. However, we had orders not to fire upon the burghers, unless constrained to it by evident necessity, and we rather chose to quit the place as we did, than dispute it with a desperate body of fellows, who wanted no advantage of us, except only that of having possession of two bastions, and our port of our retreat. First they were treble our number, for the burghers being joined by seven companies of the regular troops, made up above 1600 men, besides rabble, which was many more, whereas we were about 800 in all; they also had the citadel, and several pieces of cannon, so that we could have made nothing of it, if we had attacked them; but they submitted three or four days after to other forces, the soldiers within turning upon them, and taking the citadel from them.

After this we lay still in quarters eight months, for the prince having secured the whole Milanese for King Philip, and no enemy appearing for some time, had nothing to do but to receive the auxiliary troops of France; and as they came, extend himself every way as he could, in order to keep the imperialists (who were preparing to fall into Italy with a great army) as much at a distance as possible, which he did by taking possession of the city of Mantua, and of most of the towns on that side, as far as the lake De la Guarda, and the river Adige.

We lay in Mantua some time, but were afterwards drawn out by order of the Count de Tessé (afterwards marshal of France), to form the French army, till the arrival of the Duke de Vendôme, who was to command in chief. Here we had a severe campaign, anno 1701, having Prince Eugene of Savoy, and an army of 40,000 Germans, all old soldiers, to deal with; and though the French army was more numerous than the enemy by 25,000 men, yet, being on the defensive, and having so many posts to cover, not knowing exactly where the prince of Savoy, who commanded the imperial army, would attack us, it obliged the French to keep their troops so divided, and so remote from one another, that the Germans pushed on their design with great success, as the histories of those times more fully relate.

I was at the action at Carpi, July 1701, where we were worsted by the Germans indeed, were forced to quit our encampment, and give up to the prince the whole river Adige, and where our regiment sustained some loss; but the enemies got little by us, and Monsieur Catinat, who commanded at that time, drew up in order of battle the next day in sight of the German army, and gave them a defiance, but they would not stir, though we offered them battle two days together; for, having gained the passage over the Adige by our quitting Rivoli, which was then useless to us, their business was done.

Finding they declined a decisive action, our generals pressed them in their quarters, and made them fight for every inch of ground they gained, and at length, in the September following, we attacked them in their entrenched posts of Chiar. Here we broke into the very heart of their camp, where we made a very terrible slaughter;

but I know not by what mistake among our generals, or defect in the execution of their orders, the brigade of Normandy and our Irish brigade, who had so bravely entered the German intrenchments, were not supported as we should have been, so that we were obliged to sustain the shock of the whole German army, and at last to quit the advantage we had gained, and that not without loss; but being timely reinforced by a great body of horse, the enemy were in their turn beaten off too, and driven back into their very camp. The Germans boasted of having a great victory here, and indeed, in repulsing us after we had gained their camp, they had the advantage; but had Monsieur de Tesse succoured us in time, as old Catinat said he ought to have done, with 12,000 foot which he had with him, that day's action had put an end to the war, and Prince Eugene must have been glad to have gone back to Germany in more haste than he came, if, perhaps, we had not cut him short by the way.

But the fate of things went another way, and the Germans continued all that campaign to push forward and advance one post after another, till they beat us quite out of the Milanese.

The latter part of this campaign we made only a party war; the French, according to their volatile temper, being every day abroad, either foraging or surprising the enemy's foragers, plundering or circumventing the plunders of the other side; but they very often came short home, for the Germans had the better of them on several occasions; and indeed so many lost their lives upon these petty encounters, that I think, including those who died of distempers gotten by hard service and bad quarters, lying in the field even till the middle of December among rivers and bogs, in a country so full of canals and rivers as that part of Italy is known to be; I say, we lost more men, and so did the enemy also, than would have been lost in a general decisive battle.

The Duke of Savoy, to give his due, pressed earnestly to put it to a day, and come to a battle with Prince Eugene; but the Duke de Villeroy, Monsieur Catinat, and the Count de Tesse, were all against it, and the principal reason was, that they knew the weakness of the troops, who had suffered so much on so many occasions, that they were in no condition to give battle to the Germans; so after, as I say, about three months harassing one another with parties, we went into winter quarters.

Before we marched out of the field, our regiment, with a detachment of dragoons of 600, and about 250 horse, went out with a design to intercept Prince Commercy, a general of note under Prince Eugene of Savoy. The detachment was intended to be only horse and dragoons; but because it was the imperialists' good luck to beat many of our parties, and, as was given out, many more than we beat of theirs, and because it was believed that the prince, who was an officer of good note among them, would not go abroad but in very little company, the Irish regiment of foot was ordered to be added, that, if possible, they might meet with their match.

I was commanded, about two hours before, to pass about 200 foot and 50 dragoons at a small wood, where our general had intelligence that prince would post some men to secure his passage, which accordingly I did; but Count Tesse not thinking our party strong enough, had marched himself, with 1000 horse and 300 grenadiers, to support us; and it was very well he did so, for Prince Commercy having intelligence of the first party, came forward sooner than they expected, and fell upon them, and had entirely routed them, had not the Count (hearing the firing) advanced with the thousand horse he had with such expedition, as to support his men in the very heat of the action, by which means the Germans were defeated, and forced to retire. But the prince made a pretty good retreat, and, after the action, came on to the wood where I was posted; but the surprise of his defeat had prevented his sending a detachment to secure the pass at the wood, as he intended.

The Count de Tesse, understanding that we were sent (as above) to the wood, followed them close at the heels, to prevent our being cut off, and, if it were possible that we should give them any check at the wood, to fall in, and have another brush with them. It was near night before they came to the wood, by which means they could not discern our number; but when they came up to the wood, 50 dragoons advanced to discover the pass, and see if all was clear. These we suffered to pass a great way into the defile or lane that went through the wood, and then clapping in between them and the entrance, cut off their retreat so effectually, that when they discovered us, and fired, they were instantly surrounded, and cut in pieces; the officers who commanded them, and eight dragoons only, being made prisoners.

This made the prince halt, not knowing what the case was, or how strong we were; and to get better intelligence, sent 200 horse to surround or skirt the wood and beat up our quarter, and in the interim the Count de Tesse appeared in his rear. We found the strait he was in by the noise of our own troops at a distance; so we resolved to engage the 200 horse immediately. Accordingly, our little troop of horse drew up in the entrance of the lane, and offered to skirmish; and our foot lying behind the hedge, which went round the wood, stood ready to act as occasion should offer. The horse, being attacked, gave way, and retired into the lane; but the Germans were too old for us there; they contented themselves to push us to the entrance, but would not be drawn into a narrow pass without knowing whether the hedges were lined or no.

But the prince finding the French in his rear, and not being strong enough to engage again, resolved to force his way through, and commanded his dragoons to alight and enter the wood, to clear the hedges on either side the lane, that he might pass with his cavalry. This they did so vigorously, and were so much too strong for us, that though we made good our ground a long time, yet our men were almost half of them cut in pieces. However, we gave time to the French cavalry to come up, and to fall on the prince's troops and cut them off, and take a great many prisoners, and then retreated in our turn, opening a gap for our own horse to break in; 300 of the dragoons were killed, and 200 of them taken prisoners.

In the first heat of this action, a German officer of dragoons, well followed, had knocked down three men that stood next me; and offering me quarter, I was obliged to accept it, and gave him my sword, for our men were upon the point of quitting their post, and shifting every one as they could. But the scale was turned; for our cavalry breaking in as above, the dragoons went to wreck, and the officer who had me prisoner, turning to me, said, 'We are all lost.' I asked him if I could serve him. 'Stand still a little,' says he, for his men fought most desperately indeed; but about 200 French horse appearing in his rear too, he said to me, in French, 'I will be

your prisoner;' and returning me my sword, gave me also his own. A dragoon that stood near him was just going to do the like, when he was shot dead; and the horse coming up, the field was cleared in an instant. But Prince Commercy went off with the rest of his party, and was pursued no farther.

There were 16 or 17 of our men released as I was from being taken; but they had not the luck I had, to take the officer that had them in keeping. He had been so generous to me as not to ask what money I had about me, though I had not much if he had; but I lost by his civility, for then I could not have the assurance to ask him for his money, though I understood he had near 100 pistoles about him. But he very handsomely at night, when we came to our tents, made me a present of 20 pistoles; and, in return, I obtained leave for him to go to Prince Eugene's camp upon his parole, which he did, and so got himself exchanged.

It was after this campaign that I was quartered at Cremona, when the action happened there of which I have spoken already, and where our Irish regiment did such service that they saved the town from being really surprised, and indeed beat the Germans out again, after they had been masters of three-quarters of the town six hours, and by which they gained a very great reputation.

But I hasten on to my own history, for I am not writing a journal of the wars, in which I had no long share.

The summer after this our two Irish regiments were drawn out into the field, and had many a sore brush with the Germans; for Prince Eugene, a vigilant general, gave us little rest, and gained many advantages by his continual moving up and down, harassing his own men and ours too; and whoever will do the French justice, and knew how they behaved, must acknowledge they never declined the Germans, but fought them upon all occasions with the utmost resolution and courage; and though it cost the blood of an infinite number of fine gentlemen, as well as private soldiers, yet the Duke de Vendôme, who now commanded, though King Philip was himself in the army this campaign, made the Prince of Savoy a full return in his own kind, and drove him from post to post, till he was just at the point of quitting the whole country of Italy. All that gallant army Prince Eugene brought with him into Italy, which was the best, without doubt, for the goodness of the troops, that ever were there; laid their bones in that country, and many thousands more after them, till the affairs of France declining in other places, they were forced in their turn to give way to their fate, as may be seen in the histories of those times as above; but it is none of my business.

The part that I bore in these affairs was but short and sharp; we took the field about the beginning of July 1702, and the Duke de Vendôme ordered the whole army to draw the sooner together, in order to relieve the city of Mantua, which was blocked up by the imperialists.

Prince Eugene was a politic, and indeed a fortunate prince, and had the year before pushed our army upon many occasions; but his good fortune began to fail him a little this year, for our army was not only more numerous than his, but the Duke was in the field before him; and as the prince had held Mantua closely blocked up all the winter, the Duke resolved to relieve the town, cost what it would. As I said, the Duke was first in the field, the prince was in no condition to prevent his raising the blockade by force; so he drew off his troops, and leaving several strong bodies of troops to protect Borselio, which the Duke de Vendôme threatened, and Borgo Fort, where his magazine lay, he drew all the rest of his forces together, to make head against us. By this time the King of Spain was come into the army, and the Duke de Vendôme lay with about 35,000 men, near Luzara, which he had resolved to attack, to bring Prince Eugene to a battle. The Prince of Vaudemont lay intrenched with 20,000 more at Rivalto, behind Mantua, to cover the frontiers of Milan, and there were near 12,000 in Mantua itself; and Monsieur Pracontal lay with 10,000 men just under the cannon of one of the forts which guard the causeway which leads into the city of Mantua; so that, had all these joined, as they would have done in a few days more, the prince must have been put to his shifts, and would have had enough to do to have maintained himself in Italy; for he was master of no one place in the country, that could have held out a formal siege of fifteen days, and he knew all this very well; and therefore, it seems, while the Duke of Vendôme resolved, if possible, to bring him to a battle, and to that end made dispositions to attack Luzara, we were surprised to find, the 15th of June 1702, the whole imperial army appeared in battalia, and in full march to attack us.

As it happened, our army was all marching in columns towards them, as we had done for two days before; and I should have told you that, three days before, the Duke having notice that General Visconti, with three imperial regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, was posted at San Victoria, on the Tessona, he resolved to attack them; and this design was carried so secretly, that while Monsieur Visconti, though our army was three leagues another way, was passing towards the Modenese, he found himself unexpectedly attacked by 6000 horse and dragoons of the French army. He defended himself very bravely for near an hour; when, being overpowered, and finding he should be forced into disorder, he sounded a retreat; but the squadrons had not faced about to make their retreat scarce a quarter of an hour, when they found themselves surrounded with a great body of infantry, who had entirely cut off their retreat, except over the bridge of Tassona, which being thronged with their baggage, they could neither get backward or forward; so they thrust and tumbled over one another in such a manner, that they could preserve no kind of order; but abundance fell into the river, and were drowned, many were killed, and more taken prisoners; so that, in a word, the whole three regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, were entirely defeated.

This was a great blow to the prince, because they were some of the choicest troops of his whole army. We took about 400 prisoners, and all their baggage, which was a very considerable booty, and about 800 horses; and no doubt these troops were very much wanted in the battle that ensued on the 15th, as I have said. Our army being in full march (as above) to attack Luzara, a party of Germans appeared, being about 600 horse, and in less than an hour more, their whole army, in order of battle.

Our army formed immediately, and the Duke posted the regiments as they came up so much to their advantage, that Prince Eugene was obliged to alter his dispositions, and had this particular inconvenience upon his hands, viz. to attack an army superior to his own, in all their most advantageous posts; whereas, had he thought fit to have waited but one day, we should have met him half way; but this was owing to the pride of the

German generals, and their being so opinionated of the goodness of their troops. The royal army was posted with the left to the great river Po, on the other side of which the Prince of Vaudemont's army lay cannonading the intrenchments which the imperialists had made at Borgo Fort; and hearing that there was like to be a general battle, he detached twelve battalions and about 1000 horse to reinforce the royal army; all which, to our great encouragement, had time to join the army; while Prince Eugene was making his new dispositions for the attack; and yet it was the coming of these troops which caused Prince Eugene to resolve to begin the fight, expecting to have come to an action before they could come up; but he was disappointed in the reason of fighting, and yet was obliged to fight too, which was an error in the prince, that it was too late to retrieve.

It was five o'clock in the evening before he could bring up his whole line to engage; and then, after having cannonaded us to no great purpose for half an hour, his right, commanded by the Prince de Commercy, attacked our left wing with great fury. Our men received them so well, and seconded one another so punctually, that they were repulsed with a very great slaughter, and the Prince de Commercy being (unhappily for them) killed in the first onset, the regiments, for want of orders, and surprised with the fall of so great a man, were pushed into disorder, and one whole brigade was entirely broke.

But their second line advancing, under General Herbeville, restored things in the first; the battalions rallied, and they came boldly on to charge a second time, and being seconded with new reinforcements from their main body, our men had their turn, and were pushed to a canal, which lay on their left flank, between them and the Po, behind which they rallied, and being supported by new troops, as well horse as foot, they fought on both sides with the utmost obstinacy, and with such courage and skill that it was not possible to judge who should have the better, could they have been able to have fought it out.

On the right of the royal army, was posted the flower of the French cavalry, namely, the gendarmes, the royal carabineers, and the queen's horse-guards, with 400 horse more, and next them the infantry, among which were our brigade. The horse advanced first to charge, and they carried all before them sword in hand, receiving the fire of two imperial regiments of cuirassiers without firing a shot, and falling in among them, bore them down by the strength of their horses, putting them into confusion, and left so clear a field for us to follow, that the first line of our infantry stood drawn up upon the ground which the enemy at first possessed.

In this first attack the Marquis de Crequi, who commanded the whole right wing, was killed; a loss which fully balanced the death of the Prince de Commercy on the side of the Germans. After we had thus pushed the enemy's cavalry, as above, their troops, being rallied by the dexterity of their generals, and supported by three imperial regiments of foot, came on again to the charge with such fury that nothing could withstand them; here two battalions of our Irish regiments were put into disorder, and abundance of our men killed; and here also I had the misfortune to receive a musket shot, which broke my left arm; and that was not all, for I was knocked down by a giant-like German soldier, who, when he thought he had killed me, set his foot upon me, but was immediately shot dead by one of my men, and fell just upon me, which, my arm being broken, was a very great mischief to me; for the very weight of the fellow, who was almost as big as a horse, was such that I was not able to stir.

Our men were beaten back after this, from the place where they stood; and so I was left in possession of the enemy, but was not their prisoner, that is to say, was not found till next morning, when a party being sent, as usual, with surgeons to look after the wounded men, among the dead, found me almost smothered with the dead German, and others that lay near me. However, to do them justice, they used me with humanity, and the surgeons set my arm very skilfully and well; and four or five days after, I had liberty to go to Parma upon parole.

Both the armies continued fighting, especially on our left, till it was so dark that it was impossible to know who they fired at, or for the generals to see what they did; so they abated firing gradually, and, as it may be truly said, the night parted them.

Both sides claimed the victory, and both concealed their losses as much as it was possible; but it is certain, that never battle was fought with greater bravery and obstinacy than this was; and had there been daylight to have fought it out, doubtless there would have been many thousand more men killed on both sides.

All the Germans had to entitle them to the victory was, that they made our left retire, as I have said, to the canal, and to the high banks, or mounds on the edge of the Po; but they had so much advantage in the retreat—they fired from thence among the thickest of the enemy, and could never be forced from their posts.

The best testimony the royal army had of the victory, and which was certainly the better of the two, was that, two days after the fight, they attacked Guastalia, as it were in view of the German army, and forced the garrison to surrender, and to swear not to serve again for six months, which, they being 1500 men, was a great loss to the Germans, and yet Prince Eugene did not offer to relieve it; and after that we took several other posts, which the imperialists had possession of, but were obliged to quit them upon the approach of the French army, not being in a condition to fight another battle that year.

My campaign was now at an end, and though I came lame off, I came off much better than abundance of gentlemen; for in that bloody battle we had above 400 officers killed or wounded, whereof three were general officers.

The campaign held on till December, and the Duke de Vendôme took Borgo Fort, and several other places, from the Germans, who, in short, lost ground every day in Italy. I was a prisoner a great while, and there being no cartel settled, Prince Eugene ordered the French prisoners to be sent into Hungary, which was a cruelty that could not be reasonably exercised on them; however, a great many, by that banishment, found means to make their escape to the Turks, by whom they were kindly received, and the French ambassador at Constantinople took care of them, and shipped them back again into Italy at the king's charge.

But the Duke de Vendôme now took so many German prisoners, that Prince Eugene was tired of sending his prisoners to Hungary, and was obliged to be at the charge of bringing some of them back again, whom he had sent thither, and come to agree to a general exchange of prisoners.

I was, as I have said, allowed for a time to go to Parma upon my parole, where I continued for the recovery of my wound and broken arm forty

days, and was then obliged to render myself to the commanding officer at Ferrara, where Prince Eugene coming soon after, I was, with several other prisoners of war, sent away into the Milanese, to be kept for an exchange of prisoners.

It was in the city of Trent that I continued about eight months. The man in whose house I quartered was exceedingly civil to me, and took a great deal of care of me, and I lived very easy. Here I contracted a kind of familiarity, perfectly undesigned by me, with the daughter of the burgher at whose house I had lodged, and I know not by what fatality that was upon me, I was prevailed with afterwards to marry her. This was a piece of honesty on my side, which I must acknowledge I never intended to be guilty of; but the girl was too cunning for me, for she found means to get some wine into my head more than I used to drink, and though I was not so disordered with it, but that I knew very well what I did, yet in an unusual height of good humour, I consented to be married. This impolitic piece of honesty put me to many inconveniences, for I knew not what to do with this clog, which I had loaded myself with; I could neither stay with her, or take her with me, so that I was exceedingly perplexed.

The time came soon after that I was released by the cartel, and so was obliged to go to my regiment, which then was in quarters in the Milanese, and from thence I got leave to go to Paris, upon my promise to raise some recruits in England for the Irish regiments, by the help of my correspondence there. Having thus leave to go to Paris, I took a passport from the enemy's army to go to Trent, and making a long circuit, I went back thither, and very honestly packed up my baggage, wife and all, and brought her away through Tyrol, into Bavaria, and so through Suabia and the Black Forest, into Alsatia, from thence I came into Lorraine, and so to Paris.

I had now a secret design to quit the war, for I really had had enough of fighting; but it was counted so dishonourable a thing to quit, while the army was in the field, that I could not dispense with it; but an intervening accident made that part easy to me. The war was now renewed between France and England and Holland, just as it was before; and the French king meditating nothing more than how to give the English a diversion, fitted out a strong squadron of men-of-war and frigates, at Dunkirk, on board of which he embarked a body of troops, of about 6500 men, besides volunteers; and the new king, as we called him, though more generally he was called the Chevalier de St. George, was shipped along with them, and all for Scotland.

I pretended a great deal of zeal for this service, and that if I might be permitted to sell my company in the Irish regiment I was in, and have the Chevalier's brevet for a colonel, in case of raising troops for him in Great Britain, after his arrival, I would embark volunteer, and serve at my own expense. The latter gave me a great advantage with the Chevalier; for now I was esteemed as a man of consideration, and one that must have a considerable interest in my own country; so I obtained leave to sell my company, and having had a good round sum of money remitted me from London, by the way of Holland, I prepared a very handsome equipage, and away I went to Dunkirk to embark.

I was very well received by the Chevalier; and as he had an account that I was an officer in the Irish brigade, and had served in Italy, and consequently was an old soldier, all this added to the character which I had before, and made me have a great deal of honour paid me, though at the same time I had no particular attachment to his person, or to his cause; nor, indeed, did I much consider the cause of one side or other. If I had, I should hardly have risked, not my life only, but effects too, which were all, as I might say, from that moment, forfeited to the English government, and were too evidently in their power to confiscate at their pleasure.

However, having just received a remittance from London of £300 sterling, and sold my company in the Irish regiment for very near as much, I was not only insensibly drawn in, but was perfectly volunteer in that dull cause, and away I went with them at all hazards. It belongs very little to my history to give an account of that fruitless expedition, only to tell you, that, being so closely and effectually chased by the English fleet, which was superior in force to the French, I may say that, in escaping them, I escaped being hanged.

It was the good fortune of the French, that they overshot the port they aimed at, and intending for the Firth of Forth, or, as it is called, the Firth of Edinburgh, the first land they made was as far north as a place called Montrose, where it was not their business to land, and so they were obliged to come back to the firth, and were gotten to the entrance of it, and came to an anchor for the tide; but this delay or hindrance gave time to the English, under Sir George Bing, to come to the firth, and they came to an anchor, just as we did, only waiting to go up the firth with the flood.

Had we not overshot the port, as above, all our squadron had been destroyed in two days, and all we could have done, had been to have gotten into the pier or haven at Leith, with the smaller frigates, and have landed the troops and ammunition; but we must have set fire to the men-of-war, for the English squadron was not above 24 hours behind us, or thereabout.

Upon this surprise, the French admiral set sail from the north point of the firth, where we lay, and, crowding away to the north, got the start of the English fleet, and made their escape, with the loss of one ship only, which being behind the rest, could not get away. When we were satisfied the English left chasing us, which was not till the third night, when we altered our course, and lost sight of them, we stood over to the coast of Norway, and keeping that shore on board all the way to the mouth of the Baltic, we came to an anchor again, and sent two scouts abroad to learn news, to see if the sea was clear, and being satisfied that the enemy did not chase us, we kept on with an easier sail, and came all back again to Dunkirk, and glad I was to set my foot on shore again; for all the while we were thus flying for our lives, I was under the greatest terror imaginable, and nothing but halters and gibbets run in my head, concluding, that if I had been taken, I should certainly have been hanged.

But the care was now over, I took my leave of the Chevalier, and of the army, and made haste to Paris. I came so unexpectedly to Paris, and to my own lodgings, that it was my misfortune to make a discovery relating to my wife, which was not at all to my satisfaction; for I found her ladyship had kept some company, that I had reason to believe were not such as an honest woman ought to have conversed with, and as I knew her temper, by what I had found of her myself, I grew very jealous and uneasy about her. I must own it touched me very nearly, for I began to have an extraordinary value for her; and her behaviour was very taking, especially

after I had brought her into France; but having a vein of levity, it was impossible to prevent her running into such things, in a town so full of what they call gallantry as Paris.

It vexed me also to think that it should be my fate to be a cuckold both abroad and at home; and sometimes I would be in such a rage about it, that I had no government of myself when I thought of it. Whole days, and I may say sometimes whole nights, I spent musing and considering what I should do to her, and especially what I should do to the villain, whoever he was, that had thus abused and supplanted me. Here indeed I committed murder more than once, or indeed than a hundred times, in my imagination; and as the devil is certainly an apparent prompter to wickedness, if he is not the first mover of it in our minds, he seized me night and day with proposals to kill my wife.

This horrid project he carried up so high, by raising fierce thoughts, and fomenting the blood, upon my contemplation of the word cuckold, that, in short, I left debating whether I should murder her or no, as a thing out of the question and determined; and my thoughts were then taken up only with the management how I should kill her, and how to make my escape after I had done it.

All this while I had no sufficient evidence of her guilt, neither had I so much as charged her with it, or let her know I suspected her, otherwise than as she might perceive it in my conduct, and in the change of my behaviour to her, which was such that she could not but perceive that something troubled me; yet she took no notice of it to me, but received me very well, and showed herself to be glad of my return; nor did I find she had been extravagant in her expenses while I was abroad. But jealousy, as the wise man says, is the wrath of a man. Her being so good a hussy of what money I had left her, gave my distempered fancy an opinion that she had been maintained by other people, and so had had no occasion to spend.

I must confess she had a difficult point here upon her, though she had been really honest; for, as my head was prepossessed of her dishonesty, if she had been lavish, I should have said she had spent it upon her gentlemen; and as she had been frugal, I said she had been maintained by them. Thus, I say, my head was distempered. I believed myself abused, and nothing could put it out of my thoughts night or day.

All this while it was not visibly broken out between us; but I was so fully possessed with the belief of it, that I seemed to want no evidence, and I looked with an evil eye upon everybody that came near her, or that she conversed with. There was an officer of the Guards du Corps that lodged in the same house with us, a very honest gentleman, and a man of quality. I happened to be in a little drawing-room adjoining to a parlour where my wife sat at that time, and this gentleman came into the parlour, which, as he was one of the family, he might have done without offence; but he not knowing that I was in the drawing-room, sat down and talked with my wife. I heard every word they said, for the door between us was open; nor could I say that there passed anything between them but cursory discourse. They talked of casual things; of a young lady, a burgher's daughter of nineteen, that had been married the week before to an advocate in the Parliament of Paris, vastly rich, and about thirty-six; and of another, a widow lady of fortune in Paris, that had married her deceased husband's valet de chambre; and of such casual matters, that I could find no fault with her now at all.

But it filled my head with jealous thoughts, and fired my temper. Now I fancied he used too much freedom with her, then that she used too much freedom to him; and once or twice I was upon the point of breaking in upon them, and affronting them both, but I restrained myself. At length he talked something merrily of the lady throwing away her maidenhead, as I understood it, upon an old man; but still it was nothing indecent. But I, who was all on fire already, could bear it no longer, but started up, and came into the room, and catching at my wife's words, 'Say you so, madam?' said I; 'was he too old for her?' And giving the officer a look that I fancy was something akin to the face on the sign, called the 'Bull and Mouth,' within Aldersgate, I went out into the street.

The Marquis, so he was styled, a man of honour, and of spirit too, took it as I meant it, and followed me in a moment, and hemm'd after me in the street; upon which I stopped, and he came up to me: 'Sir,' said he, 'our circumstances are very unhappy in France, that we cannot do ourselves justice here, without the most severe treatment in the world; but, come on it what will, you must explain yourself to me on the subject of your behaviour just now.'

I was a little cooled, as to the point of my conduct to him in the very few moments that had passed, and was very sensible that I was wrong to him; and I said, therefore, to him very frankly: 'Sir, you are a gentleman whom I know very well, and I have a very great respect for you; but I had been disturbed a little about the conduct of my wife, and were it your own case, what would you have done less?'

'I am sorry for any dislike between you and your wife,' says he; 'but what is that to me? Can you charge me with any indecency to her, except my talking so and so?' (at which he repeated the words); 'and as I knew you were in the next room, and heard every word, and that all the doors were open, I thought no man could have taken amiss so innocent an expression.'

'I could no otherwise take it amiss,' said I, 'than as I thought it implied a farther familiarity, and that you cannot expect should be borne by any man of honour. However, sir,' said I, 'I spoke only to my wife; I said nothing to you, but gave you my hat as I passed you.'

'Yes,' said he, 'and a look as full of rage as the devil; are there no words in such looks?'

'I can say nothing to that,' said I, 'for I cannot see my own countenance; but my rage, as you call it, was at my wife, not at you.'

'But hark you, sir,' said he, growing warm as I grew calm, 'your anger at your wife was for her discourse with me, and I think that concerns me too, and I ought to resent it.'

'I think not, sir,' said I; 'nor had I found you in bed with my wife, would I have quarrelled with you; for if my wife will let you lie with her, it is she is the offender: what have I to do with you? You could not lie with her if she was not willing; and if she is willing to be a whore, I ought to punish her, but I should have no quarrel with you. I will lie with your wife, if I can, and then I am even with you.'

I spoke this all in good humour, and in order to pacify him, but it would not do; but he would have me give him satisfaction, as he called it. I told him I was a stranger in the country, and perhaps should find little mercy in their course of justice; that it was not my business to fight any man in his vindicating his keeping company

with my wife, for that the injury was mine, in having a bad woman to deal with; that there was no reason in the thing, that, after any man should have found the way into my bed, I, who am injured, should go and stake my life upon an equal hazard against the man who has abused me.

Nothing would prevail with this person to be quiet for all this; but I had affronted him, and no satisfaction could be made him but that at the point of the sword; so we agreed to go away together to Lisle in Flanders. I was now soldier enough not to be afraid to look a man in the face; and as the rage at my wife inspired me with courage, so he let fall a word that fired and provoked me beyond all patience; for, speaking of the distrust I had of my wife, he said, unless I had good information, I ought not to suspect my wife. I told him, if I had good information, I should be past suspicion. He replied, if he was the happy man that had so much of her favour, he would take care then to put me past the suspicion. I gave him as rough an answer as he could desire, and he returned in French, *Nous verrons aux Lisle*; that is to say, 'We will talk farther of it at Lisle.'

I told him I did not see the benefit either to him or me of going so far as Lisle to decide this quarrel, since now I perceived he was the man I wanted, that we might decide this quarrel, *aux champ*, upon the spot; and whoever had the fortune to fell the other, might make his escape to Lisle as well afterwards as before.

Thus we walked on talking very ill-naturedly on both sides, and yet very mannerly, till we came clear of the suburbs of Paris, on the way to Charenton; when, seeing the way clear, I told him, under those trees was a very fit place for us, pointing to a row of trees adjoining to Monsieur ——'s garden wall; so we went thither, and fell to work immediately. After some fencing, he made a home thrust at me, and run me into my arm, a long slanting wound, but at the same time received my point into his body, and soon after fell. He spoke some words before he dropped. First, he told me I had killed him; then he said he had indeed wronged me, and, as he knew it, he ought not to have fought me. He desired I would make my escape immediately, which I did into the city, but no farther, nobody, as I thought, having seen us together. In the afternoon, about six hours after the action, messengers brought news, one on the heels of another, that the Marquis was mortally wounded, and carried into a house at Charenton. That account, saying he was not dead, surprised me a little; not doubting but that, concluding I had made my escape, he would own who it was. However, I discovered nothing of my concern; but, going up into my chamber, I took out of a cabinet there what money I had, which indeed was so much as I thought would be sufficient for my expenses; but having an accepted bill for 2000 livres, I walked sedately to a merchant who knew me, and got 50 pistoles of him upon my bill, letting him know my business called me to England, and I would take the rest of him when he had received it.

Having furnished myself thus, I provided me a horse for my servant, for I had a very good one of my own, and once more ventured home to my lodging, where I heard again that the Marquis was not dead. My wife, all this while, covered her concern for the Marquis so well, that she gave me no room to make any remark upon her; but she saw evidently the marks of rage and deep resentment in my behaviour after some little stay, and perceiving me making preparations for a journey, she said to me, 'Are you going out of town?' 'Yes, madam,' says I, 'that you may have room to mourn for your friend the Marquis;' at which she started, and showed she was indeed in a most terrible fright, and making a thousand crosses about herself, with a great many calling upon the Blessed Virgin, and her country saints, she burst out at last, 'Is it possible! Are you the man that killed the Marquis? Then you are undone, and I too.'

'You may, madam, be a loser by the Marquis being killed, but I'll take care to be as little a loser by you as I can; it is enough, the Marquis has honestly confessed your guilt, and I have done with you.' She would have thrown herself into my arms, protesting her innocence, and told me she would fly with me, and would convince me of her fidelity, by such testimonies as I could not but be satisfied with, but I thrust her violently from me. '*Allez infame!*' said I, 'go, infamous creature, and take from me the necessity I should be under, if I stayed, of sending you to keep company with your dear friend the Marquis.' I thrust her away with such force, that she fell backward upon the floor, and cried out most terribly, and indeed she had reason, for she was very much hurt.

It grieved me indeed to have thrust her away with such force; but you must consider me now in the circumstances of a man enraged, and, as it were, out of himself, furious and mad. However, I took her up from the floor, and laid her on the bed, and calling up her maid, bid her go and take care of her mistress; and, going soon after out of doors, I took horse, and made the best of my way, not towards Calais or Dunkirk, or towards Flanders, whither it might be suggested I was fled, and whither they did pursue me the same evening, but I took the direct road for Lorrain, and, riding all night, and very hard, I passed the Maine the next day at night, at Chalons, and came safe into the Duke of Lorrain's dominions the third day, where I rested one day only, to consider what course to take, for it was still a most difficult thing to pass any way, but that I should either be in the King of France's dominions, or to be taken by the French allies as a subject of France; but getting good advice from a priest at Bar le Duc, who, though I did not tell him the particulars of my case, yet guessed how it was, it being, as he said, very usual for gentlemen in my circumstances to fly that way. Upon this supposition, this kind *padre* got me a church pass, that is to say, he made me a purveyor for the abbey of ——, and, as such, got me a passport to go to Deux Ponts, which belonged to the King of Sweden. Having such authority there, and the priest's recommendation to an ecclesiastic in the place, I got passports from thence in the King of Sweden's name to Cologne, and then I was thoroughly safe; so, making my way to the Netherlands, without any difficulty, I came to the Hague, and from thence, though very privately, and by several names I came to England; and thus I got clear of my Italian wife, whore I should have called her; for, after I had made her so myself, how should I expect any other of her?

Being arrived at London, I wrote to my friend at Paris, but dated my letters from the Hague, where I ordered him to direct his answers. The chief business of my writing was, to know if my bill was paid him, to inquire if any pursuit was made after me, and what other news he had about me, or my wife, and particularly how it had fared with the Marquis.

I received an answer in a few days, importing that he had received the money on my bill, which he was ready to pay as I should direct; that the Marquis was not dead; but, said he, you have killed him another way, for he has lost his commission in the Guards, which was worth to him 20,000 livres, and he is yet a close prisoner in the Bastile; that pursuit was ordered after me upon suspicion; that they had followed me to Amiens, on the road to Dunkirk, and to Chastean de Cambresis, on the way to Flanders; but missing me that way, had given it over; that the Marquis had been too well instructed to own that he had fought with me, but said that he was assaulted on the road, and unless I could be taken, he would take his trial and come off for want of proof; that my flying was a circumstance indeed that moved strongly against him, because it was known that we had had some words that day, and were seen to walk together; but that nothing being proved on either side, he would come off with the loss of his commission, which, however, being very rich, he could bear well enough.

As to my wife, he wrote me word she was inconsolable, and had cried herself to death almost; but he added (very ill-natured indeed), and whether it was for me, or for the Marquis, that he could not determine. He likewise told me, she was in very bad circumstances, and very low, so that if I did not take some care of her, she would come to be in very great distress.

The latter part of this story moved me indeed, for I thought, however it was, I ought not to let her starve; and besides poverty was a temptation which a woman could not easily withstand, and I ought not to be the instrument to drive her to a horrid necessity of crime, if I could prevent it.

Upon this I wrote to him again, to go to her, and talk with her, and learn as much as he could of her particular circumstances; and that, if he found she was really in want, and, particularly, that she did not live a scandalous life, he should give her twenty pistoles, and tell her, if she would engage to live retired and honestly she should have so much annually, which was enough to subsist her.

She took the first twenty pistoles, but bade him tell me that I had wronged her, and unjustly charged her, and I ought to do her justice; and I had ruined her by exposing her in such a manner as I had, having no proof of my charge, or ground for any suspicion; that as to twenty pistoles a year, it was a mean allowance to a wife that had travelled over the world, as she had done with me, and the like; and so expostulated with him to obtain forty pistoles a year of me, which I consented to; but she never gave me the trouble of paying above one year; for after that the Marquis was so fond of her again, that he took her away to himself; and, as my friend wrote me word, had settled 400 crowns a year on her, and I never heard any more of her.

I was now in London, but was obliged to be very retired, and change my name, letting nobody in the nation know who I was except my merchant, by whom I corresponded with my people in Virginia; and, particularly, that my tutor, who was now become the head manager of my affairs, and was in very good circumstances himself also by my means; but he deserved all I did, or could do for him, for he was a most faithful friend, as well as servant, as ever man had, in that country at least.

I was not the easiest man alive, in the retired solitary manner I now lived in; and I experienced the truth of the text, that it is not good for man to be alone, for I was extremely melancholy and heavy, and indeed knew not what to do with myself, particularly, because I was under some restraint, that I was, too, afraid to go abroad: at last I resolved to go quite away, and go to Virginia again, and there live retired as I could.

But when I came to consider that part more narrowly, I could not prevail with myself to live a private life. I had got a wandering kind of taste, and knowledge of things begat a desire of increasing it, and an exceeding delight I had in it, though I had nothing to do in the armies or in war, and did not design ever to meddle with it again; yet I could not live in the world, and not inquire what was doing in it; nor could I think of living in Virginia, where I was to hear my news twice a year, and read the public accounts of what was just then upon the stocks, as the history of things past.

This was my notion. I was now in my native country, where my circumstances were easy, and though I had ill-luck abroad, for I brought little money home with me, yet, by a little good management, I might soon have money by me. I had nobody to keep but myself, and my plantations in Virginia generally returned me from £400 to £600 a year, one year above £700, and to go thither I concluded was to be buried alive. So I put off all thoughts of it, and resolved to settle somewhere in England, where I might know everybody, and nobody know me. I was not long in concluding where to pitch, for as I spoke the French tongue perfectly well, having been so many years among them, it was easy for me to pass for a Frenchman; so I went to Canterbury, called myself an Englishman among the French, and a Frenchman among the English; and on that score was the more perfectly concealed, going by the name of Monsieur Charnot with the French, and Mr. Charnock among the English.

Here indeed I lived perfectly incog.; I made no acquaintances so as to be intimate, and yet I knew everybody, and everybody knew me. I discoursed in common, talked French with the Walloons, and English with the English; and lived retired and sober, and was well enough received by all sorts; but, as I meddled with nobody's business, so nobody meddled with mine; I thought I lived pretty well.

But I was not fully satisfied; a settled family life was the thing I loved; had made two pushes at it, as you have heard, but with ill success; yet the miscarriage of what was passed did not discourage me at all, but I resolved to marry. I looked out for a woman as suitable as I could, but always found something or other to shock my fancy, except once a gentleman's daughter of good fashion; but I met with so many repulses of one kind or another, that I was forced to give it over, and indeed, though I might be said to be a lover in this suit, and had managed myself so well with the young lady, that I had no difficulty left, but what would soon have been adjusted; yet her father was so difficult, made so many objections, was to-day not pleased one way, to-morrow another, that he would stand by nothing that he himself had proposed, nor could he be ever brought to be of the same mind two days together; so that we at last put an end to the pretensions, for she would not marry without her father's consent, and I would not steal her, and so that affair ended.

I cannot say but I was a little vexed at the disappointment of this, so I left the city of Canterbury, and went to London in the stage coach; here I had an odd scene presented as ever happened of its kind.

There was in the stage coach a young woman and her maid. She was sitting in a very melancholy posture, for she was in the coach before me, and sighed most dreadfully all the way, and whenever her maid spoke to her, she burst out into tears. I was not long in the coach with her, but seeing she made such a dismal figure, I offered to comfort her a little, and inquired into the occasion of her affliction, but she would not speak a word; but her maid, with a force of crying too, said her master was dead, at which word the lady burst out again into a passion of crying, and between mistress and maid this was all I could get for the morning part of that day. When we came to dine, I offered the lady, that seeing, I supposed, she would not dine with the company, if she would please to dine with me, I would dine in a separate room, for the rest of the company were foreigners. Her maid thanked me in her mistress's name, but her mistress could eat nothing, and desired to be private.

Here, however, I had some discourse with the maid, from whom I learned that the lady was wife to a captain of a ship, who was outward bound to somewhere in the Straits, I think it was to Zant and Venice; that, being gone no farther than the Downs, he was taken sick, and, after about ten days' illness had died at Deal. That his wife, hearing of his sickness, had gone to Deal to see him, and had come but just time enough to see him die; had stayed there to bury him, and was now coming to London in a sad disconsolate condition indeed.

I heartily pitied the young gentlewoman indeed, and said some things to her in the coach, to let her know I did so, which she gave no answer to, but in civility now and then made a bow, but never gave me the least opportunity to see her face, or so much as to know whether she had a face or no, much less to guess what form of a face it was. It was winter time, and the coach put up at Rochester, not going through in a day, as was usual in summer; and a little before we came to Rochester, I told the lady I understood she had eat nothing to-day, that such a course would but make her sick, and, doing her harm, could do her deceased husband no good; and therefore I entreated her, that, as I was a stranger, and only offered a civility to her, in order to abate her severely afflicting herself, she would yield so for to matters of ceremony, as let us sup together as passengers; for as to the strangers, they did not seem to understand the custom, or to desire it.

She bowed, but gave no answer, only, after pressing her by arguments, which she could not deny was very civil and kind, she returned, she gave me thanks, but she could not eat. 'Well, madam,' said I, 'do but sit down; though you think you cannot eat, perhaps you may eat a bit; indeed you must eat, or you will destroy yourself at this rate of living, and upon the road too; in a word you will be sick indeed.' I argued with her; the maid put in a word and said, 'Do, madam, pray try to divert yourself a little.' I pressed her again, and she bowed to me very respectfully, but still said, No, and she could not eat; the maid continued to importune her, and said, 'Dear madam, do, the gentleman is a civil gentleman; pray madam, do.' And then, turning to me, said, 'My mistress will, sir, I hope,' and seemed pleased, and indeed was so.

However I went on to persuade her; and, taking no notice of what her maid said, that I was a civil gentleman, I told her, 'I am a stranger to you, madam; but if I thought you were shy of me on any account, as to civility, I will send my supper up to you in your own chamber, and stay below myself.' She bowed then to me twice, and looked up, which was the first time, and said, she had no suspicion of that kind; that my offer was so civil, that she was as much ashamed to refuse it as she should be ashamed to accept it, if she was where she was known; that she thought I was not quite a stranger to her, for she had seen me before; that she would accept my offer, so far as to sit at table, because I desired it, but she could not promise me to eat, and that she hoped I would take the other as a constraint upon her, in return to so much kindness.

She startled me, when she said she had seen me before, for I had not the least knowledge of her, nor did I remember so much as to have heard of her name, for I had asked her name of her maid; and indeed it made me almost repent my compliment, for it was many ways essential to me not to be known. However, I could not go back; and, besides, if I was known, it was essentially necessary for me to know who it was that knew me, and by what circumstances; so I went on with my compliment.

We came to the inn but just before it was dark. I offered to hand my widow out of the coach, and she could not decline it; but though her hoods were not then much over her face, yet, being dark, I could see little of her then. I waited on her then to the stairfoot, and led her up the inn stairs to a dining-room, which the master of the house offered to show us, as if for the whole company; but she declined going in there, and said she desired rather to go directly to her chamber, and, turning to her maid, bade her speak to the innkeeper to show her to her lodging-room; so I waited on her to the door, and took my leave, telling her I would expect her at supper.

In order to treat her moderately well, and not extravagantly, for I had no thoughts of anything farther than civility, which was the effect of mere compassion for the unhappiness of the most truly disconsolate woman that I ever met with; I say, in order to treat her handsomely but not extravagantly, I provided what the house afforded, which was a couple of partridges, and a very good dish of stewed oysters; they brought us up afterwards a neat's tongue and a ham, that was almost cut quite down, but we eat none of it, for the other was fully enough for us both, and the maid made her supper of the oysters we had left, which were enough.

I mention this, because it should appear I did not treat her as a person I was making any court to, for I had nothing of that in my thoughts; but merely in pity to the poor woman, who I saw in a circumstance that was indeed very unhappy.

When I gave her maid notice that supper was ready, she fetched her mistress, coming in before her with a candle in her hand, and then it was that I saw her face, and being in her dishabille, she had no hood over her eyes, or black upon her head, when I was truly surprised to see one of the most beautiful faces upon earth. I saluted her, and led her to the fire-side, the table, though spread, being too far from the fire, the weather being cold.

She was now something sociable, though very grave, and sighed often, on account of her circumstances; but she so handsomely governed her grief, yet so artfully made it mingle itself with all her discourse, that it added exceedingly to her behaviour, which was every way most exquisitely genteel. I had a great deal of discourse with her, and upon many subjects, and by

degrees took her name, that is to say from herself, as I had done before from her maid; also the place where she lived, viz. near Ratcliff, or rather Stepney, where I asked her leave to pay her a visit, when she thought fit to admit company, which she seemed to intimate would not be a great while.

It is a subject too surfeiting to entertain people with the beauty of a person they will never see; let it suffice to tell them she was the most beautiful creature of her sex that I ever saw before or since; and it cannot be wondered if I was charmed with her, the very first moment I saw her face; her behaviour was likewise a beauty in itself, and was so extraordinary, that I cannot say I can describe it.

The next day she was much more free than she was the first night, and I had so much conversation as to enter into particulars of things on both sides; also she gave me leave to come and see her house, which, however, I did not do under a fortnight, or thereabouts, because I did not know how far she would dispense with the ceremony which it was necessary to keep up at the beginning of the mourning.

However I came as a man that had business with her, relating to the ship her husband was dead out of, and the first time I came was admitted, and, in short, the first time I came I made love to her. She received that proposal with disdain; I cannot indeed say she treated me with any disrespect, but she said she abhorred the offer, and would hear no more of it.

How I came to make such a proposal to her, I scarce knew then, though it was very much my intention from the first.

In the meantime I inquired into her circumstances and her character, and heard nothing but what was very agreeable of them both; and above all, I found she had the report of the best-humoured lady, and the best-bred of all that part of the town; and now I thought I had found what I had so often wished for to make me happy, and had twice miscarried in, and resolved not to miss her, if it was possible to obtain her.

It came indeed a little into my thoughts, that I was a married man, and had a second wife alive, who, though she was false to me, and a whore, yet I was not legally divorced from her, and that she was my wife for all that. But I soon got over that part; for, first, as she was a whore, and the Marquis had confessed it to me, I was divorced in law, and I had a power to put her away; but having had the misfortune of fighting a duel, and being obliged to quit the country, I could not claim the legal process which was my right, and therefore might conclude myself as much divorced as if it had been actually done, and so that scruple vanished.

I suffered now two months to run without pressing my widow any more, only I had kept a strict watch to find if any one else pretended to her. At the end of two months I visited her again, when I found she received me with more freedom, and we had no more sighs and sobs about the last husband; and though she would not let me press my former proposal so far as I thought I might have done, yet I found I had leave to come again, and it was the article of decency which she stood upon as much as anything; that I was not disagreeable to her, and that my using her so handsomely upon the road had given me a great advantage in her favour.

I went on gradually with her, and gave her leave to stand off for two months more; but then I told her the matter of decency, which was but a ceremony, was not to stand in competition with the matter of affection; and, in short, I could not bear any longer delay, but that, if she thought fit, we might marry privately; and, to cut the story short, as I did my courtship, in about five months I got her in the mind, and we were privately married, and that with so very exact a concealment, that her maid that was so instrumental in it, yet had no knowledge of it for near a month more.

I was now, not only in my imagination, but in reality, the most happy creature in the world, as I was infinitely satisfied with my wife, who was indeed the best-humoured woman in the world, a most accomplished beautiful creature indeed, perfectly well-bred, and had not one ill quality about her; and this happiness continued without the least interruption for about six years.

But I, that was to be the most unhappy fellow alive in the article of matrimony, had at last a disappointment of the worst sort, even here. I had three fine children by her, and in her time of lying-in with the last, she got some cold, that she did not in a long time get off, and, in short, she grew very sickly. In being so continually ill, and out of order, she very unhappily got a habit of drinking cordials and hot liquors. Drink, like the devil, when it gets hold of any one, though but a little, it goes on by little and little to their destruction; so in my wife, her stomach being weak and faint, she first took this cordial, then that, till, in short, she could not live without them, and from a drop to a sup, from a sup to a dram, from a dram to a glass, and so on to two, till at last she took, in short, to what we call drinking.

As I likened drink to the devil, in its gradual possession of the habits and person, so it is yet more like the devil in its encroachment on us, where it gets hold of our senses; in short my beautiful, good-humoured, modest, well-bred wife, grew a beast, a slave to strong liquor, and would be drunk at her own table, nay, in her own closet by herself, till, instead of a well-made, fine shape, she was as fat as a hostess; her fine face, bloated and blotched, had not so much as the ruins of the most beautiful person alive, nothing remained but a good eye; that indeed she held to the last. In short, she lost her beauty, her shape, her manners, and at last her virtue; and, giving herself up to drinking, killed herself in about a year and a half after she first began that cursed trade, in which time she twice was exposed in the most scandalous manner with a captain of a ship, who, like a villain, took the advantage of her being in drink, and not knowing what she did. But it had this unhappy effect, that, instead of her being ashamed, and repenting of it when she came to herself, it hardened her in the crime, and she grew as void of modesty at last as of sobriety.

O the power of intemperance! and how it encroaches on the best dispositions in the world; how it comes upon us gradually and insensibly, and what dismal effects it works upon our morals, changing the most virtuous, regular, well-instructed and well-inclined tempers into worse than brutal! That was a good story, whether real or invented, of the devil tempting a young man to murder his father: 'No,' he said, 'that was unnatural.' 'Why then,' says the devil, 'go and lie with your mother.' 'No,' says he, 'that is abominable.' 'Well then,' says the devil, 'if you will do nothing else to oblige me, go and get drunk.' 'Ay, ay,' says the fellow, 'I will do that;' so he went and made himself drunk as a swine, and when he was drunk, he murdered his father and lay with his mother.

Never was a woman more virtuous, modest, chaste, sober; she never so much as desired to drink anything strong; it was with the greatest entreaty that I could prevail with her to drink a glass or two of wine, and rarely, if ever, above one or two at a time; even in company she had no inclination to it. Not an immodest word ever came out of her mouth, nor would she suffer it in any one else in her hearing, without resentment and abhorrence; but upon that weakness and illness, after her last lying-in as above, the nurse pressed her, whenever she found herself faint, and a sinking of her spirits, to take this cordial, and that dram, to keep up her spirits, till it became necessary even to keep her alive, and gradually increased to a habit, so that it was no longer her physic but her food. Her appetite sunk and went quite away, and she eat little or nothing, but came at last to such a dreadful height, that, as I have said, she would be drunk in her own dressing-room by eleven o'clock in the morning, and, in short, at last was never sober.

In this life of hellish excess, as I have said, she lost all that was before so valuable in her, and a villain, if it be proper to call a man by such a name, who was an intimate acquaintance, coming to pretend to visit her, made her and her maid so drunk together, that he abused both. Let any one judge what was my case now; I that for six years thought myself the happiest man alive, was now the most miserable distracted creature. As to my wife, I loved her so well, and was so sensible of the disaster of her drinking being the occasion of it all, that I could not resent it to such a degree as I had done in her predecessor, but I pitied her heartily; however, I put away all her servants, and almost locked her up, that is to say, I set new people over her, who would not suffer any one to come near her without my knowledge.

But what to do with the villain that had thus abused both her and me, that was the question that remained. To fight him upon equal terms, I thought was a little hard: that after a man had treated me as he had done, he deserved no fair play for his life; so I resolved to wait for him in Stepney fields, and which way he often came home pretty late, and pistol him in the dark, and, if possible, to let him know what I killed him for, before I did it; but when I came to consider of this, it shocked my temper too as well as principle, and I could not be a murderer, whatever else I could be, or whatever else I was provoked to be.

However, I resolved, on the other hand, that I would severely correct him for what he had done, and it was not long before I had an opportunity; for, hearing one morning that he was walking across the fields from Stepney to Shadwell, which way I knew he often went, I waited for his coming home again, and fairly met him.

I had not many words with him, but told him I had long looked for him; that he knew the villany he had been guilty of in my family, and he could not believe, since he knew also that I was fully informed of it, but that I must be a great coward as well as a cuckold, or that I would resent it, and that it was now a very proper time to call him to an account for it; and therefore bade him, if he durst show his face to what he had done, and defend the name of a captain of a man-of-war, as they said he had been, to draw.

He seemed surprised at the thing, and began to parley, and would lessen the crime of it; but I told him it was not a time to talk that way, since he could not deny the fact; and to lessen the crime was to lay it the more upon the woman, who, I was sure, if he had not first debauched with wine, he could never have brought to the rest; and seeing he refused to draw, I knocked him down with my cane at one blow, and I would not strike him again while he lay on the ground, but waited to see him recover a little, for I saw plainly he was not killed. In a few minutes he came to himself again, and then I took him fast by one wrist, and caned him as severely as I was able, and as long as I could hold it for want of breath, but forbore his head, because I was resolved he should feel it. In this condition at last he begged for mercy; but I was deaf to all pity a great while, till he roared out like a boy soundly whipped. Then I took his sword from him, and broke it before his face, and left him on the ground, giving him two or three kicks on the backside, and bade him go and take the law of me, if he thought fit.

I had now as much satisfaction as indeed could be taken of a coward, and had no more to say to him; but as I knew it would make a great noise about the town, I immediately removed my family, and that I might be perfectly concealed, went into the north of England, and lived in a little town called ——, not far from Lancaster, where I lived retired, and was no more heard of for about two years. My wife, though more confined than she used to be, and so kept up from the lewd part which, I believe, in the intervals of her intemperance she was truly ashamed of and abhorred, yet retained the drinking part, which becoming (as I have said) necessary for her subsistence, she soon ruined her health, and in about a year and a half after my removal into the north, she died.

Thus I was once more a free man, and as one would think, should by this time have been fully satisfied that matrimony was not appointed to be a state of felicity to me.

I should have mentioned that the villain of a captain who I had drubbed (as above), pretended to make a great stir about my assaulting him on the highway, and that I had fallen upon him with three ruffians, with an intent to murder him; and this began to obtain belief among the people in the neighbourhood. I sent him word of so much of it as I had heard, and told him I hoped it did not come from his own mouth; but if it did, I expected he would publicly disown it, he himself declaring he knew it to be false, or else I should be forced to act the same thing over again, till I had disciplined him into better manners; and that he might be assured, that if he continued to pretend that I had anybody with me when I caned him, I would publish the whole story in print, and besides that, would cane him again wherever I met him, and as often as I met him, till he thought fit to defend himself with his sword like a gentleman.

He gave me no answer to this letter; and the satisfaction I had for that was, that I gave twenty or thirty copies of it about among the neighbours, which made it as public as if I had printed it (that is, as to his acquaintance and mine), and made him so hissed at and hated, that he was obliged to remove into some other part of the town, whither I did not inquire.

My wife being now dead, I knew not what course to take in the world, and I grew so disconsolate and discouraged, that I was next door to being distempered, and sometimes, indeed, I thought myself a little touched in my head. But it proved nothing but vapours, and the vexation of this affair, and in about a year's time, or thereabouts, it wore off again.

I had rambled up and down in a most discontented unsettled posture after this, I say, about a year, and then I considered I had three innocent children, and I could take no care of them, and that I must either go away, and leave them to the wide world, or settle here and get somebody to look after them, and that better a mother-in-law than no mother, for to live such a wandering life it would not do; so I resolved I would marry as anything offered, though it was mean, and the meaner the better. I concluded my next wife should be only taken as an upper servant, that is to say, a nurse to my children, and housekeeper to myself; and let her be whore or honest woman, said I, as she likes best, I am resolved I will not much concern myself about that; for I was now one desperate, that valued not how things went.

In this careless, and indeed rash, foolish humour, I talked to myself thus: If I marry an honest woman, my children will be taken care of; if she be a slut, and abuses me, as I see everybody does, I will kidnap her and send her to Virginia, to my plantations there, and there she shall work hard enough, and fare hard enough to keep her chaste, I'll warrant her.

I knew well enough at first that these were mad, hare-brained notions, and I thought no more of being serious in them than I thought of being a man in the moon. But I know not how it happened to me, I reasoned and talked to myself in this wild manner so long, that I brought myself to be seriously desperate; that is, to resolve upon another marriage, with all the suppositions of unhappiness that could be imagined to fall out.

And yet even this rash resolution of my senses did not come presently to action; for I was half a year after this before I fixed upon anything. At last, as he that seeks mischief shall certainly find it, so it was with me: there happened to be a young, or rather a middle-aged woman in the next town, which was but a half mile off, who usually was at my house, and among my children, every day when the weather was tolerable; and though she came but merely as a neighbour, and to see us, yet she was always helpful in directing and ordering things for them, and mighty handy about them, as well before my wife died as after.

Her father was one that I employed often to go to Liverpool, and sometimes to Whitehaven, and do business for me; for having, as it were, settled myself in the northern parts of England, I had ordered part of my effects to be shipped, as occasion of shipping offered, to either of those two towns, to which (the war continuing very sharp) it was safer coming, as to privateers, than about through the Channel to London.

I took a mighty fancy at last, that this girl would answer my end, particularly that I saw she was mighty useful among the children; so on the other hand, the children loved her very well, and I resolved to love her too, flattering myself mightily, that, as I had married two gentlewomen and one citizen, and they proved all three whores, I should now find what I wanted in an innocent country wench.

I took up a world of time in considering of this matter; indeed scarce any of my matches were done without very mature consideration; the second was the worst in that article, but in this, I thought of it, I believe, four months most seriously before I resolved, and that very prudence spoiled the whole thing. However, at last being resolved, I took Mrs. Margaret one day as she passed by my parlour door, called her in, and told her I wanted to speak with her. She came readily in, but blushed mightily when I bade her sit down in a chair just by me.

I used no great ceremony with her, but told her that I had observed she had been mighty kind to my children, and was very tender to them, and that they all loved her, and that if she and I could agree about it, I intended to make her their mother, if she was not engaged to somebody else. The girl sat still, and said never a word, till I said those words, 'if she was not engaged to somebody else,' when she seemed struck. However, I took no notice of it, other than this, 'Look ye, Moggy,' said I (so they call them in the country), 'if you have promised yourself, you must tell me.' For we all knew that a young fellow, a good clergyman's wicked son, had hung about her a great while, two or three years, and made love to her, but could never get the girl in the mind, it seems, to have him.

She knew I was not ignorant of it, and therefore, after her first surprise was over, she told me Mr. —— had, as I knew, often come after her, but she had never promised him anything, and had, for several years, refused him; her father always telling her that he was a wicked fellow, and that he would be her ruin if she had him.

'Well, Moggy, then,' says I, 'what dost say to me? Art thou free to make me a wife?' She blushed and looked down upon the ground, and would not speak a good while; but, when I pressed her to tell me, she looked up, and said, she supposed I was but jesting with her. Well, I got over that, and told her I was in very good earnest with her, and I took her for a sober, honest, modest girl, and, as I said, one that my children loved mighty well, and I was in earnest with her; if she would give me her consent, I would give her my word that I would have her, and we would be married to-morrow morning. She looked up again at that, and smiled a little, and said, No, that was too soon to say yes; she hoped I would give her some time to consider of it, and to talk with her father about it.

I told her she needed not much time to consider about it; but, however, I would give her till to-morrow morning, which was a great while. By this time I had kissed Moggy two or three times, and she began to be freer with me; and, when I pressed her to marry me the next morning, she laughed, and told me it was not lucky to be married in her old clothes.

I stopped her mouth presently with that, and told her she should not be married in her old clothes, for I would give her some new. 'Ay, it may be afterwards,' says Moggy, and laughed again. 'No, just now,' says I; 'come along with me, Moggy.' So I carried her upstairs into my wife's room that was, and showed her a new morning-gown of my wife's, that she had never worn above two or three times, and several other fine things. 'Look you there, Moggy,' says I, 'there is a wedding-gown for you; give me your hand now that you will have me to-morrow morning. And as to your father, you know he has gone to Liverpool on my business; but I will answer for it, he shall not be angry when he comes home to call his master son-in-law, and I ask him no portion; therefore, give me thy hand for it, Moggy,' says I very merrily to her, and kissed her again; and the girl gave me her hand, and very pleasantly too, and I was mightily pleased with it, I assure you.

There lived about three doors from us an ancient gentleman, who passed for a doctor of physic, but who was really a Romish priest in orders, as there are many in that part of the country; and in the evening I sent to speak

with him. He knew that I understood his profession, and that I had lived in popish countries; and, in a word, believed me a Roman too, for I was such abroad. When he came to me, I told him the occasion for which I sent for him, and that it was to be to-morrow morning. He readily told me, if I would come and see him in the evening, and bring Moggy with me, he would marry us in his own study, and that it was rather more private to do it in the evening than in the morning; so I called Moggy again to me, and told her, since she and I had agreed the matter for to-morrow, it was as well to be done over night, and told her what the doctor had said.

Moggy blushed again, and said she must go home first; that she could not be ready before to-morrow. 'Look ye, Moggy,' says I, 'you are my wife now, and you shall never go away from me a maid. I know what you mean; you would go home to shift you. Come, Moggy,' says I, 'come along with me again upstairs.' So I carried her to a chest of linen, where were several new shifts of my last wife's, which she had never worn at all, and some that had been worn. 'There is a clean smock for you, Moggy,' says I; 'and to-morrow you shall have all the rest.' When I had done this, 'Now, Moggy,' says I, 'go and dress you;' so I locked her in, and went down stairs. 'Knock,' says I, 'when you are dressed.'

After some time, Moggy did not knock, but down she came into my room completely dressed, for there were several other things that I bade her take, and the clothes fitted her as if they had been made for her; it seems she slipped the lock back.

'Well, Moggy,' says I, 'now you see you shall not be married in your old clothes;' so I took her in my arms and kissed her, and well pleased I was, as ever I was in my life, or with anything I ever did in my life. As soon as it was dark, Moggy slipped away beforehand, as the doctor and I had agreed, to the old gentleman's housekeeper, and I came in about half an hour after, and there we were married in the doctor's study, that is to say, in his oratory, or chapel, a little room within his study, and we stayed and supped with him afterward.

When, after a short stay more, I went home first, because I would send the children all to bed, and the other servants out of the way, and Moggy came some time after, and so we lay together that night. The next morning I let all the family know that Moggy was my wife, and my three children were rejoiced at it to the last degree. And now I was a married man a fourth time; and, in short, I was really more happy in this plain country girl, than with any of all the wives I had had. She was not young, being about thirty-three; but she brought me a son the first year. She was very pretty, well-shaped, and of a merry cheerful disposition, but not a beauty. She was an admirable family manager, loved my former children, and used them not at all the worse for having some of her own. In a word, she made me an excellent wife, but lived with me but four years, and died of a hurt she got of a fall while she was with child, and in her I had a very great loss indeed.

And yet such was my fate in wives, that, after all the blushing and backwardness of Mrs. Moggy at first, Mrs. Moggy had, it seems, made a slip in her younger days, and was got with child ten years before, by a gentleman of a great estate in that country, who promised her marriage, and afterwards deserted her; but as that had happened long before I came into the country, and the child was dead and forgotten, the people was so good to her, and so kind to me, that, hearing I had married her, nobody ever spoke of it, neither did I ever hear of it, or suspect it, till after she was in her grave, and then it was of small consequence to me one way or other, and she was a faithful, virtuous, obliging wife to me. I had a very severe affliction indeed while she lived with me, for the smallpox, a frightful distemper in that country, broke into my family and carried off three of my children, and a maidservant; so that I had only one of my former wife's and one by my Moggy, the first a son, the last a daughter.

While these things were in agitation, came on the invasion of the Scots and the fight at Preston; and I have cause to bless the memory of my Moggy, for I was all on fire on that side, and just going away with horse and arms to join the Lord Derwentwater; but Moggy begged me off (as I may call it), and hung about me so with her tears and importunities, that I sat still and looked on, for which I had reason to be thankful.

I was really a sorrowful father, and the loss of my children stuck close to me; but the loss of my wife stuck closer to me than all the rest. Nor was my grief lessened, or my kindest thoughts abated in the least, by the account I heard of her former miscarriages, seeing they were so long before I knew her, and were not discovered by me or to me in her lifetime.

All these things put together made me very comfortless. And now I thought Heaven summoned me to retire to Virginia, the place, and (as I may say) the only place, I had been blessed at, or had met with anything that deserved the name of success in, and where, indeed, my affairs being in good hands, the plantations were increased to such a degree, that some years my return here made up eight hundred pounds, and one year almost a thousand; so I resolved to leave my native country once more, and taking my son with me, and leaving Moggy's daughter with her grandfather, I made him my principal agent, left him considerable in his hands for the maintenance of the child, and left my will in his hand, by which, if I died before I should otherwise provide for her, I left her £2000 portion, to be paid by my son out of the estate I had in Virginia, and the whole estate if he died unmarried.

I embarked for Virginia in the year ——, at the town of Liverpool, and had a tolerable voyage thither, only that we met with a pirate ship, in the latitude of 48 degrees, who plundered us of everything they could come at that was for their turn, that is to say, provisions, ammunition, small arms, and money. But to give the rogues their due, though they were the most abandoned wretches that were ever seen, they did not use us ill; and as to my loss, it was not considerable The cargo which I had on board was in goods, and was of no use to them; nor could they come at those things without rummaging the whole ship, which they did not think worth their while.

I found all my affairs in very good order at Virginia, my plantations prodigiously increased; and my manager, who first inspired me with travelling thoughts, and made me master of any knowledge worth naming, received me with a transport of joy, after a ramble of four-and-twenty years.

I ought to remember it, to the encouragement of all faithful servants, that he gave me an account, which I believe was critically just, of the whole affairs of the plantations, each by them-

selves, and balanced in years; every year's produce being fully transmitted, charges deducted, to my order at London.

I was exceedingly satisfied, as I had good reason indeed, with his management; and with his management, as much in its degree, of his own, I can safely say it. He had improved a very large plantation of his own at the same time, which he began upon the foot of the country's allowance of land, and the encouragement he had from me.

When he had given me all this pleasing agreeable account, you will not think it strange that I had a desire to see the plantations, and to view all the servants, which, in both the works, were upwards of three hundred; and as my tutor generally bought some every fleet that came from England, I had the mortification to see two or three of the Preston gentlemen there, who, being prisoners of war, were spared from the public execution, and sent over to that slavery, which to gentlemen must be worse than death.

I do not mention what I did or said relating to them here; I shall speak at large of it when the rest of them came over, which more nearly concerned me.

But one circumstance occurred to me here that equally surprised me and terrified me to the last degree. Looking over all the servants, as I say above, and viewing the plantations narrowly and frequently, I came one day by a place where some women were at work by themselves. I was seriously reflecting on the misery of human life when I saw some of those poor wretches. Thought I, they have perhaps lived gay and pleasantly in the world, notwithstanding, through a variety of distresses, they may have been brought to this; and if a body was to hear the history of some of them now, it would perhaps be as moving and as seasonable a sermon as any minister in the country could preach.

While I was musing thus, and looking at the women, on a sudden I heard a combustion among other of the women-servants, who were almost behind me in the same work; and help was called loudly for, one of the women having swooned away. They said she would die immediately if something was not done to relieve her. I had nothing about me but a little bottle, which we always carried about us there with rum, to give any servant a dram that merited that favour; so I turned my horse, and went up towards the place; but as the poor creature was lying flat on the ground, and the rest of the women-servants about her, I did not see her, but gave them the bottle, and they rubbed her temples with it, and, with much ado, brought her to life, and offered her a little to drink; but she could drink none of it, and was exceeding ill afterwards, so that she was carried to the infirmary, so they call it in the religious houses in Italy, where the sick nuns or friars are carried; but here, in Virginia, I think they should call it the condemned hole, for it really was only a place just fit for people to die in, not a place to be cured in.

The sick woman refusing to drink, one of the women-servants brought me the bottle again, and I bade them drink it among them, which had almost set them together by the ears for the liquor, there being not enough to give every one a sup.

I went home to my house immediately, and reflecting on the miserable provision was wont to be made for poor servants when they were sick, I inquired of my manager if it was so still. He said, he believed mine was better than any in the country; but he confessed it was but sad lodging. However, he said he would go and look after it immediately, and see how it was.

He came to me again about an hour after, and told me the woman was very ill, and frightened with her condition; that she seemed to be very penitent for some things in her past life, which lay heavy upon her mind, believing she should die; that she asked him if there were no ministers to comfort poor dying servants; and he told her, that she knew they had no minister nearer than such a place; but that, if she lived till morning, he should be sent for. He told me also that he had removed her into a room where their chief workman used to lodge; that he had given her a pair of sheets, and everything he could that he thought she wanted, and had appointed another woman-servant to attend her, and sit up with her.

'Well,' says I, 'that is well, for I cannot bear to have poor creatures lie and perish by the mere hardship of the place they are in, when they are sick and want help. Besides,' said I, 'some of those unfortunate creatures they call convicts, may be people that have been tenderly brought up.' 'Really, sir,' says he, 'this poor creature I always said had something of a gentlewoman in her; I could see it by her behaviour; and I have heard the other women say that she lived very great once, and that she had fifteen hundred pounds to her portion, and I daresay she has been a handsome woman in her time, and she has a hand as fine as a lady's now, though it be tanned with the weather. I daresay she was never brought up to labour as she does here, and she says to the rest that it will kill her.'

'Truly,' says I, 'it may be so, and that may be the reason that she faints under it; and,' I added, 'is there nothing you can put her to within doors, that may not be so laborious, and expose her to so much heat and cold?' He told me, yes, there was; he could set her to be the housekeeper, for the woman that lately was such was out of her time, and was married and turned planter. 'Why, then, let her have it,' said I, 'if she recovers; and in the meantime go,' said I, 'and tell her so; perhaps the comfort of it may help to restore her.'

He did so; and with that, taking good care of her, and giving her good warm diet, the woman recovered, and in a little time was abroad again; for it was the mere weight of labour, and being exposed to hard lodging and mean diet, to one so tenderly bred, that struck her, and she fainted at her work.

When she was made housekeeper, she was quite another body; she put all the household into such excellent order, and managed their provisions so well, that my tutor admired her conduct, and would be every now and then speaking of her to me, that she was an excellent manager. 'I'll warrant,' says he, 'she has been bred a gentlewoman, and she has been a fine woman in her time too.' In a word, he said so many good things of her, that I had a mind to see her. So one day I took occasion to go to the plantation-house, as they called it, and into a parlour, always reserved for the master of the plantation. There she had opportunity to see me before I could see her, and as soon as she had seen me she knew me; but, indeed, had I seen her an hundred times, I should not have known her. She was, it seems, in the greatest confusion and surprise at seeing who I was that it was possible for any one to be; and when I ordered my manager to bring her into the room, he found her crying, and begged him to excuse her; that she was frightened, and should die away if she came near me.

I not imagining anything but that the poor creature was afraid of me (for masters in Virginia are terrible things), bade him tell her she need to be under no concern at my calling for her; for it was not for any hurt, nor for any displeasure, but that I had some orders to give her. So having, as he thought, encouraged her, though her surprise was of another kind, he brought her in. When she came in, she held a handkerchief in her hand, wiping her eyes as if she had cried. 'Mrs. Housekeeper,' said I, speaking cheerfully to her, 'don't be concerned at my sending for you. I have had a very good account of your management, and I called for you to let you know I am very well pleased with it; and if it falls in my way to do you any good, if your circumstances will allow it, I may be willing enough to help you out of your misery.'

She made low courtesies, but said nothing. However, she was so far encouraged, that she took her hand from her face, and I saw her face fully; and I believe she did it, desiring I should discover who she was; but I really knew nothing of her, any more than if I had never seen her in my life, but went on, as I thought, to encourage her, as I used to do with any that I saw deserved it.

In the meantime my tutor, who was in the room, went out on some business or other, I know not what. As soon as he was gone, she burst out into a passion, and fell down on her knees just before me: 'Oh! sir,' says she, 'I see you don't know me; be merciful to me, I am your miserable divorced wife!'

I was astonished, I was frightened, I trembled like one in an ague, I was speechless; in a word, I was ready to sink, and she fell flat on her face, and lay there as if she had been dead. I was speechless, I say, as a stone. I had only presence of mind enough to step to the door and fasten it, that my tutor might not come in; then, going back to her, I took her up, and spoke comfortably to her, and told her I no more knew her than if I had never seen her.

'O! sir,' said she, 'afflictions are dreadful things. Such as I have suffered have been enough to alter my countenance; but forgive,' said she, 'for God's sake the injuries I have done you. I have paid dear for all my wickedness, and it is just, it is righteous, that God should bring me to your foot, to ask your pardon for all my brutish doings. Forgive me, sir,' said she, 'I beseech you, and let me be your slave or servant for it as long as I live, it is all I ask;' and with those words, she fell upon her knees again, and cried so vehemently, that it was impossible for her to stop it, or to speak a word more. I took her up again, made her sit down, desired her to compose herself, and to hear what I was going to say, though, indeed, it touched me so sensibly, that I was hardly able to speak any more than she was.

First, I told her it was such a surprise to me, that I was not able to say much to her, and indeed the tears run down my face almost as fast as they did on hers. I told her that I should only tell her now, that, as nobody had yet known anything that had passed, so it was absolutely necessary not a word of it should be known; that it should not be the worse for her, that she was thus thrown in my hands again; but that I could do nothing for her if it was known, and, therefore, that her future good or ill fortune would depend upon her entire concealing it; that, as my manager would come in again presently, she should go back to her part of the house, and go on in the business, as she did before; that I would come to her, and talk more at large with her in a day or two. So she retired, after assuring me that not a word of it should go out of her mouth; and indeed she was willing to retire before my tutor came again, that he might not see the agony she was in.

I was so perplexed about this surprising incident, that I hardly knew what I did or said all that night, nor was I come to any settled resolution in the morning what course to take in it. However, in the morning I called my tutor, and told him that I had been exceedingly concerned about the poor distressed creature, the housekeeper; that I had heard some of her story, which was very dismal; that she had been in very good circumstances, and was bred very well, and that I was glad he had removed her out of the field into the house; but still she was almost naked, and that I would have him go down to the warehouse, and give her some linen, especially headclothes, and all sorts of small things, such as hoods, gloves, stockings, shoes, petticoats, &c., and to let her choose for herself; also a morning-gown of calico, and a mantua of a better kind of calico; that is to say, new clothe her; which he did, but brought me word, that he found her all in tears, and that she had cried all night long, and in short, he believed she would indeed cry herself to death; that all the while she was receiving the things he gave her, she cried; that now and then she would struggle with, and stop it, but that then, upon another word speaking, she would burst out again, so that it grieved everybody that saw her.

I was really affected with her case very much, but struggled hard with myself to hide it, and turned the discourse to something else. In the meantime, though I did not go to her the next day, nor till the third day, yet I studied day and night how to act, and what I should do in this remarkable case.

When I came to the house, which was the third day, she came into the room I was in, clothed all over with my things which I had ordered her, and told me she thanked God she was now my servant again, and wore my livery; thanked me for the clothes I had sent her, and said it was much more than she had deserved from me.

I then entered into discourses with her, nobody being present but ourselves; and first I told her she should name no more of the unkind things that had past, for she had humbled herself more than enough on that subject, and I would never reproach her with anything that was past; I found that she had been the deepest sufferer by far; I told her it was impossible for me, in my present circumstances, to receive her there as a wife, who came over as a convict, neither did she know so little as to desire it; but, I told her, I might be instrumental to put an end to her misfortunes in the world, and especially to the miserable part of it, which was her present load, provided she could effectually keep her own counsel, and never let the particulars come out of her mouth, and that from the day she did, she might date her irrecoverable ruin.

She was as sensible of the necessity of that part as I was, and told me all she could claim of me would be only to deliver her from her present calamity, that she was not able to support; and that then, if I pleased, she might live such a life as that she might apply the residue of what time she should have wholly to repentance; that she was willing to do the meanest offices in the world for me; and though she should rejoice to hear that I would forgive her former life, yet that she would not look any higher than to be my servant as long as she lived; and, in the meantime, I

might be satisfied she would never let any creature so much as know that I had ever seen her before.

I asked her if she was willing to let me into any part of the history of her life since she and I parted, but I did not insist upon it otherwise than as she thought convenient. She said, as her breach with me began first in folly, and ended in sin, so her whole life afterwards was a continued series of calamity, sin and sorrow, sin and shame, and at last misery; that she was deluded into gay company, and to an expensive way of living, which betrayed her to several wicked courses to support the expenses of it; that, after a thousand distresses and difficulties, being not able to maintain herself, she was reduced to extreme poverty.

That she would many times have humbled herself to me in the lowest and most submissive manner in the world, being sincerely penitent for her first crime, but that she never could hear of me, nor which way I was gone; that she was by that means so abandoned that she wanted bread, and those wants and distresses brought her into bad company of another kind, and that she fell in among a gang of thieves, with whom she herded for some time, and got money enough a great while, but under the greatest dread and terror imaginable, being in the constant fear of coming to shame; that afterwards, what she feared was come upon her, and for a very trifling attempt, in which she was not principal, but accidentally concerned, she was sent to this place. She told me her life was such a collection of various fortunes, up and down, in plenty and in misery, in prison and at liberty, at ease and in torment, that it would take up a great many days to give me a history of it; that I was come to see the end of it, as I had seen the best part of the beginning; that I knew she was brought up tenderly, and fared delicately; but that now she was, with the prodigal, brought to desire husks with swine, and even to want that supply. Her tears flowed so strongly upon this discourse that they frequently interrupted her, so that she could not go on without difficulty, and at last could not go on at all; so I told her I would excuse her telling any more of her story at that time; that I saw it was but a renewing of her grief, and that I would rather contribute to her forgetting what was past, and desired her to say no more of it, so I broke off that part.

In the meantime I told her, since Providence had thus cast her upon my hands again, I would take care that she should not want, and that she should not live hardly neither, though I could go no further at present; and thus she parted for that time, and she continued in the business of housekeeper; only that, to ease her, I gave her an assistant; and though I would not have it called so, it was neither more nor less than a servant to wait on her, and do everything for her; and I told her too that it was so.

After she had been some time in this place, she recovered her spirits, and grew cheerful; her fallen flesh plumped up, and the sunk and hollow parts filled again; so that she began to recover something of that brightness and charming countenance which was once so very agreeable to me, and sometimes I could not help having warm desires towards her, and of taking her into her first station again; but there were many difficulties occurred, which I could not get over a great while.

But, in the meantime, another odd accident happened, which put me to a very great difficulty, and more than I could have thought such a thing could be capable of. My tutor, a man of wit and learning, and full of generous principles, who was at first moved with compassion for the misery of this gentlewoman, and, even then, thought there were some things more than common in her, as I have hinted: now, when, as I say, she was recovered, and her sprightly temper restored and comforted, he was charmed so with her conversation that, in short, he fell in love with her.

I hinted, in my former account of her, that she had a charming tongue, was mistress of abundance of wit, that she sung incomparably fine, and was perfectly well-bred; these all remained with her still, and made her a very agreeable person; and, in short, he came to me one evening, and told me that he came to ask my leave to let him marry the housekeeper.

I was exceedingly perplexed at this proposal, but, however, I gave him no room to perceive that. I told him I hoped he had considered well of it before he brought it so far as to offer it to me, and supposed that he had agreed that point so that I had no consent to give, but as she had almost four years of her time to serve.

He answered no, he paid such a regard to me, that he would not so much as take one step in such a thing without my knowledge, and assured me had not so much as mentioned it to her. I knew not what answer indeed to make to him; but at last I resolved to put it off from myself to her, because then I should have opportunity to talk with her beforehand. So I told him he was perfectly free to act in the matter as he thought fit; that I could not say either one thing or another to it, neither had I any right to meddle in it; as to serving out her time with me, that was a trifle, and not worth naming, but I hoped he would consider well every circumstance before he entered upon such an affair as that.

He told me he had fully considered it already, and that he was resolved, seeing I was not against it, to have her whatever came of it, for he believed he should be the happiest man alive with her. Then he ran on in his character of her, how clever a woman she was in the management of all manner of business, what admirable conversation she had, what a wit, what a memory, what a vast share of knowledge, and the like; all which I knew to be the truth, and yet short of her just character too; for, as she was all that formerly when she was mine, she was vastly improved in the school of affliction, and was all the bright part, with a vast addition of temper, prudence, judgment, and all that she formerly wanted.

I had not much patience, as you may well imagine, till I saw my honest housekeeper, to communicate this secret to her, and to see what course she would steer on so nice an occasion; but I was suddenly taken so ill with a cold, which held for two days, that I could not stir out of doors; and in this time the matter was all done and over, for my tutor had gone the same night, and made his attack, but was coldly received at first, which very much surprised him, for he made no doubt to have her consent at first word. However, the next day he came again, and again the third day, when, finding he was in earnest, and yet that she could not think of anything of that kind, she told him, in few words, that she thought herself greatly obliged to him for such a testimony of his respect to her, and should have embraced it willingly, as anybody would suppose one in her circumstances should do, but that she would not abuse him so much; for that, she must acknowledge to him, she was under obligations that prevented her, that was, in short, that she was a married woman, and had a husband alive.

This was so sincere, but so effectual an answer, that he could have no room to reply one word to it; but that he was very sorry, and that it was a very great affliction to him, and as great a disappointment as ever he met with.

The next day after he had received this repulse, I came to the plantation-house, and, sending for the housekeeper, I began with her, and told her that I understood she would have a very advantageous proposal made to her, and that I would have her consider well of it, and then told her what my tutor had said to me.

She immediately fell a crying, at which I seemed to wonder very much. 'O! sir,' says she, 'how can you name such a thing to me?' I told her that I could name it the better to her, because I had been married myself since I parted from her. 'Yes, sir,' says she, 'but the case alters; the crime being on my side, I ought not to marry; but,' says she, 'that is not the reason at all, but I cannot do it.' I pretended to press her to it, though not sincerely, I must acknowledge, for my heart had turned toward her for some time, and I had fully forgiven her in my mind all her former conduct; but, I say, I seemed to press her to it, at which she burst out in a passion. 'No, no,' says she, 'let me be your slave rather than the best man's wife in the world.' I reasoned with her upon her circumstances, and how such a marriage would restore her to a state of ease and plenty, and none in the world might ever know or suspect who or what she had been; but she could not bear it, but, with tears, again raising her voice, that I was afraid she would be heard, 'I beseech you,' says she, 'do not speak of it any more. I was once yours, and I will never belong to any man else in the world; let me be as I am, or anything else you please to make me, but not a wife to any man alive but yourself.'

I was so moved with the passion she was in at speaking this, that I knew not what I said or did for some time; at length I said to her, 'It is a great pity you had not long ago been as sincere as you are now, it had been better for us both. However, as it is, you shall not be forced to anything against your mind, nor shall you be the worse treated for refusing; but how will you put him off? No doubt he expects you will receive his proposal as an advantage; and as he sees no farther into your circumstances, so it is.' 'O! sir,' says she, 'I have done all that already. He has his answer, and is fully satisfied; he will never trouble you any more on that head;' and then she told me what answer she had given him.

From that minute I resolved that I would certainly take her again to be my wife as before. I thought she had fully made me amends for her former ill conduct, and she deserved to be forgiven; and so indeed she did, if ever woman did, considering also what dreadful penance she had undergone, and how long she had lived in misery and distress; and that Providence had, as it were, cast her upon me again; and, above all, had given her such an affection to me, and so resolved a mind, that she could refuse so handsome an offer of deliverance, rather than be farther separated from me.

As I resolved this in my mind, so I thought it was cruel to conceal it any longer from her, nor indeed could I contain myself any longer, but I took her in my arms. 'Well,' says I, 'you have given me such a testimony of affection in this, that I can no longer withstand. I forgive you all that ever was between us on this account; and, since you will be nobody's but mine, you shall be mine again as you were at first.'

But this was too much for her the other way, and now she was so far overcome with my yielding to her, that, had she not got vent to her passion by the most vehement crying, she must have died in my arms; and I was forced to let her go, and set her down in a chair, where she cried for a quarter of an hour before she could speak a word.

When she was come to herself enough to talk again, I told her we must consider of a method how to bring this to pass, and that it must not be done by publishing there that she was my wife before, for that would expose us both, but that I would openly marry her again. This, she agreed, was very rational, and accordingly, about two months after, we were married again, and no man in the world ever enjoyed a better wife, or lived more happy than we both did for several years after.

And now I began to think my fortunes were settled for this world, and I had nothing before me but to finish a life of infinite variety, such as mine had been, with a comfortable retreat, being both made wiser by our sufferings and difficulties, and able to judge for ourselves what kind of life would be best adapted to our present circumstances, and what station we might look upon ourselves to be most completely happy.

But man is a short-sighted creature at best, and in nothing more than in that of fixing his own felicity, or, as we may say, choosing for himself. One would have thought, and so my wife often suggested to me, that the state of life that I was now in was as perfectly calculated to make a man completely happy, as any private station in the world could be. We had an estate more than sufficient, and daily increasing, for the supporting any state or figure that in that place we could propose to ourselves, or even desire to live in. We had everything that was pleasant and agreeable, without the least mortification in any circumstances of it: every sweet thing, and nothing to embitter it; every good, and no mixture of evil with it; nor any gap open where we could have the least apprehensions of any evil breaking out upon us; nor indeed was it easy for either of us, in our phlegmatic melancholy notions, to have the least imagination how anything disastrous could happen to us in the common course of things, unless something should befall us out of the ordinary way of providence, or of its acting in the world.

But an unseen mine blew up all this apparent tranquillity at once; and though it did not remove my affairs there from me, yet it effectually removed me from them, and sent me a wandering into the world again,—a condition full of hazards, and always attended with circumstances dangerous to mankind, while he is left to choose his own fortunes, and be guided by his own short-sighted measures.

I must now return to a circumstance of my history which had been past for some time, and which relates to my conduct while I was last in England.

I mentioned how my faithful wife Moggy, with her tears and her entreaties, had prevailed with me not to play the madman, and openly join in the rebellion with the late Lord Derwentwater and his party, when they entered Lancashire; and thereby, as I may say, saved my life. But my curiosity prevailed so much at last, that I gave her the slip when they came to Preston, and at least thought I would go and look at them, and see what they were likely to come to.

My former wife's importunities, as above, had indeed prevailed upon me from publicly embark-

ing in that enterprise, and joining openly with them in arms; and by this, as I have observed, she saved my life, to be sure, because I had then publicly espoused the rebellion, and had been known to have been among them, which might have been as fatal to me afterwards, though I had not been taken in the action, as if I had.

But when they advanced, and came nearer to us to Preston, and there appeared a greater spirit among the people in their favour, my old doctor, whom I mentioned before, who was a Romish priest, and had married us, inspired me with new zeal, and gave me no rest till he obliged me, with only a good horse and arms, to join them the day before they entered Preston, he himself venturing in the same posture with me.

I was not so public here as to be very well known, at least by any one that had knowledge of me in the country where I lived; and this was indeed my safety afterwards, as you will soon hear. But yet I was known too among the men, especially among the Scots, with some of whom I had been acquainted in foreign service. With these I was particularly conversant, and passed for a French officer. I talked to them of making a select detachment to defend the pass between Preston and the river and bridge; upon maintaining which, as I insisted, depended the safety of the whole party.

It was with some warmth that I spoke of that affair; and as I passed among them, I say, for a French officer, and a man of experience, it caused several debates among them. But the hint was not followed, as is well known, and from that moment I gave them all up as lost, and meditated nothing but how to escape from them, which I effected the night before they were surrounded by the royal cavalry. I did not do this without great difficulty; swimming the river Ribble at a place where, though I got well over, yet I could not for a long while get to a place where my horse could land himself; that is to say, where the ground was firm enough for him to take the land. However, at length I got on shore, and riding very hard, came the next evening in sight of my own dwelling. Here, after lying by in a wood till the depth of night, I shut my horse in a little kind of a gravel pit, or marl pit, where I soon covered him with earth for the present, and marching all alone, I came about two in the morning to my house, where my wife, surprised with joy, and yet terribly frightened, let me in; and then I took immediate measures to secure myself upon whatever incident might happen, but which, as things were ordered, I had no need to make use of, for the rebels being entirely defeated, and either all killed or taken prisoners, I was not known by anybody in the country to have been among them, no, nor so much as suspected; and thus I made a narrow escape from the most dangerous action, and most foolishly embarked in, of any that I had ever been engaged in before.

It was very lucky to me that I had killed and buried my horse, for he would have been taken two days after, and would, to be sure, have been known by those who had seen me upon him at Preston. But now, as none knew I had been abroad, nor any such circumstance could discover me, I kept close; and as my excursion had been short, and I had not been missed by any of my neighbours, if anybody came to speak with me, behold, I was at home.

However, I was not thoroughly easy in my mind, and secretly wished I was in my own dominions in Virginia; to which in a little time, other circumstances occurring, I made preparations to remove with my whole family.

In the meantime, as above, the action at Preston happened, and the miserable people surrendered to the king's troops. Some were executed for examples, as in such cases is usual; and the government extending mercy to the multitude, they were kept in Chester Castle and other places a considerable time, till they were disposed of, some one way, some another, as we shall hear.

Several hundreds of them, after this, were at their own request transported, as it is vulgarly expressed, to the plantations, that is to say, sent to Virginia and other British colonies, to be sold after the usual manner of condemned criminals, or, as we call them there, convicts, to serve a limited time in the country, and then be made freemen again. Some of these I have spoken of above; but now, to my no little uneasiness, I found, after I had been there some time, two ships arrived with more of these people in the same river where all my plantations lay.

I no sooner heard of it, but the first step I took was to resolve to let none of them be bought into my work, or to any of my plantations; and this I did pretending that I would not make slaves every day of unfortunate gentlemen who fell into that condition for their zeal to their party only, and the like; but the true reason was, that I expected several of them would know me, and might perhaps betray me, and make it public that I was one of the same sort, but had made my escape, and so I might be brought into trouble; and if I came off with my life, might have all my effects seized on, and be reduced to misery and poverty again at once; all which I thought I had done enough to deserve.

This was a just caution; but, as I found quickly, was not a sufficient one, as my circumstances stood, for my safety; for though I bought none of these poor men myself, yet several of my neighbours did, and there was scarce a plantation near me but had some of them, more or less, among them; so that, in a word, I could not peep abroad hardly, but I was in danger to be seen, and known too, by some or other of them.

I may be allowed to say, that this was a very uneasy life to me, and such that, in short, I found myself utterly unable to bear; for I was now reduced from a great man, a magistrate, a governor, or master of three plantations, and having three or four hundred servants at my command, to be a poor self-condemned rebel, and durst not show my face; and that I might with the same safety, or rather more, have skulked about in Lancashire where I was, or gone up to London, and concealed myself there till things had been over. But now the danger was come home to me, even to my door, and I expected nothing but to be informed against every day, be taken up, and sent to England in irons, and have all my plantations seized on, as a forfeited estate to the crown.

I had but one hope of safety to trust to, and that was, that having been so little a while among them, done nothing for them, and passing for a stranger, they never knew my name, but only I was called the French colonel, or the French officer, or the French gentleman, by most, if not by all the people there; and as for the doctor that went with me, he had found means to escape too, though not the same way that I did, finding the cause not likely to be supported, and that the king's troops were gathering on all sides round them like a cloud.

But to return to myself. This was no satisfaction to me, and what to do I really knew not; for I was more at a loss how to shift in such a distressed case as this, now it lay so close to

me, than ever I was in any difficulty in my life. The first thing I did was to come home, and make a confidence of the whole affair to my wife; and though I did it generously without conditions, yet I did not do it without first telling her how I was now going to put my life into her hands, that she might have it in her power to pay me home for all that she might think had been hard in my former usage of her; and that, in short, it would be in her power to deliver me up into the hands of my enemies; but that I would trust her generosity, as well as her renewed affection, and put all upon her fidelity. And without any more precaution, I opened the whole thing to her, and particularly the danger I was now in.

A faithful counsellor is life from the dead, gives courage where the heart is sinking, and raises the mind to a proper use of means; and such she was to me indeed upon every step of this affair, and it was by her direction that I took every step that followed for the extricating myself out of this labyrinth.

'Come, come, my dear,' says she, 'if this be all, there is no room for any such disconsolate doings as your fears run you upon;' for I was immediately for selling off my plantations, and all my stock, and embarking myself forthwith, and to get to Madeiras, or to any place out of the king's dominions.

But my wife was quite of another opinion, and encouraging me on another account, proposed two things, either my freighting a sloop with provisions to the West Indies, and so taking passage from thence to London, or letting her go away directly for England, and endeavour to obtain the king's pardon, whatever it might cost.

I inclined to the last proposal; for though I was unhappily prejudiced in favour of a wrong interest, yet I had always a secret and right notion of the clemency and merciful disposition of his majesty, and, had I been in England, should, I believe, have been easily persuaded to have thown myself at his feet.

But going to England, as I was circumstanced, must have been a public action, and I must have made all the usual preparations for it, must have appeared in public, have stayed till the crop was ready, and gone away in form and state as usual, or have acted as if something extraordinary was the matter, and have filled the heads of the people there with innumerable suggestions of they knew not what.

But my wife made all this easy to me, from her own invention; for, without acquainting me of anything, she comes merrily to me one morning before I was up: 'My dear,' says she, 'I am very sorry to hear that you are not very well this morning. I have ordered Pennico (that was a young negro girl which I had given her) to make you a fire in your chamber, and pray lie still where you are a while till it is done;' at the same instant the little negro came in with wood, and a pair of bellows, &c., to kindle the fire, and my wife, not giving me time to reply, whispers close to my ear to lie still, and say nothing till she came up again to me.

I was thoroughly frightened, that you may be sure of, and thought of nothing but of being discovered, betrayed, and carried to England, hanged, quartered, and all that was terrible, and my very heart sunk within me. She perceived my disorder, and turned back assuring me there was no harm, desired me to be easy, and she would come back again presently, and give me satisfaction in every particular that I could desire; so I composed myself a while as well as I could, but it was but a little while that I could bear it, and I sent Pennico down stairs to find out her mistress, and tell her I was very ill, and must speak with her immediately, and the girl was scarce out of the room before I jumped out of bed and began to dress me, that I might be ready for all events.

My wife was as good as her word, and was coming up as the girl was going down. 'I see,' says she, 'you want patience, but pray do not want government of yourself, but take that screen before your face and go to the window, and see if you know any of those Scotchmen that are in the yard, for there are seven or eight of them come about some business to your clerk.'

I went and looked through the screen, and saw the faces of them all distinctly, but could make nothing of them other than that they were Scotchmen, which was easy to discern. However it was no satisfaction to me that I knew not their faces, for they might know mine for all that, according to the old English proverb, 'That more knows Tom Fool, than Tom Fool knows;' so I kept close in my chamber till I understood they were all gone.

After this my wife caused it to be given out in the house that I was not well, and when this not being well had lasted three or four days, I had my leg wrapped up in a great piece of flannel, and laid upon a stool, and there I was lame of the gout; and this served for about six weeks, when my wife told me she had given it out, that my gout was rather rheumatic than a settled gout, and that I was resolved to take one of my own sloops, and go to Nevis or Antigua, and use the hot baths there for my cure.

All this was very well, and I approved my wife's contrivance as admirably good, both to keep me within doors eight or ten weeks at first, and to convey me away afterwards without any extraordinary bustle to be made about it. But still I did not know what it all tended to, and what the design of it all was; but my wife desired me to leave that to her, so I really did, and she carried it all on with a prudence not to be disputed: and after she had wrapt my legs in flannel almost three months, she came and told me the sloop was ready and all the goods put on board. 'And now, my dear,' says she, 'I come to tell you all the rest of my design; for,' added she, 'I hope you will not think I am going to kidnap you, and transport you from Virginia, as other people are transported to it, or that I am going to get you sent away and leave myself in possession of your estate; but you shall find me the same faithful creature which I should have been if I had been still your slave, and not had any hopes of being your wife, and that in all my scheme which I have laid for your safety, in this new exigence, I have not proposed your going one step but where I shall go and be always with you, to assist and serve you on all occasions, and to take my portion with you, of what kind soever our lot may be.'

This was so generous, and so handsome a declaration of her fidelity, and so great a token too of the goodness of her judgment, in considering of the things which were before her, and of what my present circumstances called for, that, from that time forward, I gave myself cheerfully up to her management, without any hesitation in the least, and after about ten days' preparation, we embarked in a large sloop of my own of about sixty tons.

I should have mentioned here, that I had still my faithful tutor (as I called him) at the head of my affairs; and as he knew who to correspond

with, and how to manage the correspondence in England, we left all that part to him, as I had done before; and I did this with a full satisfaction in his ability as well as in his integrity. It is true, he had been a little chagrined in that affair of my wife, who, as I hinted before, had married me, after telling him, in answer to his solicitations, that she had a husband alive.

Now, though this was literally true, yet, as it was a secret not fit to be opened to him, I was obliged to put him off with other reasons, as well as I could, perhaps not much to the purpose, and perhaps not much to his satisfaction, so that I reckoned he looked on himself as not very kindly used several ways.

But he began to get over it, and to be easy, especially at our going away, when he found that the trust of everything was still left in his hands, as it was before.

When my wife had thus communicated everything of the voyage to me, and we began to be ready to go off, she came to me one morning, and, with her usual cheerfulness, told me she now came to tell me the rest of her measures for the completing my deliverance. And this was, that while we made this trip, as she called it, to the hot springs at Nevis, she would write to a particular friend at London, whom she could depend upon, to try to get a pardon for a person on account of the late rebellion, with all the circumstances which my case was attended with, viz. of having acted nothing among them, but being three days in the place. And, while we were thus absent, she did not question but to have an answer, which she would direct to come so many ways that we would be sure to have the first of it, as soon as it was possible the vessels could go and come; and, in the meantime the expense should be very small, for she would have an answer to the grand question, first, whether it could be obtained or no; and then an account of the expense of it, that so I might judge for myself whether I would part with the needful sum or no, before any money was disbursed on my account.

I could not but be thoroughly satisfied with her contrivance in this particular, and I had nothing to add to it, but that I would not have her limit her friend so strictly, but that if he saw the way clear, and that he was sure to obtain it, he should go through stitch with it, if within the expense of two, or three, or four hundred pounds; and that upon advice of its being practicable he should have bills payable by such a person, on delivery of the warrant for the thing.

To fortify this, I enclosed in her packet a letter to one of my correspondents, who I could particularly trust, with a credit for the money, on such and such conditions; but the honesty and integrity of my wife's correspondence was such, as prevented all the expense, and yet I had the wished-for security, as if it had been all paid, as you shall hear presently.

All these things being fixed to our minds, and all things left behind in good posture of settlement as usual, we embarked together and put to sea, having the opportunity of an English man-of-war, being on the coast in pursuit of the pirates, and who was just then standing away towards the Gulf of Florida, and told us he would see us safe as far as New Providence, or the Bahama Islands.

And now having fair weather and a pleasant voyage, and my flannels taken off my legs, I must hint a little what cargo I had with me; for as my circumstances were very good in that country, so I did not go such a voyage as this, and with a particular reserve of fortunes whatever might afterwards happen, without a sufficient cargo for our support, and whatever exigence might happen.

Our sloop, as I said, was of about 60 or 70 tons; and as tobacco, which is the general produce of the country, was no merchandise at Nevis, that is to say, for a great quantity, so we carried very little, but loaded the sloop with corn, pease, meal, and some barrels of pork, and an excellent cargo it was, most of it being the produce of my own plantation. We took also a considerable sum of money with us in Spanish gold, which was, as above, not for trade, but for all events. I also ordered another sloop to be hired, and to be sent after me, loaden with the same goods, as soon as they should have advice from me that I was safe arrived.

We came to the latitude of the island of Antigua, which was very near to that of Nevis, whither we intended to go, on the 18th day after our passing the Capes of Virginia, but had no sight of the island, only our master said he was sure, if he stood the same course as he then was, and the gale held, I say he told me he was sure he should make the island in less than five hours' sail; so he stood on fair for the islands. However his account had failed him, for we held on all the evening, made no land, and likewise all night, when in the grey of the morning, we discovered, from the topmast-head, a brigantine and a sloop making sail after us, at the distance of about six leagues, fair weather, and the wind fresh at S.E.

Our master soon understood what they were, and came down into the cabin to me, to let me know it. I was much surprised you may be sure at the danger, but my poor wife took from me all the concern for myself to take care of her, for she was frightened to that degree, that I thought we should not have been able to keep life in her.

While we were thus under the first hurry and surprise of the thing, suddenly another noise from the deck called us up to look out, and that was, Land! land! The master and I (for by this time I had gotten out of my cabin) ran upon the deck, and there we saw the state of our case very plain. The two rogues that stood after us, laid on all the canvas they could carry, and crowded after us amain, but at the distance, as I have said, of about six leagues, rather more than less. On the other hand, the land discovered lay about nine leagues right ahead; so that, if the pirates could gain on us, so as to sail three feet for our two, it was evident they would be up with us before we could make the island; if not, we should escape them and get in; but even then, we had no great hope to do any more than to run the ship ashore to save our lives, and so, stranding our vessel, spoil both sloop and cargo.

When we were making this calculation, our master came in cheerfully, and told me he had crowded on more sail, and found the sloop carried it very well, and that he did not find the rogues gained much upon us; and that especially, if one of them did not, that was the sloop, he found he could go away from the brigantine as he pleased. Thus we gave them what they call a stern chase, and they worked hard to come up with us till towards noon, when on a sudden they both stood away, and gave us over, to our great satisfaction you may be sure.

We did not, it seems, so easily see the occasion of our deliverance as the pirate did; for while we went spooning away large with the wind for one of the islands, with those two spurs in our heels, that is, with the two thieves at our sterns,

there lay an English man-of-war in the road of Nevis, which was the same island from whence they espied the pirates, but the land lying between, we could not see them.

As the man-of-war discovered them, she immediately slipped her cable, and put herself under sail in chase of the rogues, and they as soon perceived her; and, being windward, put themselves upon a wind to escape her; and thus we were delivered, and in half an hour more we knew who was our deliverer, seeing the man-of-war stretch ahead clear of the island, and stand directly after the pirates, who now crowded from us as fast as they crowded after us before, and thus we got safe into Antigua, after the terrible apprehension we had been in of being taken. Our apprehensions of being taken now were much more than they would have been on board a loaden ship from, or to London, where the most they ordinarily do is to rifle the ship, take what is valuable and portable, and let her go; but ours being but a sloop, and all our loading being good provisions, such as they wanted, to be sure, for their ship's store, they would certainly have carried us away, ship and all, taken out the cargo and the men, and perhaps have set the sloop on fire; so that, as to our cargo of gold, it had been inevitably lost, and we hurried away, nobody knows where, and used as such barbarous fellows are wont to use such innocent people as fall into their hands.

But we were now out of their hands, and had the satisfaction, a few days after, to hear that the man-of-war pursued them so close, notwithstanding they changed their course in the night, that the next day they were obliged to separate, and shift for themselves; so the man-of-war took one of them, namely, the brigantine, and carried her into Jamaica, but the other, viz. the sloop, made her escape.

Being arrived here, we presently disposed of our cargo, and at a tolerable good price; and now the question was, what I should do next? I looked upon myself to be safe here from the fears I had been under of being discovered as a rebel, and so indeed I was; but having been now absent five months, and having sent the ship back with a cargo of rum and molasses, which I knew was wanting in my plantations, I received the same vessel back in return, loaden, as at first, with provisions.

With this cargo my wife received a packet from London, from the person whom she had employed (as above) to solicit a pardon, who very honestly wrote to her that he would not be so unjust to her friend, whomever he was, as to put him to any expense for a private solicitation; for that he was very well assured that his majesty had resolved, from his own native disposition to acts of clemency and mercy to his subjects, to grant a general pardon, with some few exceptions to persons extraordinary, and he hoped her friend was none of the extraordinary persons to be excepted.

This was a kind of life from the dead to us both, and it was resolved that my wife should go back in the sloop directly to Virginia, where she should wait the good news from England, and should send me an account of it as soon as she received it.

Accordingly she went back, and came safe with the sloop and cargo to our plantation, from whence, after above four months' expectation, behold the sloop came to me again, but empty, and gutted of all her cargo, except about 100 sacks of unground malt, which the pirates (not knowing how to brew) knew not what to do with, and so had left in her. However, to my infinite satisfaction, there was a packet of letters from my wife, with another to her from England, as well one from her friend, as one from my own correspondent; both of them intimating that the king had signed an act of grace, that is to say, a general free pardon, and sent me copies of the act, wherein it was manifest that I was fully included.

And here let me hint that, having now, as it were, received my life at the hands of King George, and in a manner so satisfying as it was to me, it made a generous convert of me, and I became sincerely given in to the interest of King George; and this from a principle of gratitude, and a sense of my obligation to his majesty for my life; and it has continued ever since, and will certainly remain with me as long as any sense of honour, and of the debt of gratitude remains with me. I mention this, to hint how far, in such cases, justice and duty to ourselves commands us; namely, that to those who graciously give us our lives, when it is in their power to take them away, those lives are a debt ever after, and ought to be set apart for their service and interest, as long as any of the powers of life remain; for gratitude is a debt that never ceases while the benefit received remains; and if my prince has given me my life, I can never pay the debt fully, unless such a circumstance as this should happen, that the prince's life should be in my power, and I as generously preserved it; and yet, neither would the obligation be paid then, because the cases would differ; thus, that my preserving the life of my prince was my natural duty, whereas the prince on his side (my life being forfeited to him) had no motive but mere clemency and beneficence.

Perhaps this principle may not please all that read it; but as I have resolved to guide my actions in things of such a nature by the rules of strict virtue and principles of honour, so I must lay it down as a rule of honour, that a man having once forfeited his life to the justice of his prince, and to the laws of his country, and receiving it back as a bounty from the grace of his sovereign, such a man can never lift up his hand again against that prince, without a forfeiture of his virtue, and an irreparable breach of his honour and duty, and deserves no pardon after it, either from God or man. But all this is a digression: I leave it as a sketch of the laws of honour, printed by the laws of nature in the breast of a soldier, or a man of honour, and which, I believe, all impartial persons, who understand what honour means, will subscribe to.

But I return now to my present circumstances. My wife was gone, and, with her, all my good fortune and success in business seemed to have forsaken me; and I had another scene of misery to go through, after I had thought that all my misfortunes were over and at an end.

My sloop, as I have told you, arrived, but having met with a pirate rogue in the Gulf of Florida, they took her first, then, finding her cargo to be all eatables, which they always want, they gutted her of all her loading, except, as I have said, about 100 sacks of malt, which they really knew not what to do with; and, which was still worse, they took all the men, except the master and two boys, whom they left on board, just to run the vessel into Antigua, where they said they were bound.

But the most valuable part of my cargo, viz. a packet of letters from England, those they left, to my inexpressible comfort and satisfaction; and, particularly, that by those I saw my way

home to return to my wife, and to my plantations, from which I promised myself never to wander any more.

In order to this, I now embarked myself, and all my effects, on board the sloop, resolving to sail directly to the Capes of Virginia. My captain beating it up to reach the Bahama channel, had not been two days at sea, but we were overtaken by a violent storm, which drove us so far upon the coast of Florida, as that we twice struck upon the shore, and had we struck a third time, we had been inevitably lost. A day or two after that, the storm abating a little, we kept the sea, but found the wind blowing so strong against our passing the gulf, and the sea going so high, we could not hold it any longer; so we were forced to bear away, and make what shift we could; in which distress, the fifth day after, we made land, but found it to be Cape ——, the north-west part of the Isle of Cuba. Here we found ourselves under a necessity to run in under the land for shelter, though we had not come to an anchor, so we had not touched the king of Spain's territories at all. However, in the morning we were surrounded with five Spanish barks, or boats, such as they call Barco Longos, full of men, who instantly boarded us, took us and carried us into the Havannah, the most considerable port belonging to the Spaniards in that part of the world.

Here the sloop was immediately seized, and in consequence plundered, as any one that knows the Spaniards, especially in that country, will easily guess; our men were made prisoners, and sent to the common jail; and as for myself and the captain, we were carried before the Alcade Major, or intendant of the place, as criminals.

I spoke Spanish very well, having served under the king of Spain in Italy, and it stood me in good stead at this time; for I so effectually argued the injustice of their treatment of me, that the governor, or what I ought to call him, frankly owned they ought not to have stopped me, seeing I was in the open sea, pursuing my voyage, and offered no offence to anybody, and had not landed, or offered to land, upon any part of his Catholic majesty's dominions, till I was brought as a prisoner.

It was a great favour that I could obtain thus much; but I found it easier to obtain an acknowledgment that I had received wrong than to get any satisfaction for that wrong, and much less was there any hope or prospect of restitution; and I was let know that I was to wait till an account could be sent to the viceroy of Mexico, and orders could be received back from him how to act in the affair.

I could easily foresee what all this tended to, namely, to a confiscation of the ship and goods, by the ordinary process at the place; and that my being left to the decision of the viceroy of Mexico was but a pretended representation of things to him from the corregidore, or judge of the place.

However, I had no remedy, but the old insignificant thing, called patience; and this I was better furnished with, because I did not so much value the loss as I made them believe I did. My greatest apprehensions were, that they would detain me and keep me a prisoner for life, and perhaps send me to their mines in Peru, as they have done many, and pretended to do to all that come on shore in their dominions, how great soever the distresses may have been which have brought them thither, and which has been the reason why others, who have been forced on shore, have committed all manner of violence upon the Spaniards in their turn; resolving, however dear they sold their lives, not to fall into their hands.

But I got better quarter among them than that too, which was (as I have said) much of it owing to my speaking Spanish, and to my telling them how I had fought in so many occasions in the quarrel of his Catholic majesty in Italy; and, by great good chance, I had the king of France's commission for lieutenant-colonel in the Irish brigade in my pocket, where it was mentioned that the said brigade was then serving in the armies of France, under the orders of his Catholic majesty, in Italy.

I failed not to talk up the gallantry and personal bravery of his Catholic majesty on all occasions, and particular in many battles, where (by the way) his majesty had never been at all, and in some where I had never been myself; but I found I talked to people who knew nothing of the matter, and so anything went down with them, if it did but praise the king of Spain, and talk big of the Spanish cavalry, of which, God knows, there was not one regiment in the army, at least while I was there.

However, this way of managing myself obtained me the liberty of the place, upon my parole, that I would not attempt an escape; and I obtained also, which was a great favour, to have 200 pieces-of-eight allowed me out of the sale of my cargo, for subsistence, till I could negotiate my affairs at Mexico. As for my men, they were maintained as prisoners, at the public charge.

Well, after several months' solicitation and attendance, all I could obtain was, the satisfaction of seeing my ship and cargo confiscated, and my poor sailors in a fair way to be sent to the mines. The last I begged off, upon condition of paying 300 pieces-of-eight for their ransom, and having them set on shore at Antigua, and myself to remain hostage for the payment of the said 300 pieces-of-eight, and for 200 pieces-of-eight, which I had already had, and for 500 pieces-of-eight more for my own ransom, if, upon my return from Mexico, the sentence of confiscation, as above, should be confirmed by the viceroy.

These were hard articles indeed, but I was forced to submit to them; nor, as my circumstances were above all such matters as these, as to substance, did I lay it much to heart. The greatest difficulty that lay in my way was, that I knew not how to correspond with my friends in any part of the world, or which way to supply myself with necessaries, or with money for the payment I had agreed to; the Spaniards being so tenacious of their ports, that they allowed nobody to come on shore, or indeed near the shore, from any part of the world, upon pain of seizure and confiscation, as had been my case already.

Upon this difficulty I began to reason with the corregidore, and tell him that he put things upon us that were impossible, and that were inconsistent with the customs of nations; that if a man was a prisoner at Algiers, they would allow him to write to his friends to pay his ransom, and would admit the person that brought it to come and go free, as a public person, and, if they did not, no treaty could be carried on for the ransom of a slave, nor the conditions be performed when they are agreed upon.

I brought it then down to my own case, and desired to know, upon supposition, that I might, within the time limited in that agreement, have the sums of money ready for the ransom of my men and of myself, how I should obtain to have notice given me of it? Or how it should be brought,

seeing the very persons bringing that notice, or afterwards presuming to bring the money, might be liable to be seized and confiscated, as I had been, and the money itself be taken as a second prize, without redeeming the first.

Though this was so reasonable a request, that it could not be withstood in point of argument, yet the Spaniard shrunk his head into his shoulders, and said they had not power sufficient to act in such a case; that the king's laws were so severe against the suffering any strangers to set their foot on his Catholic majesty's dominions in America, and they could not dispense with the least tittle of them, without a particular assiento (as they called it) from the consulado, or chamber of commerce, at Seville; or a command under the hand and seal of the viceroy of Mexico.

'How! seignior corregidore,' said I, with some warmth, and, as it were, with astonishment, 'have you not authority enough to sign a passport for an agent, or ambassador, to come on shore here, from any of the king of Great Britain's governors in these parts, under a white flag, or flag of truce, to speak with the governor of this place, or with any other person in the king's name, on the subject of such business as the governor may have to communicate? Why,' said I, 'if you cannot do that, you cannot act according to the law of nations.'

He shook his head, but still said, No, he could not do even so much as that; but here one of the military governors put in and opposed him, and they two differed warmly; the first insisting that their orders were deficient in that particular; but the other said that, as they were bound up to them, it could not be in their power to act otherwise, and that they were answerable for the ill consequences.

'Well, then,' says the governor to the corregidore, 'now you have kept this Englishman as hostage for the ransom of the men that you have dismissed. suppose he tells you the money is ready, either at such, or such, or such a place, how shall he bring it hither? You will take all the people prisoners that offer to bring it; what must he do? If you say you will send and fetch it, what security shall he have, that he shall have his liberty when it is paid you? and why should he trust you so far as to pay the money, and yet remain here a prisoner?'

This carried so much reason with it, that the corregidore knew not what to say; but that so was the law, and he could act no otherwise, but by the very letter of it; and here each was so positive that nothing could determine it, but another express to be sent to the viceroy of Mexico.

Upon this, the governor was so kind as to say he would get me a passport for anybody that should bring the money, and any vessel they were in, by his own authority, and for their safe returning, and taking me with them, provided I would answer for it that they should bring no European or other goods whatever with them, and should not set foot on shore without his express permission, and provided he did not receive orders to the contrary, in the meantime, from any superior hand; and that even, in such a case, they should have liberty to go back freely from whence they came, under the protection of a white flag.

I bowed very respectfully to the governor, in token of my acknowledging his justice, and then presented my humble petition to him, that he would allow my men to take their own sloop; that it should be rated at a certain value, and would be obliged they should bring specie on board with them, and that they should either pay it for the sloop, or leave the sloop again.

Then he inquired to what country he would send them for so much money, and if I could assure him of the payment; and when he understood it was no farther than to Virginia, he seemed very easy; and, to satisfy the corregidore, who still stood off, adhering with a true Spanish stiffness to the letter of the law, the said governor calls out to me: 'Seignior,' says he, 'I shall make all this matter easy to you, if you agree to my proposal. Your men shall have the sloop, on condition you shall be my hostage for her return; but they shall not take her as your sloop, though she shall in the effect be yours, on the payment of the money; but you shall take two of my men on board with you, upon your parole for their safe return, and when she returns, she shall carry his Catholic majesty's colours, and be entered as one of the sloops belonging to the Havannah; one of the Spaniards to be commander, and to be called by such name as he shall appoint.'

This the corregidore came into immediately, and said, this was within the letter of the king's commanderie or precept, upon condition, however, that she should bring no European goods on board. I desired it might be put in other words, namely, that she should bring no European goods on shore. It cost two days' debate between these two, whether it should pass that no European goods should be brought in the ship or brought on shore; but having found means to intimate that I meant not to trade there, but would not be tied from bringing a small present to a certain person in acknowledgment of favours; I say, after I had found room to place such a hint right where it should be placed, I found it was all made easy to me, and it was all agreed presently, that after the ransom was paid, and the ship also bought, it was but reasonable that I should have liberty to trade to any other country not in the dominions of the king of Spain, so to make up my losses; and that it would be hard to oblige my men to bring away the vessel light, and so lose the voyage, and add so much to our former misfortunes; that so long as no goods were brought on shore in the country belonging to his Catholic majesty's dominions, which was all that they had to defend, the rest was no business of theirs.

Now I began to see my way through this unhappy business, and to find that, as money would bring me out of it, so money would bring it to turn to a good account another way; wherefore I sent the sloop away under Spanish colours, and called her the Nuestra Signiora de la Val de Grace, commanded by Seignior Giraldo de Nesma, one of the two Spaniards.

With the sloop I sent letters to my wife and to my chief manager, with orders to load her back. I there directed, viz. that she should have 200 barrels of flour, 50 barrels of pease, and, to answer my other views, I ordered 100 bales to be made up of all sorts of European goods, such as not my own warehouses only would supply, but such as they could be supplied with in other warehouses, where I knew they had credit for anything.

In this cargo I directed all the richest and most valuable English goods they had or could get, whether linen, woollen, or silk, to be made up; the coarser things, such as we use in Virginia for clothing of servants, such I ordered to be left behind for the use of the plantation. In less than seven weeks' time the sloop returned; and I, that failed not every day to look out for her on the strand, was the first that spied her at

sea at a distance, and knew her by her sails, but afterwards more particularly by her signals.

When she returned, she came into the road with her Spanish antient flying, and came to an anchor, as directed; but I, that had seen her some hours before, went directly to the governor, and gave him an account of her being come, and fain I would have obtained the favour to have his excellency (as I called him) go on board in person, that he might see how well his orders were executed; but he declined that, saying, he could not justify going off the island, which was, in short, to go out of his command of the fort, which he could not reassume without a new commission from the king's own hand.

Then I asked leave to go on board myself, which he granted me, and I brought on shore with me the full sum in gold, which I had conditioned to pay for the ransom both of my men and myself, and for the purchase of the sloop. And as I obtained leave to land in a different place, so my governor sent his son, with six soldiers, to receive and convey me with the money to the castle, where he commanded, and therein to his own house. I had made up the money in heavy parcels, as if it had been all silver, and gave it to two of my men who belonged to the sloop, with orders to them that they should make it seem, by their carrying it, to be much heavier than it was. This was done to conceal three parcels of goods, which I had packed up with the money, to make a present to the governor, as I intended.

When the money was carried in, and laid down on a table, the governor ordered my men to withdraw, and I gave the soldiers each of them a piece-of-eight to drink, for which they were very thankful, and the governor seemed very well pleased with it also: then I asked him presently, if he would please to receive the money? He said, no, he would not receive it but in presence of the corregidore and the other people concerned. Then I begged his excellency, as I called him, to give me leave to open the parcels in his presence, for that I would do myself the honour to acknowledge his favours in the best manner I could.

He told me, no; he could not see anything be brought on shore but the money; but if I had brought anything on shore for my own use, he would not be so strict as to inquire into that, so I might do what I pleased myself.

Upon that I went into the place, shut myself in, and having opened all the things, placed them to my mind. There was five little parcels, as follows:—

1, 2. A piece of 20 yards fine English broadcloth; 5 yards of black, 5 yards of crimson, in one parcel, and the rest of fine mixtures in another parcel.
3. A piece of 30 ells of fine Holland linen.
4. A piece of 18 yards of fine English brocaded silk.
5. A piece of black Colchester bays.

After I had placed these by themselves, I found means, with some seeming difficulties, and much grimace, to bring him to know that this was intended for a present to himself. After all that part was over, and he had seemed to accept them, he signified, after walking a hundred turns and more in the room by them, by throwing his hat, which was under his arm, upon them, and making a very stiff bow; I say, after this, he seemed to take his leave of me for a while, and I waited in an outer room. When I was called in again, I found that he had looked over all the particulars, and caused them to be removed out of the place.

But when I came again, I found him quite another man. He thanked me for my present; told me it was a present fit to be given to a viceroy of Mexico, rather than to a mere governor of a fort; that he had done me no services suitable to such a return, but that he would see if he could not oblige me farther before I left the place.

After our compliments were over, I obtained leave to have the corregidore sent for, who accordingly came; and in his presence the money, stipulated for the ransom of the ship and of the men, was paid.

But here the corregidore showed that he would be as severely just on my side as on theirs; for he would not admit the money as a ransom for us as prisoners, but as a deposit for so much as we were to be ransomed for, if the sentence of our being made prisoners should be confirmed.

And then the governor and corregidore, joining together, sent a representation of the whole affair, at least we were told so, to the viceroy of Mexico; and it was privately hinted to me that I would do well to stay for the return of the aviso, that is, a boat which they send over the bay to Vera Cruz, with an express to Mexico, whose return is generally performed in two months.

I was not unwilling to stay, having secret hints given me that I should find some way to go with my sloop towards Vera Cruz myself, where I might have an occasion to trade privately for the cargo which I had on board. But it came about a nearer way; for about two days after this money being deposited (as above), the governor's son invited himself on board my sloop, where I told him I would be very glad to see him, and whither, at the same time, he brought with him three considerable merchants, Spaniards, two of them not inhabitants of the place.

When they were on board, they were very merry and pleasant, and I treated them so much to their satisfaction, that, in short, they were not well able to go on shore for that night, but were content to take a nap on some carpets which I caused to be spread for them; and that the governor's son might think himself well used, I brought him a very good silk night-gown, with a crimson velvet cap to lie down in, and in the morning desired him to accept of them for his use, which he took very kindly.

During that merry evening, one of the merchants, not so touched with drink as the young gentleman, nor so as not to mind what it was he came about, takes an occasion to withdraw out of the great cabin, and enter into a parley with the master of the sloop, in order to trade for what European goods we had on board. The master took the hint, and gave me notice of what had passed; and I gave him instructions what to say and what to do. According to which instructions, they made but few words, bought the goods for about 5000 pieces-of-eight, and carried them away themselves, and at their own hazards.

This was very agreeable to me, for now I began to see I should lick myself whole by the sale of this cargo, and should make myself full amends of Jack Spaniard for all the injuries he had done me in the first of these things. With this view I gave my master or captain of the sloop instructions for sale of all the rest of the goods, and left him to manage by himself; which he did so well, that he sold the whole cargo the next day to the three Spaniards, with this additional circumstance, that they desired the sloop might carry the goods, as they were on board, to such part of the *terra firma* as they should appoint, between the Honduras and the coast of La Vera Cruz.

It was difficult for me to make good this part of the bargain; but, finding the price agreed for would very well answer the voyage, I consented; but then how to send the sloop away, and remain among the Spaniards, when I was now a clear man, this was a difficulty too, as it was also to go away, and not wait for a favourable answer from the viceroy of Mexico to the representation of the governor and the corregidore. However, at last I resolved to go in the sloop, fall out what would; so I went to the governor, and represented to him, that, being now to expect a favourable answer from Mexico, it would be a great loss to me to keep the sloop there all the while, and I desired his leave for me to go with the sloop to Antigua, to sell and dispose of the cargo, which he well knew I was obliged not to bring on shore there at the Havannah, and which would be in danger of being spoiled by lying so long on board.

This I obtained readily, with licence to come again into the road, and (for myself only) to come on shore, in order to hear the viceroy's pleasure in my case, which was depending.

Having thus obtained a licence or passport for the sloop and myself, I put to sea with the three Spanish merchants on board with me. They told me they did not live at the Havannah, but it seems one of them did; and some rich merchants of the Havannah, or of the parts thereabouts in the same island, were concerned with them; for they brought on board, the night we put to sea, a great sum of money in pieces-of-eight; and, as I understood afterwards, that these merchants bought the cargo of me, and though they gave me a very great price for everything, yet that they sold them again to the merchants, who they procured on the coast of La Vera Cruz, at a prodigious advantage; so that they got above a hundred per cent. after I had gained very sufficiently before.

We sailed from the Havannah directly for Vera Cruz. I scrupled venturing into the port at first, and was very uneasy, lest I should have another Spanish trick put upon me; but as we sailed under Spanish colours, they showed us such authentic papers from the proper officers, that there was no room to fear anything.

However, when we came in sight of the Spanish coast, I found they had a secret clandestine trade to carry on, which, though it was secret, yet they knew the way of it so well that it was but a mere road to them. The case was this, we stood in close under the shore in the night, about six leagues to the north of the port, where two of the three merchants went on shore in the boat, and in three hours or thereabouts they came on board again with five canoes, and seven or eight merchants more with them, and as soon as they were on board, we stood off to sea, so that by daylight we were quite out of sight of land.

I ought to have mentioned before, that as soon as we were put to sea from the Havannah, and during our voyage into the Gulf of Mexico, which was eight days, we rummaged the whole cargo, and opening every bale, as far as the Spanish merchants desired, we trafficked with them for the whole cargo, except the barrels of flour and pease.

This cargo was considerable in itself, for my wife's account, or invoice, drawn out by my tutor and manager, amounted to £2684, 10s., and I sold the whole, including what had been sold in the evening, when they were on board first (as I have said) for 38,593 pieces-of-eight, and they allowed me 1200 pieces-of-eight for the freight of the sloop, and made my master and the seamen very handsome presents besides, and they were well able to do this too, as you shall hear presently.

After we were gotten out of sight of land, the Spaniards fell to their traffic, and our three merchants opened their shop, as they might say, for it was their shop. As to me, I had nothing to do with it, or with their goods; they drove their bargain in a few hours, and at night we stood in again for the shore, when the five canoes carried a great part of the goods on shore, and brought the money back in specie, as well for that they carried as for all the rest, and at their second voyage, carried all away clear, leaving me nothing on board but my barrels of flour and pease, which they bade me money for too, but not so much as I expected.

Here I found that my Spanish merchants made above 70,000 pieces-of-eight of the cargo I had sold them, upon which I had a great mind to be acquainted with those merchants on the *terra firma*, who were the last customers; for it presently occurred to me, that I could easily go with a sloop from Virginia, and taking a cargo directed on purpose from England, of about £5000 or £6000, I might easily make four of one. With this view I began to make a kind of an acquaintance with the Spaniards which came in the canoes, and we became so intimate, that at last, with the consent of the three Spaniards of the Havannah, I accepted an invitation on shore to their house, which was a little villa, or rather plantation, where they had an ingenio, that is to say, a sugar-house, or sugar-work, and there they treated us like princes.

I took occasion at this invitation to say, that if I knew how to find my way thither again, I could visit them once or twice a year, very much to their advantage and mine too. One of the Spaniards took the hint, and taking me into a room by myself, 'Signior,' says he, 'if you have any thoughts of coming to this place again, I shall give you such directions as you shall be sure not to mistake; and, upon either coming on shore in the night, and coming up to this place, or, upon making the signals which we shall give you, we will not fail to come off to you, and bring money enough for any cargaison,' so they call it, 'that you shall bring.'

I took all their directions, took their paroles of honour for my safety, and, without taking any notice to my first three merchants, laid up the rest in my most secret thoughts, resolving to visit them again in as short a time as I could; and thus having, in about five days, finished all our merchandizing, we stood off to sea, and made for the island of Cuba, where I set my three Spaniards on shore with all their treasure, to their heart's content, and made the best of my way to Antigua, where, with all the despatch I could, I sold my 200 barrels of flour, which however had suffered a little by the length of the voyage; and having laden the sloop with rum, molasses, and sugar, I set sail again for the Havannah.

I was now uneasy indeed, for fear of the pirates, for I was a rich ship, having besides goods, near 40,000 pieces-of-eight in silver.

When I came back to the Havannah, I went on shore to wait on the governor and the corregidore, and to hear what return was had from the viceroy, and had the good fortune to know that the viceroy had disallowed that part of the sentence which condemned us as prisoners and put a ransom on us, which he insisted could not be but in time of open war; but as to the confiscation, he deferred it to the chamber or council

of commerce at Seville, and the appeal to the king, if such be preferred.

This was, in some measure, a very good piece of justice in the viceroy; for, as we had not been on shore, we could not be legally imprisoned; and for the rest, I believe if I would have given myself the trouble to have gone to Old Spain, and have preferred my claim to both the ship and the cargo, I had recovered them also.

However, as it was, I was now a freeman without ransom, and my men were also free, so that all the money which I had deposited, as above, was returned me; and thus I took my leave of the Havannah, and made the best of my way for Virginia, where I arrived after a year and a half's absence; and notwithstanding all my losses, came home above 40,000 pieces-of-eight richer than I went out.

As to the old affair about the Preston prisoners, that was quite at an end, for the general pardon passed in Parliament made me perfectly easy, and I took no more thought about that part. I might here very usefully observe, how necessary and inseparable a companion fear is to guilt. It was but a few months before that the face of a poor Preston transport would have frightened me out of my wits; to avoid them, I feigned myself sick, and wrapped my legs in flannel, as if I had the gout; whereas now they were no more surprise to me, nor was I any more uneasy to see them than I was to see any other of the servants of the plantations.

And that which was more particular than all was, that, though before I fancied every one of them would know me, and remember me, and consequently betray and accuse me, now, though I was frequently among them, and saw most, if not all of them, one time or other, nay though I remembered several of their faces, and even some of their names, yet there was not a man of them that ever took the least notice of me, or of having known or seen me before.

It would have been a singular satisfaction to me if I could have known so much as this of them before, and have saved me all the fatigue, hazard, and misfortune that befell me afterwards; but man, a short-sighted creature, sees so little before him, that he can neither anticipate his joys nor prevent his disasters, be they ever so little a distance from him.

I had now my head full of my West India project, and I began to make provision for it accordingly. I had a full account of what European goods were most acceptable in New Spain; and, to add to my speed, I knew that the Spaniards were in great want of European goods, the galleons from Old Spain having been delayed to an unusual length of time for the two years before. Upon this account, not having time, as I thought, to send to England for a cargo of such goods as were most proper, I resolved to load my sloop with tobacco and rum, the last I brought from Antigua, and go away to Boston in New England, and to New York, and see if I could pick up a cargo to my mind.

Accordingly, I took 20,000 pieces-of-eight in money, and my sloop laden as above; and taking my wife with me, we went away. It was an odd and new thing at New England to have such a quantity of goods bought up there by a sloop from Virginia, and especially to be paid for in ready money, as I did for most of my goods; and this set all the trading heads upon the stretch to inquire what and who I was; to which they had an immediate and direct answer, that I was a very considerable planter in Virginia, and that was all any of my men on board the sloop could tell of me, and enough too.

Well, it was the cause of much speculation among them, as I heard at second and third hands. Some said, he is certainly going to Jamaica; others said, he is going to trade with the Spaniards; others, that he is going to the South Sea, and turn half merchant, half pirate, on the coast of Chili and Peru; some one thing, some another, as the men gossips found their imaginations directed. But we went on with our business, and laid out 12,000 pieces-of-eight, besides our cargo of rum and tobacco, and went from thence to New York, where we laid out the rest.

The chief of the cargo we bought here was fine English broadcloth, serges, druggets, Norwich stuffs, bays, says, and all kinds of woollen manufactures; as also linen of all sorts, a very great quantity, and near £1000 in fine silks of several sorts.

Being thus freighted, I came back safe to Virginia, and with very little addition to my cargo, began to prepare for my West India voyage.

I should have mentioned that I had built upon my sloop, and raised her a little, so that I had made her carry 12 guns, and fitted her up for defence; for I thought she should not be attacked and boarded by a few Spanish barco longos, as she was before; and I found the benefit of it afterwards, as you shall hear.

We set sail the beginning of August; and as I had twice been attacked by pirates in passing the Gulf of Florida, or among the Bahama Islands, I resolved, though it was farther about, to stand on to sea, and so keep, as I believed it would be, out of the way of them.

We passed the tropic, as near as we could guess, just where the famous Sir William Phipps fished up the silver from the Spanish plate wreck, and standing in between the islands, kept our course W. by S., keeping under the isle of Cuba, and so running away, trade, as they call it, into the great Gulf of Mexico, leaving the island of Jamaica to the S. and S.E.; by this means avoiding, as I thought, all the Spaniards of Cuba or the Havannah.

As we passed the west point of Cuba, three Spanish boats came off to board us, as they had done before, on the other side of the island; but they found themselves mistaken; we were too many for them, for we run out our guns, which they did not perceive before, and firing three or four shot at them, they retired.

The next morning they appeared again, being five large boats and a bark, and gave us chase; but we then spread our Spanish colours, and brought to to fight them, at which they retired; so we escaped this danger by the addition of force which we had made to our vessel.

We now had a fair run for our port, and, as I had taken very good directions, I stood away to the north of St. John d'Ulva, and then running in for the shore, found the place appointed exactly; and going on shore, I sent the master of my sloop directly to the ingenio, where he found the Spanish merchant at his house, and where he dwelt like a sovereign prince, who welcomed him; and understanding that I was in a particular boat at the creek, as appointed, he came immediately with him, and bringing another Spaniard from a villa not far off, in about four hours they were with me.

They would have persuaded me to go up to their houses, and have stayed there till the next night, ordering the sloop to stand off as usual; but I would not consent to let the sloop go to

sea without me, so we went on board directly, and as the night was almost run, stood off to sea; so by daybreak we were quite out of sight of land.

Here we began, as I said before, to open shop, and I found the Spaniards were extremely surprised at seeing such a cargo, I mean so large; for, in short, they had cared not if it had been four times as much. They soon ran through the contents of all the bales we opened that night, and, with very little dispute about the price, they approved and accepted all that I showed them; but, as they said they had not money for any greater parcel, they agreed to go on shore the next evening for more money.

However, we spent the remainder of the night in looking over and making inventories or invoices of the rest of the cargo, that so they might see the goods, know the value, and know what more money they had to bring.

Accordingly, in the evening we stood in for the shore, and they carried part of the cargo with them, borrowing the sloop's boat to assist them; and after they had lodged and landed the goods, they came on board again, bringing three of the other merchants with them who were concerned before, and money enough to clear the whole ship, ay, and ship and all, if I had been willing to sell her.

To give them their due, they dealt with me like men of honour. They were indeed sensible that they bought everything much cheaper of me than they did before of the three merchants of the Havannah; these merchants having been, as it were, the hucksters, and bought them first of me, and then advanced, as I have said, above 100 per cent. upon the price they gave me; but yet, at the same time, I advanced in the price much more now than I did before to the said Spaniards; nor was it without reason, because of the length and risk of the voyage, both out and home, which now lay wholly upon me.

In short, I sold the whole cargo to them, and for which I received near 200,000 pieces-of-eight in money; besides which, when they came on board the second time, they brought all their boats loaden with fresh provisions, hogs, sheep, fowls, sweetmeats, &c., enough for my whole voyage, all which they made a present of to me; and thus we finished our traffic to our mutual satisfaction, and parted with promises of farther commerce, and with assurances on their part of all acts of friendship and assistance that I could desire, if any disaster should befall me in any of these adventures; as indeed was not improbable, considering the strictness and severity of their customs, in case any people were taken trading upon their coast.

I immediately called a council with my little crew, which way we should go back. The mate was for beating it up to windward, and getting up to Jamaica; but, as we were too rich to run any risks, and were to take the best course to get safe home, I thought, and so did the master of the sloop, that our best way was to coast about the bay, and, keeping the shore of Florida on board, make the shortest course to the gulf, and so make for the coast of Carolina, and to put in there into the first port we could, and wait for any English men-of-war that might be on the coast to secure us to the capes.

This was the best course we could take, and proved very safe to us, excepting that, about the Cape of Florida, and on the coast in the gulf, till we came to the height of St. Augustine, we were several times visited with the Spaniards' barco longos, and small barks, in hopes of making a prize of us; but carrying Spanish colours deceived most of them, and a good tier of guns kept the rest at a distance, so that we came safe, though once or twice in danger of being run on shore by a storm of wind; I say we came safe into Charles' River in Carolina.

From hence I found means to send a letter home, with an account to my wife of my good success; and having an account that the coast was clear of pirates, though there were no men-of-war in the place, I ventured forward, and, in short, got safe into the Bay of Chesapeake; that is to say, within the Capes of Virginia, and in a few days more to my own house, having been absent three months and four days.

Never did any vessel on this side the world make a better voyage in so short a time, than I made in this sloop; for by the most moderate computation, I cleared in these three months £25,000 sterling in ready money, all the charges of the voyages to New England also being reckoned up.

Now was my time to have sat still contented with what I had got, if it was in the power of man to know when his good fortune was at the highest. And more, my prudent wife gave it as her opinion, that I should sit down satisfied, and push the affair no farther, and earnestly persuaded me to do so; but I that had a door open, as I thought, to immense treasure, that had found the way to have a stream of the golden rivers of Mexico flow into my plantation of Virginia, and saw no hazards, more than what were common to all such things in the prosecution; I say, to me these things looked with another face, and I dreamed of nothing but millions and hundreds of thousands; so, contrary to all moderate measures, I pushed on for another voyage, and laid up a stock of all sorts of goods that I could get together, proper for the trade. I did not indeed go again to New England, for I had by this time a very good cargo come from England, pursuant to a commission I had sent several months before; so that, in short, my cargo, according to the invoice now made out, amounted to above £10,000 sterling first cost, and was a cargo so sorted, and so well bought, that I expected to have advanced upon them much more in proportion than I had done in the cargo before.

With these expectations, we began our second voyage in April, being about five months after our return from the first. We had not indeed the same good speed, even in our beginning, as we had at first; for though we stood off to sea about 60 leagues, in order to be out of the way of the pirates, yet we had not been above five days at sea, but we were visited and rifled by two pirate barks, who, being bound to the northward, that is to say, the banks of Newfoundland, took away all our provisions, and all our ammunition, and small arms, and left us very ill provided to pursue our voyage; and it being so near home, we thought it advisable to come about, and stand in for the capes again, to restore our condition, and furnish ourselves with stores of all kinds for our voyage. This took us up about ten days, and we put to sea again; as for our cargo, the pirates did not meddle with it, being all bale goods, which they had no present use for, and knew not what to do with if they had them.

We met with no other adventure worth naming, till, by the same course that we had steered before, we came into the Gulf of Mexico, and the first misfortune we met with here was, that, on the back of Cuba, crossing towards the point of the *terra firma*, on the coast of Jucatan, we had sight of the flota of New Spain, that is, of the

ships which come from Carthagena or Porto-Bello, and go to the Havannah, in order to pursue their voyage to Europe.

They had with them one Spanish man-of-war, and three frigates; two of the frigates gave us chase; but it being just at the shutting in of the day, we soon lost sight of them, and, standing to the north, across the Bay of Mexico, as if we were going to the mouth of Mississippi, they lost us quite, and, in a few days more, we made the bottom of the bay, being the port we were bound for.

We stood in as usual, in the night, and gave notice to our friends; but instead of their former readiness to come on board, they gave us notice that we had been seen in the bay, and that notice of us was given at Vera Cruz, and at other places, and that several frigates were in quest of us, and that three more would be cruising the next morning in search for us.

We could not conceive how this could be; but we were afterwards told, that those three frigates, having lost sight of us in the night, had made in for the shore, and had given the alarm of us as of privateers.

Be that as it would, we had nothing to do, but to consider what course to take immediately. The Spanish merchants' advice was very good if we had taken it, namely, to have unladen as many of our bales as we could that very night by the help of our boat and their canoes, and to make the best of our way in the morning to the north of the gulf, and take our fate.

This my skipper, or master, thought very well of, but when we began to put it into execution, we were so confused, and in such a hurry, being not resolved what course to take, that we could not get out above sixteen bales of all sorts of goods, before it began to be too light, and it behoved us to sail; at last the master proposed a medium, which was, that I should go on shore in the next boat, in which were five bales of goods more; and that I should stay on shore, if the Spanish merchants would undertake to conceal me, and let them go to sea, and take their chance.

The Spanish merchants readily undertook to protect me, especially it being so easy to have me pass for a natural Spaniard, and so they took me on shore with 21 bales of my goods, and the sloop stood off to sea. If they met with any enemies, they were to stand in for the shore the next night, and we failed not to look well out for them, but to no purpose, for the next day they were discovered and chased by two Spanish frigates; they stood from them, and the sloop, being an excellent sailer, gained so much, that they would certainly have been clear of them when night came on, but a small picaroon of a sloop kept them company in spite of all they could do, and two or three times offered to engage them, thereby to give time to the rest to come up, but the sloop kept her way, and gave them a chase of three days and nights, having a fresh gale of wind at S.W. till she made the Rio Grand, or, as the French call it, the Mississippi, and there finding no remedy, they ran the vessel on shore, not far from the fort, which the Spaniards call Pensacola, garrisoned at that time with French. Our men would have entered the river as a port, but having no pilot, and the current of the river being strong against them, the sloop ran on shore, and the men shifted as well as they could in their boats.

I was now in a very odd condition indeed, though my circumstances were in one sense very happy, namely, that I was in the hands of my friends, for such really they were, and so faithful, that no men could have been more careful of their own safety, than were they of mine; and that which added to the comfort of my new condition, was the produce of my goods, which were gotten on shore by their own advice and direction, which was a fund sufficient to maintain me with them as long as I could be supposed to stay there; and the first merchant to whose house I went, assured me, that he would give me credit for 20,000 pieces-of-eight, if I had occasion for it.

My greatest affliction was, that I knew not how to convey news to my wife of my present condition, and how, among many misfortunes of the voyage, I was yet safe, and in good hands.

But there was no remedy for this part, but the great universal cure of all incurable sorrows, viz. patience; and, indeed, I had a great deal of reason, not for patience only, but thankfulness, if I had known the circumstances which I should have been reduced to, if I had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; the best of which that I could reasonably have expected, had been, to have been sent to the mines, or, which was ten thousand times worse, the Inquisition; or, if I had escaped the Spaniards, as my men in the sloop did, the hardships they were exposed to, the dangers they were in, and the miseries they suffered were still worse, in wandering among savages, and the more savage French, who plundered and stripped them, instead of relieving and supplying them in their long wilderness journey over the mountains, till they reached the S.W. parts of South Carolina, a journey which indeed deserves to have an account to be given of it by itself. I say, all these things, had I known of them, would have let me see that I had a great deal of reason, not only to be patient under my present circumstances, but satisfied and thankful.

Here, as I said, my patron, the merchant, entertained me like a prince, he made my safety his peculiar care; and while we were in any expectation of the sloop being taken, and brought into Vera Cruz, he kept me retired at a little house in a wood, where he kept a fine aviary of all sorts of American birds, and out of which he yearly sent some as presents to his friends in Old Spain.

This retreat was necessary, lest, if the sloop should be taken and brought into Vera Cruz, and the men be brought in prisoners, they should be tempted to give an account of me as their supercargo or merchant, and where both I and the 21 bales of goods were set on shore. As for the goods, he made sure work with them, for they were all opened, taken out of the bales, and separated, and, being mixed with other European goods which came by the galleons, were made up in new packages, and sent to Mexico in several parcels, some to one merchant, some to another; so that it was impossible to have found them out, even if they had had information of them.

In this posture, and in apprehension of some bad news of the sloop, I remained at the villa, or house in the vale, for so they called it, about five weeks; I had two negroes appointed to wait on me, one of whom was my purveyor, or my cook, the other my valet; and my friend, the master of all, came constantly every evening to visit and sup with me, when we walked out together into the aviary, which was, of its kind, the most beautiful thing that ever I saw in the world.

After above five weeks' retreat of this kind, he had good intelligence of the fate of the sloop, viz. that the two frigates and a sloop had chased her till she ran on ground near the fort of Pensacola; that they saw her stranded and broke in pieces by the force of the waves, the men making their escape in their boat. This news

was brought, it seems, by the said frigates to La Vera Cruz, where my friend went on purpose to be fully informed, and received the account from one of the captains of the frigates, and discoursed with him at large about it.

I was better pleased with the loss of the sloop and all my cargo, the men being got on shore and escaping, than I should have been with the saving the whole cargo, if the men had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, for now I was safe, whereas then, it being supposed they would have been forced to some discovery about me, I must have fled, and should have found it very difficult to have made my escape, even with all that my friends could have done for me too.

But now I was perfectly easy, and my friend, who thought confining me at the house in the vale no longer needful, brought me publicly home to his dwelling-house, as a merchant come from Old Spain by the last galleons, and who, having been at Mexico, was come to reside with him.

Here I was dressed like a Spaniard of the better sort, had three negroes to attend me, and was called Don Ferdinand de Villa Moresa, in Castilia Feja, that is to say, in Old Castile.

Here I had nothing to do but to walk about, and ride out into the woods, and come home again to enjoy the pleasantest and most agreeable retirement in the world; for certainly no men in the world live in such splendour, and wallow in such immense treasures as the merchants of this place.

They live, as I have said, in a kind of country retreat at their villas, or, as we would call them in Virginia, their plantations, and, as they call them, their ingenios, where they make their indigo and their sugars; but they have also houses and warehouses at Vera Cruz, where they go twice a year, when the galleons arrive from Old Spain, and when these galleons relade for their return; and it was surprising to me, when I went to La Vera Cruz with them, to see what prodigious consignments they had from their correspondents in Old Spain, and with what despatch they managed them; for no sooner were the cases, packages, and bales of European goods brought into their warehouses, but they were opened, and repacked by porters and packers of their own, that is to say, negroes and Indian servants; and being made up into new bales, and separate parcels, were all despatched again, by horses, for Mexico, and directed to their several merchants there, and the remainder carried home, as above, to the ingenio where they lived, which was near 30 English miles from Vera Cruz, so that, in about 20 days, their warehouses were again entirely free. At La Vera Cruz all their business was over there, and they and all their servants retired; for they stayed no longer there than needs must, because of the unhealthiness of the air.

After the goods were thus despatched, it was equally surprising to see how soon, and with what exactness, the merchants of Mexico, to whom those cargoes were separately consigned, made the return, and how it came all in silver or gold, so that their warehouses, in a few months, were piled up, even to the ceiling, with chests of pieces-of-eight, and with bars of silver.

It is impossible to describe, in the narrow compass of this work, with what exactness and order, and yet with how little hurry, and not the least confusion, everything was done, and how soon a weight of business of such importance and value was negotiated and finished, the goods repacked, invoices made, and everything despatched and gone; so that, in about five weeks, all the goods they had received from Europe by the galleons were disposed of, and entered in their journals, to the proper account of the merchant to whom they were respectively consigned; from thence they had bookkeepers, who drew out the invoices and wrote the letters, which the merchant himself only read over and signed, and then other hands copied all again into other books.

I can give no estimate of the value of the several consignments they received by that flota; but I remember that, when the galleons went back, they shipped on board, at several times, one million three hundred thousand pieces-of-eight in specie, besides 180 bales or bags of cochineal, and about 300 bales of indigo; but they were so modest, that they said this was for themselves and their friends; that is to say, the several merchants of Mexico consigned large quantities of bullion to them, to ship on board and consign according to their order; but then I know also that for all that they were allowed commission, so that their gain was very considerable, even that way also.

I had been with them at La Vera Cruz, and came back again before we came to an account for the goods which I had brought on shore in the 21 bales, which, by the account we brought them (leaving a piece of everything to be governed by our last market) amounted to 8570 pieces-of-eight, all of which money my friend, for so I must now call him, brought me in specie, and caused his negroes to pile them up in one corner of my apartment; so that I was indeed still very rich, all things considered.

There was a bale which I had caused to be packed up on purpose in Virginia, and which, indeed, I had written for from England, being chiefly of fine English broad-cloths, silk, silk-druggets, and fine stuffs of several kinds, with some very fine Hollands, which I set apart for presents as I should find occasion; and as, whatever hurry I was in at carrying the 21 bales of goods on shore, I did not forget to let this bale be one of them, so, when we came to a sale for the rest, I told them that this was a pack with clothes and necessaries for my own wearing and use, and so desired it might not be opened with the rest; which was accordingly observed, and that bale or pack was brought into my apartment.

This bale was, in general, made up of several smaller bales, which I had directed, so that I might have room to make presents, equally sorted, as the circumstance might direct me. However, they were all considerable, and I reckoned the whole bale cost me near £200 sterling in England; and though my present circumstances required some limits to my bounty in making presents, yet the obligation I was under, being so much the greater, especially to this one friendly generous Spaniard, I thought I could not do better than by opening two of the smaller bales, join them together, and make my gift something suitable to the benefactor, and to the respect he had shown me. Accordingly, I took two bales, and laying the goods together, the contents were as follows:—

Two pieces of fine English broad-cloth, the finest that could be got in London, divided, as was that which I gave to the governor at the Havannah, into fine crimson in grain, fine light mixtures, and fine black.

Four pieces of fine Holland, of 7s. to 8s. per ell in London.

Twelve pieces of fine silk drugget and duroys, for men's wear.

Six pieces of broad silks, 2 damasks, 2 brocaded silks, and 2 mantuas.
With a box of ribands and a box of lace; the last cost about £40 sterling in England.

This handsome parcel I laid open in my apartment, and brought him upstairs one morning on pretence to drink chocolate with me, which he ordinarily did; when, as we drank chocolate and were merry, I said to him, though I had sold him almost all my cargo, and taken his money, yet the truth was, that I ought not to have sold them to him, but to have laid them all at his feet, for that it was to his direction I owed the having anything saved at all.

He smiled, and, with a great deal of friendship in his face, told me, that not to have paid me for them would have been to have plundered a shipwreck, which had been worse than to have robbed an hospital.

At last I told him I had two requests to make to him, which must not be denied. I told him I had a small present to make him, which I would give him a reason why he should not refuse to accept; and the second request I would make after the first was granted. He said he would have accepted my present from me if I had not been under a disaster; but, as it was, it would be cruel and ungenerous. But I told him he was obliged to hear my reason for his accepting it. Then I told him that this parcel was made up for him by name by my wife and I in Virginia, and his name set on the marks of the bale; and accordingly I showed him the marks, which was indeed on one of the bales, but I had doubled it now (as above), so that I told him these were his own proper goods; and, in short, I pressed him so to receive them, that he made a bow, and I said no more, but ordered my negro, that is to say, his negro that waited on me, to carry them all, except the two boxes, into his apartments, but would not let him see the particulars till they were all carried away.

After he was gone about a quarter of an hour, he came in raving, and almost swearing, and in a great passion, but I could easily see he was exceedingly pleased, and told me, had he known the particulars, he would never have suffered them to have gone as he did, and at last used the very same compliment that the governor at the Havannah used, viz. that it was a present fit for a viceroy of Mexico, rather than for him.

When he had done, he then told me he remembered I had two requests to him, and that one was not to be told till after the first was granted, and he hoped now I had something to ask of him, that was equal to the obligation I had laid upon him.

I told him, I knew it was not the custom in Spain for a stranger to make presents to the ladies, and that I would not in the least doubt but that, whatever the ladies of his family required, as proper for their use, he would appropriate to them as he thought fit. But that there were two little boxes in the parcel, which my wife with her own hand had directed to the ladies; and I begged he would be pleased with his own hand to give them in my wife's name, as directed; that I was only the messenger, but that I could not be honest if I did not discharge the trust reposed in me.

These were the two boxes of ribands and lace, which, knowing the nicety of the ladies in Spain, or rather of the Spaniards about their women, I had made my wife pack up, and directed with her own hand, as I have said.

He smiled, and told me it was true, the Spaniards did not ordinarily admit so much freedom among the women as other nations; but he hoped, he said, I would not think the Spaniards thought all their women whores, or that all Spaniards were jealous of their wives; that, as to my present, since he had agreed to accept of it, I should have the direction of what part I pleased to his wife and daughters; for he had three daughters.

Here I strained courtesies again, and told him by no means, I would direct nothing of that kind, I only begged that he would, with his own hand, present to his donna, or lady, the present designed her by my wife, and that he would present it in her name, now living in Virginia. He was extremely pleased with the nicety I used, and I saw him present it to her accordingly, and could see, at the opening of it, that she was extremely pleased with the present itself, as indeed might very well be; for in that country it was worth a very considerable sum of money.

Though I was used with an uncommon friendship before, and nothing could well be desired more, yet the grateful sense I showed of it, in the magnificence of this present, was not lost, and the whole family appeared sensible of it; so that I must allow that presents, where they can be made in such a manner, are not without their influence, where the persons were not at all mercenary either before or after.

I had here now a most happy and comfortable retreat, though it was a kind of an exile; here I enjoyed everything I could think of, that was agreeable and pleasant, except only a liberty of going home, which, for that reason perhaps, was the only thing I desired in the world; for the grief of one absent comfort is oftentimes capable of embittering all the other enjoyments in the world.

Here I enjoyed the moments which I had never before known how to employ; I mean, that here I learned to look back upon a long ill-spent life, blessed with infinite advantage, which I had no heart given me till now to make use of, and here I found just reflections were the utmost felicity of human life.

Here I wrote these memoirs, having to add to the pleasure of looking back with due reflections, the benefit of a violent fit of the gout, which, as it is allowed by most people, clears the head, restores the memory, and qualifies us to make the most, and just, and useful remarks upon our own actions.

Perhaps, when I wrote these things down, I did not foresee that the writings of our own stories would be so much the fashion in England, or so agreeable to others to read, as I find custom and the humour of the times has caused it to be. If any one that reads my story, pleases to make the same just reflections, which I acknowledge I ought to have made, he will reap the benefit of my misfortunes, perhaps more than I have done myself. It is evident, by the long series of changes and turns, which have appeared in the narrow compass of one private, mean person's life, that the history of men's lives may be many ways made useful and instructing to those who read them, if moral and religious improvement and reflections are made by those that write them.

There remains many things in the course of this unhappy life of mine, though I have left so little a part of it to speak of, that is worth giving a large and distinct account of, and which gives room for just reflections of a kind which I have not made yet; particularly, I think it just to add how, in collecting the various changes and turns

of my affairs, I saw clearer than ever I had done before, how an invincible, overruling power, a hand influenced from above, governs all our actions of every kind, limits all our designs, and orders the events of everything relating to us.

And from this observation it necessarily occurred to me, how just it was that we should pay the homage of all events to Him; that as He guided, and had even made the chain of cause and consequences, which nature in general strictly obeyed, so to Him should be given the honour of all events, the consequences of those causes, as the first mover and maker of all things.

I, who had hitherto lived, as might be truly said, without God in the world, began now to see farther into all those things than I had ever yet been capable of before, and this brought me at last to look with shame and blushes upon such a course of wickedness as I had gone through in the world. I had been bred indeed to nothing of either religious or moral knowledge; what I had gained of either was, first, by the little time of civil life which I lived in Scotland, where my abhorrence of the wickedness of my captain and comrade, and some sober religious company I fell into, first gave me some knowledge of good and evil, and showed me the beauty of a sober, religious life, though, with my leaving that country, it soon left me too; or, secondly, the modest hints and just reflections of my steward, whom I called my tutor, who was a man of sincere religion, good principles, and a real true penitent for his past miscarriages. O! had I with him sincerely repented of what was past, I had not for twenty-four years together lived a life of levity and profligate wickedness after it.

But here I had (as I said) leisure to reflect, and to repent, and to call to mind things past, and with a just detestation learn, as Job says, to abhor myself in dust and ashes.

It is with this temper that I have written my story; I would have all that design to read it, prepare to do so with the temper of penitents; and remember with how much advantage they make their penitent reflections at home under the merciful dispositions of Providence, in peace, plenty, and ease, rather than abroad, under the discipline of a transported criminal, as my wife and my tutor, or under the miseries and distresses of a shipwrecked wanderer, as my skipper, or captain of the sloop, who (as I hear) died a very great penitent, labouring in the deserts and mountains to find his way home to Virginia, by the way of Carolina, whither the rest of the crew reached, after infinite dangers and hardships; or in exile, however favourably circumstanced as mine, in absence from my family, and for some time in no probable view of ever seeing them any more.

Such (I say) may repent with advantage; but how few are they that seriously look in till their way is hedged up, and they have no other way to look.

Here (I say) I had leisure to repent; how far it pleases God to give the grace of repentance where He gives the opportunity of it, is not for me to say of myself. It is sufficient that I recommend it to all that read this story, that, when they find their lives come up in any degree to any similitude of cases, they will inquire by me, and ask themselves, Is not this the time to repent? Perhaps the answer may touch them.

I have only to add to what was then written, that my kind friends the Spaniards, finding no other method presented for conveying me to my home, that is to say, to Virginia, got a licence for me to come in the next galleons, as a Spanish merchant to Cadiz, where I arrived safe with all my treasure, for he suffered me to be at no expenses in his house; and from Cadiz I soon got my passage on board an English merchant ship for London, from whence I sent an account of my adventures to my wife, and where, in about five months more, she came over to me, leaving with full satisfaction the management of all our affairs in Virginia in the same faithful hands as before.

MEMOIRS OF A CAVALIER.

Memoirs of a Cavalier: or a Military Journal of the wars in Germany, and the wars in England; from the year 1632 *to the year* 1648. *Written threescore years ago by an English gentleman, who served first in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, the glorious king of Sweden, till his death; and after that in the royal army of King Charles the First, from the beginning of the rebellion, to the end of the war. London. No date.*

Sic ubi delectos per torva armenta juvencos
Agricola imposito sociare Affectat aratro:
Illi indignantes quis nondum vomere Multo
Ardua nodosos cervix descendit in Armos,
In diversa trahunt, atq. æquis vencula laxant
Viribus, et vario confundunt limite Sulcos:
Haud secus indomitos præceps Discordia Fratres
Asperat. *Stat. Theb. Lib.* 1.

Et Fratres, natosq. suos videre, patresque:
Depressum est civile nefas. *Lucan, Lib.* 4.

['WHETHER this interesting work,' says the advertisement to the Edinburgh edition of 1809, 'is considered as a romance, or as a series of authentic memoirs, in which the only fabulous circumstance is the existence of the hero; it must undoubtedly be allowed to be of the best description of either species of composition, and to reflect additional lustre, even on the author of *Robinson Crusoe*.

'There is so much simplicity and apparent fidelity of statement throughout the narrative, that the feelings are little indebted to those who would remove the veil; and the former editors, perhaps, have acted not unwisely in leaving the circumstances of its authenticity in their original obscurity. *The Memoirs of a Cavalier* have long, however, been ascertained to be the production of Daniel Defoe. Both the first and second editions were published without date; but, from other evidence, the work appears to have been written shortly after *Robinson Crusoe*, in 1720–1.'

The publisher of the second edition thus addresses the reader:—'The following historical memoirs are writ with so much spirit and good sense, that there is no doubt of their pleasing all such as can form any just pretensions to either. However, as, upon reading of a book, it is a question that naturally occurs, "Who is the author?" and as it is too much the custom in these days to form our sentiments of a performance, not from its intrinsic merit, but from the sentiments we form of the writer, the present republication of these memoirs will renew the inquiry which has been often made, "Who wrote them?" Some have imagined the whole to be a romance; if it be, it is a romance the likest to truth that I ever read. It has the features of truth, it is clothed with her simplicity, and adorned with her charms.

Without hazard I may venture to say, were all romance writers to follow this author's example, their works would yield entertainment to philosophers, as well as serve for the amusement of *beaux-esprits*. But I am fully persuaded our author, whoever he was, had been early concerned in the actions he relates. It is certain no man could have given a description of his retreat from Marston Moor to Rochdale, and from thence over the moors to the north, in so apt and proper terms, and in so exact a manner, unless he had really travelled over the very ground he describes. I could point out many other instances in the course of the memoirs, which evidence that the author must have been well acquainted with the towns, battles, sieges, etc., and a party in the actions he relates. But, as it is needless to do this, all that remains is, to trace our author to his name.

'He says he was second son to a Shropshire gentleman, who was made a peer in the reign of King Charles I., whose seat lay eight miles from Shrewsbury. This account suits no one so well as Andrew Newport, Esq., second son to Richard Newport, of High Ercoll, Esq.; which Richard was created Lord Newport, October 14th, 1642. This Andrew Newport, Esq., whom we suppose our author to be, was, after the Restoration, made a commissioner of the Customs, probably in reward of his zeal and good services for the royal cause.

'The several illustrations these memoirs furnish to the history of those times they refer to, the variety of adventures they contain, and the elegant account herein given of the wars in Germany and England, will abundantly recommend them to the curious.'

'The name of Andrew Newport,' says Mr. Wilson, 'bestowed upon the Cavalier, is purely supposititious, and any other would do equally well. The laboured attempts of our author to investigate the matter, and to authenticate the manuscript, are so many proofs of his amazing skill in bestowing real life upon the phantoms of his own genius. In this he has succeeded so completely, that it is impossible to read his book without a full persuasion of its being written by the identical person whose story it relates, and that he was not only present upon the spot, but an eye-witness of every fact here registered.

'It is said to have been a favourite book with the great Lord Chatham, who long considered it an authentic history, and was in the habit of recommending it as the best account of the civil wars extant; nor was he a little mortified when told that it was a romance. It is indeed, as Mr. Chalmers observes, "a romance the likest to truth that ever was written." As a narrative of important events, containing a correct picture of the times, and enlivened by many just observations, it will be always read with a keen interest by those who may wish to occupy a spare hour in amusement or instruction.']

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

As an evidence that it is very probable these memorials were written many years ago, the persons now concerned in the publication assure the reader, that they have had them in their possession finished, as they now appear, above twenty years; that they were so long ago found by great accident, among other valuable papers, in the closet of an eminent public minister, of no less figure than one of King William's secretaries of state.

As it is not proper to trace them any farther, so neither is there any need to trace them at all, to give reputation to the story related, seeing the actions here mentioned have a sufficient sanction from all the historics of the times to which they relate, with this addition, that the admirable manner of relating them, and the wonderful variety of incidents with which they are beautified in the course of a private gentleman's story, add such delight in the reading, and give such a lustre, as well to the accounts themselves as to the person who was the actor, that no story, we believe, extant in the world, ever came abroad with such advantage.

It must naturally give some concern in the reading, that the name of a person of so much gallantry and honour, and so many ways valuable to the world, should be lost to the reader. We assure them no small labour has been thrown away upon the inquiry; and all we have been able to arrive to of discovery in this affair is, that a memorandum was found

with this manuscript in these words, but not signed by any name, only the two letters of a name, which gives us no light into the matter; which memoir was as follows:—

> MEMORANDUM.—*I found this manuscript among my father's writings, and I understand that he got them as plunder, at, or after, the fight at Worcester, where he served as major of ——'s regiment of horse on the side of the Parliament.*
>
> I. K.

As this has been of no use but to terminate the inquiry after the person, so, however, it seems most naturally to give an authority to the original of the work, viz. That it was born of a soldier; and, indeed, it is through every part related with so soldierly a style, and in the very language of the field, that it seems impossible anything, but the very person who was present in every action here related, could be the relator of them.

The accounts of battles, the sieges, and the several actions of which this work is so full, are all recorded in the histories of those times; such as the great battle of Leipsic, the sacking of Magdeburg, the siege of Nuremberg, the passing the river Leck in Bavaria; such also as the battles of Keynton, or Edge-hill; the battles of Newbury, Marston Moor, and Naseby, and the like. They are all, we say, recorded in other histories, and written by those who lived in those times, and, perhaps, had good authority for what they wrote. But do those relations give any of the beautiful ideas of things formed in this account? Have they one half of the circumstances, and incidents of the actions themselves, that this man's eyes were witness to, and which his memory has thus preserved? He that has read the best accounts of those battles will be surprised to see the particulars of the story so preserved, so nicely and so agreeably described, and will confess what we allege, that the story is inimitably told; and even the great actions of the glorious King Gustavus Adolphus receive a lustre from this man's relations, which the world was never made sensible of before, and which the present age has much wanted of late, in order to give their affections a turn in favour of his late glorious successor.

In the story of our own country's unnatural wars, he carries on the same spirit. How effectually does he record the virtues and glorious actions of King Charles I., at the same time that he frequently enters upon the mistakes of his majesty's conduct and of his friends, which gave his enemies all those fatal advantages against him, which ended in the overthrow of his armies, the loss of his crown and life, and the ruin of the constitution.

In all his accounts he does justice to his enemies, and honours the merits of those whose cause he fought against; and many accounts recorded in his story, are not to be found even in the best histories of those times.

What applause does he give to the gallantry of Sir Thomas Fairfax, to his modesty, to his conduct, under which he himself was subdued, and to the justice he did the king's troops when they laid down their arms.

His description of the Scots troops in the beginning of the war, and the behaviour of the party under the Earl of Holland, who went over against them, are admirable; and his censure of their conduct, who pushed the king upon the quarrel, and then would not let him fight, is no more than what many of the king's friends (though less knowing as soldiers) have often complained of.

In a word, this work is a confutation of many errors in all the writers upon the subject of our wars in England, and even in that extraordinary history writen by the Earl of Clarendon; but the editors were so just, that, when near twenty years ago, a person who had written a whole volume in folio, by way of answer to, and confutation of, Clarendon's history of the rebellion, would have borrowed the clauses in this account which clash with that history, and confront it: we say, the editors were so just as to refuse them.

There can be nothing objected against the general credit of this work, seeing its truth is established upon universal history; and almost all the facts, especially those of moment, are confirmed for their general part by all the writers of those times. If they are here embellished with particulars which are nowhere else to be found, that is the beauty we boast of; and that it is that must recommend this work to all the men of sense and judgment that read it.

The only objection we find possible to make against this work is, that it is not carried on farther, or, as we may say, finished with the finishing of the war time; and this we complain of also. But then we complain of it as a misfortune to the world, not as a fault in the author; for how do we know but that this author might carry it on, and have another part finished which might not fall into the same hands, or may still remain with some of his family, and which they cannot indeed publish, to make it seem anything perfect, for want of the other parts which we have, and which we have now made public? Nor is it very improbable, but that if any such farther part is in being, the publishing these two parts may occasion the proprietors of the third to let the world see it; and that, by such a discovery, the name of the person may also come to be known, which would, no doubt, be a great satisfaction to the reader as well as to us.

This, however, must be said, that if the same author should have written another part of this work, and carried it on to the end of those times; yet, as the residue of those melancholy days to the Restoration were filled with the intrigues of government, the political management of illegal power, and the dissensions and factions of a people who were then even in themselves but a faction, and that there was very little action in the field, it is more than probable that our author, who was a man of arms, had little share in those things, and might not care to trouble himself with looking at them.

But, besides all this, it might happen, that he might go abroad again, at that time, as most of the gentlemen of quality, and who had an abhorrence for the power that then governed here, did. Nor are we certain that he might live to the end of that time; so we can give no account whether he had any share in the subsequent actions of that time.

It is enough that we have the authorities above to recommend this part to us that is now published; the relation, we are persuaded, will recommend itself, and nothing more can be needful, because nothing more can invite than the story itself, which, when the reader enters into, he will find it very hard to get out of, until he has gone through it.

It may suffice the reader, without being very inquisitive after my name, that I was born in the county of Salop, in the year 1608; under the government of what star I was never astrologer enough to examine; but the consequences of my life may allow me to suppose some extraordinary influence affected my birth. If there be anything in dreams also, my mother, who was mighty observant that way, took minutes, which I have since seen in the first leaf of her Prayer-book, of several strange dreams she had while she was with child of her second son, which was myself. Once she noted that she dreamed she was carried away by a regiment of horse, and delivered in the fields of a son, that as soon as it was born had two wings came out of its back, and in half an hour's time flew away from her; and the very evening before I was born she dreamed she was brought to bed of a son, and that all the while she was in labour a man stood under her window beating on a kettle-drum, which very much discomposed her.

My father was a gentleman of a very plentiful fortune, having an estate of above £5000 per annum, of a family nearly allied to several of the principal nobility, and lived about six miles from the town of High-Excol: and my mother being at —— on some particular occasion, was surprised there at a friend's house, and brought me very safe into the world.

I was my father's second son, and therefore was not altogether so much slighted as younger sons of good families generally are; but my father saw something in my genius also which particularly pleased him, and so made him take extraordinary care of my education.

I was taught therefore, by the best masters that could be had, everything that was needful to accomplish a young gentleman for the world; and at seventeen years old my tutor told my father an academic education was very proper for a person of quality, and he thought me very fit for it: so my father entered me of —— college in Oxford, where I continued three years.

A collegiate life did not suit me at all, though I loved books well enough. It was never designed that I should be either a lawyer, physician, or divine; and I wrote to my father that I thought I had stayed there long enough for a gentleman, and with his leave I desired to give him a visit.

During my stay at Oxford, though I passed through the proper exercises of the house, yet my chief reading was upon history and geography, as that which pleased my mind best, and supplied me with ideas most suitable to my genius: by one I understood what great actions had been done in the world, and by the other I understood where they had been done.

My father readily complied with my desire of coming home, for besides that he thought, as I did, that three years' time at the university was enough, he also most passionately loved me, and began to think of my settling near him.

At my arrival I found myself extraordinarily caressed by my father, and he seemed to take a particular delight in my conversation. My mother, who lived in perfect union with him, both in desires and affection, received me very passionately: apartments were provided for me by myself, and horses and servants allowed me in particular.

My father never went a hunting, an exercise he was exceeding fond of, but he would have me with him; and it pleased him when he found me like the sport. I lived thus, in all the pleasures 'twas possible for me to enjoy, for about a year more; when going out one morning with my father to hunt a stag, and having had a very hard chase, and gotten a great way off from home, we had leisure enough to ride gently back; and as we returned, my father took occasion to enter into a serious discourse with me concerning the manner of my settling in the world.

He told me, with a great deal of passion, that he loved me above all the rest of his children, and that therefore he intended to do very well for me; and that my eldest brother being already married and settled, he had designed the same for me, and proposed a very advantageous match for me with a young lady of very extraordinary fortune and merit, and offered to make a settlement of £2000 per annum on me, which he said he would purchase for me without diminishing his paternal estate.

There was too much tenderness in this discourse not to affect me exceedingly. I told him I would perfectly resign myself unto his disposal. But, as my father had, together with his love for me, a very nice judgment in his discourse, he fixed his eyes very attentively on me; and though my answer was without the least reserve, yet he thought he saw some uneasiness in me at the proposal, and from thence concluded that my compliance was rather an act of discretion than inclination; and that however I seemed so absolutely given up to what he had proposed, yet my answer was really an effect of my obedience rather than my choice; so he returned very quick upon me, 'Look you, son, though I give you my own thoughts in the matter, yet I would have you be very plain with me; for if your own choice does not agree with mine, I will be your adviser, but will never impose upon you; and therefore let me know your mind freely.' 'I don't reckon myself capable, sir,' said I, with a great deal of respect, 'to make so good a choice for myself as you can for me; and though my opinion differed from yours, its being your opinion would reform mine, and my judgment would as readily comply as my duty.' 'I gather at least from thence,' said my father, 'that your designs lay another way before, however they may comply with mine; and therefore I would know what it was you would have asked of me if I had not offered this to you; and you must not deny me your obedience in this, if you expect I should believe your readiness in the other.'

'Sir,' said I, ''twas impossible I should lay out for myself just what you have proposed; but if my inclinations were never so contrary, though at your command you shall know them, yet I declare them to be wholly subjected to your order. I confess my thoughts did not tend towards marriage or a settlement; for though I had no reason to question your care of me, yet I thought a gentleman ought always to see something of the world before he confined himself to any part of it; and if I had been to ask your consent to anything, it should have been to give me leave to travel for a short time, in order to qualify myself to appear at home like a son to so good a father.'

'In what capacity would you travel?' replied my father; 'you must go abroad either as a private gentleman, as a scholar, or as a soldier.' 'If it were in the latter capacity, sir,' said I, returning pretty quick, 'I hope I should not misbehave myself; but I am not so determined as not to be ruled by your judgment.' 'Truly,' replied my father, 'I see no war abroad at this time worth while for a man to appear in, whether we talk of the cause or the encouragement; and indeed, son, I am afraid you need not go far for adventures of that nature, for times seem to look as if this part of Europe would find us work enough.' My father spake then relating to the quarrel likely to happen between the king of England and the Spaniard (upon the breach of the match between the king of England and the infanta of Spain, and particularly upon the old quarrel of the king of Bohemia and the Palatinate), for I believe he had no notions of a civil war in his head.

In short, my father, perceiving my inclinations very forward to go abroad, gave me leave to travel, upon condition I would promise to return in two years at furthest, or sooner, if he sent for me.

While I was at Oxford I happened into the society of a young gentleman of a good family, but of a low fortune, being a younger brother, and who had indeed instilled into me the first desires of going abroad, and who I knew passionately longed to travel, but had not sufficient allowance to defray his expenses as a gentleman. We had contracted a very close friendship, and our humours being very agreeable to one another, we daily enjoyed the conversation of letters. He was of a generous free temper, without the least affectation or deceit, a handsome proper person, a strong body, very good mien, and brave to the last degree. His name was Fielding, and we called him captain, though it be a very unusual title in a college; but fate had some hand in the title, for he had certainly the lines of a soldier drawn in his countenance. I imparted to him the resolutions I had taken, and how I had my father's consent to go abroad, and would know his mind, whether he would go with me; he sent me word, he would go with all his heart.

My father, when he saw him, for I sent for him immediately to come to me, mightily approved my choice; so we got our equipage ready, and came away for London.

'Twas on the 22d of April 1630, when we embarked at Dover, landed in a few hours at Calais, and immediately took post for Paris. I shall not trouble the reader with a journal of my travels, nor with the description of places, which every geographer can do better than I; but these memoirs being only a relation of what happened either to ourselves, or in our own knowledge, I shall confine myself to that part of it.

We had indeed some diverting passages in our journey to Paris; as, first, the horse my comrade was upon fell so very lame with a slip, that he could not go, and hardly stand; and the fellow that rid with us express, pretended to ride away to a town five miles off to get a fresh horse, and so left us on the road with one horse between two of us. We followed as well as we could, but being strangers, missed the way, and wandered a great way out of the road. Whether the man performed in reasonable time or not, we could not be sure, but if it had not been for an old priest, we had never found him. We met this man, by a very good accident, near a little village whereof he was curate; we spoke Latin enough just to make him understand us, and he did not speak it much better himself; but he carried us into the village to his house, gave us wine and bread, and entertained us with wonderful courtesy. After this he sent into the village, hired a peasant and a horse for my captain, and sent him to guide us into the road. At parting, he made a great many compliments to us in French, which we could just

understand; but the sum was, to excuse him for a question he had a mind to ask us. After leave to ask what he pleased, it was, if we wanted any money for our journey, and pulled out two pistoles, which he offered either to give or lend us.

I mention this exceeding courtesy of the curate, because, though civility is very much in use in France, and especially to strangers, yet it is a very unusual thing to have them part with their money.

We let the priest know, first, that we did not want money, and next, that we were very sensible of the obligation he had put upon us; and I told him in particular, if I lived to see him again, I would acknowledge it.

This accident of our horse was, as we afterwards found, of some use to us. We had left our two servants behind us at Calais to bring our baggage after us, by reason of some dispute between the captain of the packet and the custom-house officer, which could not be adjusted, and we were willing to be at Paris. The fellows followed as fast as they could, and, as near as we could learn, in the time we lost our way were robbed, and our portmanteaus opened. They took what they pleased; but as there was no money there, but linen and necessaries, the loss was not great.

Our guide carried us to Amiens, where we found the express and our two servants, who the express meeting on the road with a spare horse, had brought back with him thither.

We took this for a good omen of our successful journey, having escaped a danger which might have been greater to us than it was to our servants; for the highwaymen in France do not always give a traveller the civility of bidding him stand and deliver his money, but frequently fire upon him first, and then take his money.

We stayed one day at Amiens, to adjust this little disorder, and walked about the town, and into the great church, but saw nothing very remarkable there; but going across a broad street near the great church, we saw a crowd of people gazing at a montebank doctor, who made a long harangue to them with a thousand antic postures, and gave out bills this way, and boxes of physic that way, and had a great trade, when on a sudden the people raised a cry, *Larron, Larron* (in English, *Thief, Thief*), on the other side the street, and all the auditors ran away from Mr. Doctor, to see what the matter was. Among the rest we went to see; and the case was plain and short enough. Two English gentlemen and a Scotchman, travellers as we were, were standing gazing at this prating doctor, and one of them catched a fellow picking his pocket. The fellow had got some of his money, for he dropt two or three pieces just by him, and had got hold of his watch; but being surprised, let it slip again; but the reason of telling this story, is for the management of it. This thief had his seconds so ready, that as soon as the Englishman had seized him, they fell in, pretended to be mighty zealous for the stranger, take the fellow by the throat, and make a great bustle; the gentleman not doubting but the man was secured, let go his own hold of him, and left him to them. The hubbub was great, and it was these fellows cried *Larron, Larron;* but, with a dexterity peculiar to themselves, had let the right fellow go, and pretended to be all upon one of their own gang. At last, they bring the man to the gentleman, to ask him what the fellow had done, who, when he saw the person they seized on, presently told them that was not the man. Then they seemed to be in more consternation than before, and spread themselves all over the street, crying *Larron, Larron, Larron,* pretending to search for the fellow; and so one one way, one another, they were all gone, the noise went over, the gentlemen stood looking at one another, and the bawling doctor began to have the crowd about him again.

This was the first French trick I had the opportunity of seeing; but I was told they have a great many more as dexterous as this.

We soon got acquaintance with these gentlemen, who were going to Paris as well as we; so the next day we made up our company with them, and were a pretty troop of five gentlemen and four servants.

As we had really no design to stay long at Paris, so, indeed, excepting the city itself, there was not much to be seen there. Cardinal Richelieu, who was not only a supreme minister in the church, but prime minister in the state, was now made also general of the king's forces, with a title never known in France before nor since, viz. lieutenant-general *au place du Roy*, in the king's stead, or as some have since translated it, representing the person of the king.

Under this character he pretended to execute all the royal powers in the army, without appeal to the king, or without waiting for orders; and having parted from Paris the winter before, had now actually begun the war against the Duke of Savoy, in the process of which he restored the Duke of Mantua, and having taken Pignerol from the duke, put it into such a state of defence, as the duke could never force it out of his hands, and reduced the duke, rather by manage and conduct than by force, to make peace without it; so as, annexing it to the crown of France, it has ever since been a thorn in his foot, that has always made the peace of Savoy lame and precarious; and France has since made Pignerol one of the strongest fortresses in the world.

As the cardinal, with all the military part of the court, was in the field; so the king, to be near him, was gone with the queen and all the court, just before I reached Paris, to reside at Lyons. All these considered, there was nothing to do at Paris; the court looked like a citizen's house when the family was all gone into the country; and I thought the whole city looked very melancholy, compared to all the fine things I had heard of it.

The queen-mother and her party were chagrined at the cardinal, who, though he owed his grandeur to her immediate favour, was now grown too great any longer to be at the command of her majesty, or indeed in her interests; and therefore the queen was under dissatisfaction, and her party looked very much down.

The Protestants were everywhere disconsolate; for the losses they had received at Rochelle, Nismes, and Montpelier, had reduced them to an absolute dependence on the king's will, without all possible hopes of ever recovering themselves, or being so much as in a condition to take arms for their religion; and therefore the wisest of them plainly foresaw their own entire reduction, as it since came to pass; and I remember very well that a Protestant gentleman told me once, as we were passing from Orleans to Lyons, that the English had ruined them; 'and therefore,' says he, 'I think the next occasion the king takes to use us ill, as I know it will not be long before he does, we must all fly over to England, where you are bound to maintain us for having helped to turn us out of our own country.' I asked him what he meant by saying the English

had done it? He returned short upon me; 'I do not mean,' says he, 'by not relieving Rochelle, but by helping to ruin Rochelle, when you and the Dutch lent ships to beat our fleet, which all the ships in France could not have done without you.'

I was too young in the world to be very sensible of this before, and therefore was something startled at the charge; but when I came to discourse with this gentleman, I soon saw the truth of what he said was undeniable, and have since reflected on it with regret, that the naval power of the Protestants, which was then superior to the royal, would certainly have been the recovery of all their fortunes, had it not been unhappily broke by their brethren of England and Holland, the former lending seven men-of-war, and the latter twenty, for the destruction of the Rochellers' fleet; and by these very ships the Rochellers' fleet was actually beaten and destroyed, and they never afterwards recovered their force at sea, and by consequence sunk under the siege, which the English afterwards in vain attempted to prevent.

These things made the Protestants look very dull, and expected the ruin of all their party; which had certainly happened had the cardinal lived a few years longer.

We stayed in Paris about three weeks, as well to see the court, and what rarities the place afforded, as by an occasion which had like to have put a short period to our ramble.

Walking one morning before the gate of the Louvre, with a design to see the Swiss draw up, which they always did, and exercised just before they relieved the guards, a page came up to me, and speaking English to me, 'Sir,' says he, 'the captain must needs have your immediate assistance.' I that had not the knowledge of any person in Paris but my own companion, whom I called captain, had no room to question, but it was he that sent for me; and crying out hastily to him, 'Where?' followed the fellow as fast as it was possible. He led me through several passages which I knew not, and at last through a tennis-court, and into a large room, where three men, like gentlemen, were engaged very briskly, two against one. The room was very dark, so that I could not easily know them asunder; but being fully possessed with an opinion before of my captain's danger, I ran into the room with my sword in my hand. I had not particularly engaged any of them, nor so much as made a pass at any, when I received a very dangerous thrust in my thigh, rather occasioned by my too hasty running in, then a real design of the person; but enraged at the hurt, without examining who it was hurt me, I threw myself upon him, and run my sword quite through his body.

The novelty of the adventure, and the unexpected fall of the man by a stranger, come in nobody knew how, had becalmed the other two, that they really stood gazing at me. By this time I had discovered that my captain was not there, and that 'twas some strange accident brought me thither. I could speak but little French, and supposed they could speak no English; so I stepped to the door to see for the page that brought me thither; but seeing nobody there, and the passage clear, I made off as fast as I could, without speaking a word; nor did the other two gentlemen offer to stop me.

But I was in a strange confusion when, coming into those entries and passages which the page led me through, I could by no means find my way out; at last, seeing a door open that looked through a house into the street, I went in, and out at the other door; but then I was at as great a loss to know where I was, and which was the way to my lodging. The wound in my thigh bled apace, and I could feel the blood in my breeches. In this interval came by a chair; I called, and went into it, and bid them, as well as I could, go to the Louvre; for though I knew not the name of the street where I lodged, I knew I could find the way to it when I was at the Bastile. The chairmen went on their own way, and being stopped by a company of the guards as they went, set me down till the soldiers were marched by; when looking out, I found I was just at my own lodging, and the captain was standing at the door looking for me. I beckoned him to me, and, whispering, told him I was very much hurt, and bid him pay the chairmen, and ask no questions, but come to me.

I made the best of my way upstairs, but had lost so much blood, that I had hardly spirits enough to keep me from swooning, till he came in. He was equally concerned with me to see me in such a bloody condition, and presently called up our landlord, and he as quickly called in his neighbours, that I had a room full of people about me in a quarter of an hour. But this had like to have been of worse consequences to me than the other; for by this time there was great inquiring after the person who killed a man at the tennis-court. My landlord was then sensible of his mistake, and came to me, and told me the danger I was in, and very honestly offered to convey me to a friend's of his, where I should be very secure. I thanked him, and suffered myself to be carried at midnight whither he pleased. He visited me very often, till I was well enough to walk about, which was not in less than ten days, and then we thought fit to be gone. So we took post for Orleans; but when I came upon the road I found myself in a new error, for my wound opened again with riding, and I was in a worse condition than before, being forced to take up at a little village on the road, called ——, about —— miles from Orleans, where there was no surgeon to be had, but a sorry country barber, who nevertheless dressed me as well as he could, and in about a week more I was able to walk to Orleans at three times.

Here I stayed till I was quite well, and then took coach for Lyons, and so through Savoy into Italy.

I spent near two years' time after this bad beginning, in travelling through Italy, and to the several courts of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Vienna.

When I came to Lyons, the king was gone from thence to Grenoble to meet the cardinal, but the queens were both at Lyons.

The French affairs seemed at this time to have but an indifferent aspect; there was no life in anything but where the cardinal was. He pushed on everything with extraordinary conduct, and generally with success; he had taken Suza and Pignerol from the Duke of Savoy, and was preparing to push the duke even out of all his dominions.

But in the meantime everywhere else things looked ill; the troops were ill paid, the magazines empty, the people mutinous, and a general disorder seized the minds of the court; and the cardinal, who was the soul of everything, desired this interview at Grenoble, in order to put things into some better method.

This politic minister always ordered matters so, that if there was success in anything the glory was his; but if things miscarried it was all laid upon the king. This conduct was so much the more nice, as it is the direct contrary to the cus-

tom in like cases, where kings assume the glory of all the success in an action, and when a thing miscarries, make themselves easy by sacrificing their ministers and favourites to the complaints and resentments of the people; but this accurate, refined statesman got over this point.

While we were at Lyons, and as I remember, the third day after our coming thither, we had like to have been involved in a state broil, without knowing where we were. It was of a Sunday, in the evening, the people of Lyons, who had been sorely oppressed in taxes, and the war in Italy pinching their trade, began to be very tumultuous; we found the day before the mob got together in great crowds, and talked oddly; the king was everywhere reviled, and spoken disrespectfully of, and the magistrates of the city either winked at, or durst not attempt to meddle, lest they should provoke the people.

But on Sunday night, about midnight, we were waked by a prodigious noise in the street. I jumpt out of bed, and, running to the window, I saw the street as full of mob as it could hold. Some, armed with muskets and halberds, marched in very good order, others in disorderly crowds, all shouting and crying out, *Du paix le Roy*, and the like. One, that led a great party of this rabble, carried a loaf of bread upon the top of a pike, and other lesser loaves, signifying the smallness of their bread, occasioned by dearness.

By morning this crowd was gathered to a great height: they run roving over the whole city, shut up all the shops, and forced all the people to join with them; from thence they went up to the castle, and, renewing the clamour, a strange consternation seized all the princes.

They broke open the doors of the officers, collectors of the new taxes, and plundered their houses, and had not the persons themselves fled in time, they had been very ill treated.

The queen-mother, as she was very much displeased to see such consequences of the government, in whose management she had no share, so I suppose she had the less concern upon her. However, she came into the court of the castle and showed herself to the people, gave money amongst them, and spoke gently to them; and by a way peculiar to herself, and which obliged all she talked with, she pacified the mob gradually, sent them home with promises of redress and the like; and so appeased this tumult in two days by her prudence, which the guards in the castle had small mind to meddle with, and if they had, would, in all probability, have made the better side the worse.

There had been several seditions of the like nature in sundry other parts of France, and the very army began to murmur, though not to mutiny, for want of provisions.

This sedition at Lyons was not quite over when we left the place, for, finding the city all in a broil, we considered we had no business there; and what the consequence of a popular tumult might be, we did not see, so we prepared to be gone. We had not rid above three miles out of the city, but we were brought as prisoners of war, by a party of mutineers, who had been abroad upon the scout, and were charged with being messengers sent to the cardinal for forces to reduce the citizens; with these pretences they brought us back in triumph, and the queen-mother being by this time grown something familiar to them, they carried us before her.

When they inquired of us who we were, we called ourselves Scots; for as the English were very much out of favour in France at this time, the peace having been made not many months, and not supposed to be very durable, became particularly displeasing to the people of England, so the Scots were on the other extreme with the French. Nothing was so much caressed as the Scots; and a man had no more to do in France, if he would be well received there, than to say he was a Scotchman.

When we came before the queen-mother, she seemed to receive us with some stiffness at first, and caused her guards to take us into custody; but as she was a lady of most exquisite politics, she did this to amuse the mob, and we were immediately after dismissed; and the queen herself made a handsome excuse to us for the rudeness we had suffered, alleging the troubles of the times; and the next morning we had three dragoons of the guards to convoy us out of the jurisdiction of Lyons.

I confess this little adventure gave me an aversion to popular tumults all my life after, and if nothing else had been in the cause, would have biassed me to espouse the king's party in England, when our popular heats carried all before it at home.

But I must say, that when I called to mind since, the address, the management, the compliance in show, and in general the whole conduct of the queen-mother with the mutinous people of Lyons, and compared it with the conduct of my unhappy master the king of England, I could not but see that the queen understood much better than King Charles the management of politics and the clamours of the people.

Had this princess been at the helm in England, she would have prevented all the calamities of the civil war here, and yet not have parted with what that good prince yielded in order to peace neither. She would have yielded gradually, and then gained upon them gradually; she would have managed them to the point she had designed them, as she did all parties in France; and none could effectually subject her but the very man she had raised to be her principal support, I mean the cardinal.

We went from hence to Grenoble, and arrived there the same day that the king and the cardinal, with the whole court, went out to view a body of six thousand Swiss foot, which the cardinal had wheedled the cantons to grant to the king, to help to ruin their neighbour the Duke of Savoy.

The troops were exceeding fine, well-accoutred, brave, clean-limbed, stout fellows indeed. Here I saw the cardinal. There was an air of church gravity in his habit, but all the vigour of a general, and the sprightliness of a vast genius in his face. He affected a little stiffness in his behaviour, but managed all his affairs with such clearness, such steadiness, and such application, that it was no wonder he had such success in every undertaking.

Here I saw the king, whose figure was mean, his countenance hollow, and always seemed dejected, and every way discovering that weakness in his countenance that appeared in his actions.

If he was ever sprightly and vigorous, it was when the cardinal was with him; for he depended so much on everything he did, that he was at the utmost dilemma when he was absent; always timorous, jealous, and irresolute.

After the review the cardinal was absent some days, having been to wait on the queen-mother at Lyons, where, as it was discoursed, they were at least seemingly reconciled.

I observed, while the cardinal was gone there was no court, the king was seldom to be seen, very small attendance given, and no bustle at

the castle; but as soon as the cardinal returned, the great councils were assembled, the coaches of the ambassadors went every day to the castle, and a face of business appeared upon the whole court.

Here the measures of the Duke of Savoy's ruin were concerted; and in order to it the king and the cardinal put themselves at the head of the army, with which they immediately reduced all Savoy, took Chamberry and the whole duchy, except Montmelian.

The army that did this was not above 22,000 men, including the Swiss, and but indifferent troops neither, especially the French foot, who, compared to the infantry I have seen since in the German and Swedish armies, were not fit to be called soldiers. On the other hand, considering the Savoyards and Italian troops, they were good troops; but the cardinal's conduct made amends for all these deficiencies.

From hence I went to Pignerol, which was then little more than a single fortification on the hill near the town called St. Bride's; but the situation of that was very strong. I mention this because of the prodigious works since added to it, by which it has since obtained the name of the right hand of France. They had begun a new line below the hill, and some works were marked out on the side of the town next the fort; but the cardinal afterwards drew the plan of the works with his own hand, by which it was made one of the strongest fortresses in Europe.

While I was at Pignerol, the governor of Milan, for the Spaniards, came with an army and sat down before Casal. The grand quarrel, and for which the war in this part of Italy was begun, was this: the Spaniards and Germans pretended to the duchy of Mantua; the Duke of Nevers, a Frenchman, had not only a title to it, but had got possession of it; but, being ill supported by the French, was beaten out by the imperialists, and, after a long siege, the Germans took Mantua itself, and drove the poor duke quite out of the country.

The taking of Mantua elevated the spirits of the Duke of Savoy; and the Germans and Spaniards, being now at more leisure, with a complete army, came to his assistance, and formed the siege of Montserrat.

For as the Spaniards pushed the Duke of Mantua, so the French, by way of diversion, lay hard upon the Duke of Savoy; they had seized Montserrat, and held it for the Duke of Mantua, and had a strong French garrison under Thoiras, a brave and experienced commander; and thus affairs stood when we came into the French army.

I had no business there as a soldier, but having passed as a Scotch gentleman with the mob at Lyons, and after with her majesty, the queen-mother, when we obtained the guard of her dragoons. We had also her majesty's pass, with which we came and went where we pleased; and the cardinal, who was then not on very good terms with the queen, but willing to keep smooth water there, when two or three times our passes came to be examined, showed a more than ordinary respect to us on that very account, our passes being from the queen.

Casal being besieged, as I have observed, began to be in danger; for the cardinal, who, it was thought, had formed a design to ruin Savoy, was more intent upon that than upon the succour of the Duke of Mantua; but necessity calling upon him to deliver so great a captain as Thoiras, and not to let such a place as Casal fall into the hands of the enemy, the king, or cardinal rather, ordered the Duke of Momorency, and the Mareschal d'Effiat, with 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, to march and join the Mareschals de la Force and Schomberg, who lay already with an army on the frontiers of Genoa, but too weak to attempt the raising the siege of Casal.

As all men thought there would be a battle between the French and the Spaniards, I could not prevail with myself to lose the opportunity; and therefore, by the help of the passes above mentioned, I came to the French army under the Duke of Momorency. We marched through the enemy's country with great boldness and no small hazard, for the Duke of Savoy appeared frequently with great bodies of horse on the rear of the army, and frequently skirmished with our troops, in one of which I had the folly (I can call it no better, for I had no business there) to go out and see the sport, as the French gentlemen called it. I was but a raw soldier, and did not like the sport at all, for this party was surrounded by the Duke of Savoy, and almost all killed; for as to quarter, they neither asked nor gave. I ran away very fairly one of the first, and my companion with me, and by the goodness of our horses got out of the fray; and being not much known in the army, we came into the camp an hour or two after, as if we had been only riding abroad for the air.

This little rout made the general very cautious, for the Savoyards were stronger in horse by three or four thousand, and the army always marched in a body, and kept their parties in or very near hand.

I escaped another rub in this French army about five days after, which had liked to have made me pay dear for my curiosity.

The Duke de Momorency and the Mareschal Schomberg joined their army about four or five days after, and immediately, according to the cardinal's instructions, put themselves on the march for the relief of Casal.

The army had marched over a great plain, with some marshy grounds on the right, and the Po on the left; and as the country was so well discovered that it was thought impossible any mischief should happen, the generals observed the less caution. At the end of this plain was a long wood, and a lane or narrow defile through the middle of it.

Through this pass the army was to march, and the van began to file through it about four o'clock. By three hours' time all the army was got through or into the pass, and the artillery was just entered, when the Duke of Savoy, with 4000 horse and 1500 dragoons, with every horseman a footman behind him, (whether he had swam the Po, or passed it above at a bridge, and made a long march after, was not examined), but he came boldly up the plain, and charged our rear with a great deal of fury.

Our artillery was in the lane, and as it was impossible to turn them about, and make way for the army, so the rear was obliged to support themselves, and maintain the fight for above an hour and a half.

In this time we lost abundance of men; and if it had not been for two accidents, all that line had been cut off. One was, that the wood was so near, that those regiments which were disordered presently sheltered themselves in the wood; the other was, that by this time the Mareschal Schomberg, with the horse of the van, began to get back through the lane, and to make good the ground from whence the other had been beaten, till at last, by this means, it came to almost a pitched battle.

There were two regiments of French dragoons who did excellent service in this action, and maintained their ground till they were almost all killed.

Had the Duke of Savoy contented himself with the defeat of five regiments on the right, which he quite broke and drove into the wood, and with the slaughter and havoc which he had made among the rest, he had come off with honour, and might have called it a victory; but endeavouring to break the whole party, and carry off some cannon, the obstinate resistance of these few dragoons lost him his advantages, and held him in play till so many fresh troops got through the pass again, as made us too strong for him; and had not night parted them, he had been entirely defeated.

At last, finding our troops increase and spread themselves on his flank, he retired and gave over. We had no great stomach to pursue him neither, though some horse were ordered to follow a little way.

The duke lost above a thousand men, and we almost twice as many; and, but for those dragoons, had lost the whole rear-guard and half our cannon. I was in a very sorry case in this action too. I was with the rear in the regiment of horse of Perigoort, with a captain of which regiment I had contracted some acquaintance. I would have rid off at first, as the captain desired me; but there was no doing it, for the cannon was in the lane, and the horse and dragoons of the van eagerly pressing back through the lane, must have run me down, or carried me with them: as for the wood, it was a good shelter to save one's life, but was so thick, there was no passing it on horseback.

Our regiment was one of the first that was broke, and being all in confusion, with the Duke of Savoy's men at our heels, away we ran into the wood. Never was there so much disorder among a parcel of runaways as when we came to this wood. It was so exceeding bushy and thick at the bottom, there was no entering it; and a volley of small shot from a regiment of Savoy's dragoons poured in upon us at our breaking into the wood, made terrible work among our horses.

For my part I was got into the wood, but was forced to quit my horse; and by that means, with a great deal of difficulty, got a little farther in, where there was a little open place; and being quite spent with labouring among the bushes, I sat down resolving to take my fate there, let it be what it would, for I was not able to go any farther. I had twenty or thirty more in the same condition came to me in less than half an hour, and here we waited very securely the success of the battle, which was as before.

It was no small relief to those with me to hear the Savoyards were beaten, for otherwise they had all been lost. As for me, I confess I was glad as it was, because of the danger; but otherwise I cared not much which had the better, for I designed no service among them.

One kindness it did me, that I began to consider what I had to do here; and as I could give but a very slender account of myself, for what it was I run all these risks, so I resolved they should fight it among themselves, for I would come among them no more.

The captain with whom, as I noted above, I had contracted some acquaintance in this regiment, was killed in this action, and the French had really a great blow here, though they took care to conceal it all they could; and I cannot, without smiling, read some of the histories and memoirs of this action, which they are not ashamed to call a victory.

We marched on to Saluces, and the next day the Duke of Savoy presented himself, in battalia, on the other side of a small river, giving us a fair challenge to pass and engage him. We always said in our camp that the orders were to fight the Duke of Savoy wherever we met him; but though he braved us in our view, we did not care to engage him, but we brought Saluces to surrender upon articles which the duke could not relieve without attacking our camp, which he did not care to do.

The next morning we had news of the surrender of Mantua to the imperial army. We heard of it first from the Duke of Savoy's cannon, which he fired by way of rejoicing, and which seemed to make him amends for the loss of Saluces.

As this was a mortification to the French, so it quite damped the success of the campaign; for the Duke de Momorency, imagining that the imperial general would send immediate assistance to the Marquis Spinola, who besieged Casal, they called frequent councils of war what course to take, and at last resolved to halt in Piedmont.

A few days after their resolutions were changed again by the news of the death of the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emanuel, who died, as some say, agitated with the extremes of joy and grief.

This put our generals upon considering again whether they should march to the relief of Casal; but the chimera of the Germans put them by, and so they took up quarters in Piedmont. They took several small places from the Duke of Savoy, making advantage of the consternation the duke's subjects were in on the death of their prince, and spread themselves from the seaside to the banks of the Po.

But here an enemy did that for them which the Savoyards could not; for the plague got into their quarters, and destroyed abundance of people both of the army and of the country.

I thought then it was time for me to be gone, for I had no manner of courage for that risk; and I think verily I was more afraid of being taken sick in a strange country, than ever I was of being killed in battle. Upon this resolution I procured a pass to go to Genoa, and accordingly began my journey, but was arrested at Villa Franca by a slow lingering fever, which held me about five days, and then turned to a burning malignancy, and at last to the plague. My friend the captain never left me night nor day; and though for four days more I knew nobody, nor was capable of so much as thinking of myself, yet it pleased God that the distemper gathered in my neck, swelled and broke. During the swelling I was raging mad with the violence of pain, which, being so near my head, swelled that also in proportion, that my eyes were swelled up, and for twenty-four hours my tongue and mouth. Then, as my servant told me, all the physicians gave me over as past all remedy; but by the good providence of God, the swelling broke.

The prodigious collection of matter which this swelling discharged gave me immediate relief, and I became sensible in less than an hour's time; and in two hours or thereabouts fell into a little slumber, which recovered my spirits, and sensibly revived me. Here I lay by it till the middle of September: my captain fell sick after me, but recovered quickly; his man had the plague, and died in two days; my man held it out well.

About the middle of September we heard of a truce concluded between all parties, and being unwilling to winter at Villa Franca, I got passes;

and though we were both weak, we began to travel in litters for Milan.

And here I experienced the truth of an old English proverb, that standers-by see more than the gamesters.

The French, Savoyards, and Spaniards, made this peace, or truce, all for separate and several grounds, and every one were mistaken.

The French yielded to it because they had given over the relief of Casal, and were very much afraid it would fall into the hands of the Marquis Spinola. The Savoyards yielded to it, because they were afraid the French would winter in Piedmont; the Spaniards yielded to it, because the Duke of Savoy being dead, and the Count de Colalto, the imperial general, giving no assistance, and his army weakened by sickness and the fatigues of the siege, he foresaw he should never take the town, and wanted but to come off with honour.

The French were mistaken, because really Spinola was so weak that, had they marched on into Montferrat, the Spaniards must have raised the siege; the Duke of Savoy was mistaken, because the plague had so weakened the French, that they durst not have stayed to winter in Piedmont; and Spinola was mistaken, for though he was very slow, if he had stayed before the town one fortnight longer, Thoiras the governor must have surrendered, being brought to the last extremity.

Of all these mistakes the French had the advantage; for Casal was relieved, the army had time to be recruited, and the French had the best of it by an early campaign.

I passed through Montferrat in my way to Milan just as the truce was declared, and saw the miserable remains of the Spanish army, who by sickness, fatigue, hard duty, the sallies of the garrison, and such like consequences, were reduced to less than 2000 men, and of them above a thousand lay wounded and sick in the camp.

Here were several regiments which I saw drawn out to their arms, that could not make up above seventy or eighty men, officers and all, and those half starved with hunger, almost naked, and in a lamentable condition. From thence I went into the town, and there things were still in a worse condition, the houses beaten down, the walls and works ruined, the garrison, by continual duty, reduced from 4500 men to less than 800, without clothes, money, or provisions; the brave governor weak with continual fatigue, and the whole face of things in a miserable case.

The French generals had just sent them 30,000 crowns for present supply, which heartened them a little; but had not the truce been made as it was, they must have surrendered upon what terms the Spaniards had pleased to make them.

Never were two armies in such fear of one another with so little cause; the Spaniards afraid of the French, whom the plague had devoured; and the French afraid of the Spaniards, whom the siege had almost ruined.

The grief of this mistake, together with the sense of his master, the Spaniards, leaving him without supplies to complete the siege of Casal, so affected the Marquis Spinola that he died for grief, and in him fell the last of that rare breed of Low Country soldiers who gave the world so great and just a character of the Spanish infantry as the best soldiers of the world; a character which we see them so very much degenerated from since that they hardly deserve the name of soldiers.

I tarried at Milan the rest of the winter, both for the recovery of my health, and also for supplies from England.

Here it was I first heard the name of Gustavus Adolphus, the king of Sweden, who now began his war with the emperor; and while the king of France was at Lyons, the league with Sweden was made, in which the French contributed 1,200,000 crowns in money, and 600,000 per annum to the attempt of Gustavus Adolphus. About this time he landed in Pomerania, took the towns of Stettin and Strælsund, and from thence proceeded in that prodigious manner, of which I shall have occasion to be very particular in the prosecution of these memoirs.

I had indeed no thoughts of seeing that king, or his armies. I had been so roughly handled already, that I had given over the thoughts of appearing among the fighting people, and resolved in the spring to pursue my journey to Venice, and so for the rest of Italy.

Yet I cannot deny that, as every gazette gave us some accounts of the conquests and victories of this glorious prince, it prepossessed my thoughts with secret wishes of seeing him; but these were so young and unsettled, that I drew no resolutions from them for a long while after.

About the middle of January I left Milan and came to Genoa, from thence by sea to Leghorn, then to Naples, Rome, and Venice, but saw nothing in Italy that gave me any diversion.

As for what is modern, I saw nothing but lewdness, private murders, stabbing men at the corner of a street, or in the dark, hiring of bravoes, and the like; all the diversions here ended in whoring, gaming, and sodomy. These were to me the modern excellencies of Italy; and I had no gust to antiquities.

'Twas pleasant indeed when I was at Rome to say, Here stood the capitol, there the colossus of Nero; here was the amphitheatre of Titus, there the aqueduct of ——, here the forum, there the catacombs, here the temple of Venus, there of Jupiter; here the Pantheon, and the like; but I never designed to write a book; as much as was useful I kept in my head, and for the rest, I left it to others.

I observed the people degenerated from the ancient glorious inhabitants, who were generous, brave, and the most valiant of all nations, to a vicious baseness of soul, barbarous, treacherous, jealous and revengeful, lewd and cowardly, intolerably proud and haughty, bigoted to blind, incoherent devotion, and the grossest of idolatry.

Indeed, I think the unsuitableness of the people made the place unpleasant to me, for there is so little in a country to recommend it when the people disgrace it, that no beauties of the creation can make up for the want of those excellencies which suitable society procure the defect of. This made Italy a very unpleasant country to me; the people were the foil to the place, all manner of hateful vices reigning in their general way of living.

I confess I was not very religious myself, and being come abroad into the world young enough, might easily have been drawn into evils that had recommended themselves with any tolerable agreeableness to nature and common manners; but when wickedness presented itself full-grown, in its grossest freedoms and liberties, it quite took away all the gust of vice that the devil had furnished me with, and in this I cannot but relate one scene which passed between nobody but the devil and myself.

At a certain town in Italy, which shall be nameless, because I won't celebrate the proficiency of one place more than another, when I

believe the whole country equally wicked, I was prevailed upon, rather than tempted, *a la courtezan*.

If I should describe the woman, I must give a very mean character of my own virtue to say I was allured by any but a woman of an extraordinary figure; her face, shape, mien, and dress, I may, without vanity, say the finest that I ever saw. When I had admittance into her apartments, the richness and magnificence of them astonished me; the cupboard or cabinet of plate, the jewels, the tapestry, and everything in proportion, made me question whether I was not in the chamber of some lady of the best quality; but when, after some conversation, I found that it was really nothing but a courtezan, in English, a common street whore, a punk of the trade, I was amazed, and my inclination to her person began to cool. Her conversation exceeded, if possible, the best of quality, and was, I must own, exceeding agreeable; she sung to her lute, and danced as fine as ever I saw, and thus diverted me two hours before anything else was discoursed of; but when the vicious part came on the stage, I blush to relate the confusion I was in, and when she made a certain motion, by which I understood she might be made use of either as a lady or as a ——, I was quite thunderstruck; all the vicious part of my thoughts vanished, the place filled me with horror, and I was all over disorder and distraction.

I began, however, to recollect where I was, and that in this country these were people not to be affronted; and though she easily saw the disorder I was in, she turned it off with admirable dexterity, began to talk again *a la gallant*, received me as a visitant, offered me sweetmeats and some wine.

Here I began to be in more confusion than before, for I concluded she would neither offer me to eat or to drink now without poison, and I was very shy of tasting her treat; but she scattered this fear immediately, by readily, and of her own accord, not only tasting, but eating freely of everything she gave me. Whether she perceived my wariness, or the reason of it, I know not, I could not help banishing my suspicion; the obliging carriage and strange charm of her conversation had so much power of me, that I both ate and drank with her at all hazards.

When I offered to go, and at parting presented her five pistoles, I could not prevail with her to take them, when she spoke some Italian proverb which I could not readily understand, but by my guess it seemed to imply that she would not take the pay, having not obliged me otherwise: At last I laid the pieces on her toilette, and would not receive them again; upon which she obliged me to pass my word to visit her again, else she would by no means accept my present.

I confess I had a strong inclination to visit her again, and besides thought myself obliged to it in honour to my parole; but after some strife in my thoughts about it, I resolved to break my word with her, when, going at vespers one evening to see their devotions, I happened to meet this very lady very devoutly going to her prayers.

At her coming out of the church, I spoke to her, she paid me her respects with a 'Signior Inglese,' and some words she said in Spanish smiling, which I did not understand. I cannot say here so clearly as I would be glad I might, that I broke my word with her; but if I saw her any more, I saw nothing of what gave me so much offence before.

The end of my relating this story is answered in describing the manner of their address, without bringing myself to confession; if I did anything I have some reason to be ashamed of, it may be a less crime to conceal it than expose it.

The particulars related, however, may lead the reader of these sheets to a view of what gave me a particular disgust at this pleasant part of the world, as they pretend to call it, and made me quit the place sooner than travellers use to do that come thither to satisfy their curiosity.

The prodigious stupid bigotry of the people also was irksome to me; I thought there was something in it very sordid. The entire empire the priests have over both the souls and bodies of the people, gave me a specimen of that meanness of spirit, which is nowhere else to be seen but in Italy, especially in the city of Rome.

At Venice I perceived it quite different, the civil authority having a visible superiority over the ecclesiastic; and the church being more subject there to the state than in any other part of Italy.

For these reasons I took no pleasure in filling my memoirs of Italy with remarks of places or things; all the antiquities and valuable remains of the Roman nation are done better than I can pretend to, by such people who made it more their business. As for me, I went to see, and not to write, and as little thought then of these memoirs, as I ill furnished myself to write them.

I left Italy in April, and taking the tour of Bavaria, though very much out of the way, I passed through Munich, Passau, Lintz, and at last to Vienna.

I came to Vienna the 10th of April 1631, intending to have gone from thence down the Danube into Hungary, and by means of a pass which I obtained from the English ambassador at Constantinople, I designed to have seen all the great towns on the Danube, which were then in the hands of the Turks, and which I had read much of in the history of the war between the Turks and the Germans; but I was diverted from my design by the following occasion.

There had been a long bloody war in the empire of Germany for twelve years, between the emperor, the Duke of Bavaria, the king of Spain, and the Popish princes and electors on the one side, and the Protestant princes on the other; and both sides having been exhausted by the war, and even the Catholics themselves beginning to dislike the growing power of the house of Austria, 'twas thought all the parties were willing to make peace.

Nay, things were brought to that pass that some of the Popish princes and electors began to talk of making alliances with the king of Sweden.

Here it is necessary to observe, that the two Dukes of Mecklenburgh having been dispossessed of most of their dominions by the tyranny of the Emperor Ferdinand, and being in danger of losing the rest, earnestly solicited the king of Sweden to come to their assistance; and that prince, as he was related to the house of Mecklenburgh, and especially as he was willing to lay hold of any opportunity to break with the emperor, against whom he had laid up an implacable prejudice, was very ready and forward to come to their assistance.

The reasons of his quarrel with the emperor were grounded upon the imperialists concerning themselves in the war of Poland, where the emperor had sent 8000 foot and 2000 horse to join the Polish army against the king, and had thereby given some check to his arms in that war.

In pursuance, therefore, of his resolution to quarrel with the emperor, but more particularly

at the instances of the princes above named, his Swedish majesty had landed the year before at Strælsund with about 12,000 men, and having joined with some forces which he had left in Polish Prussia, all which did not make 30,000 men, he began a war with the emperor, the greatest in event, filled with the most famous battles, sieges, and extraordinary actions, including its wonderful success and happy conclusion, of any war ever maintained in the world.

The king of Sweden had already taken Stettin, Strælsund, Rostock, Wismar, and all the strong places on the Baltic, and began to spread himself in Germany; he had made a league with the French, as I observed in my story of Saxony; he had now made a treaty with the Duke of Brandenburgh, and, in short, began to be terrible to the empire.

In this conjuncture the emperor called the general diet of the empire to be held at Ratisbon, where, as was pretended, all sides were to treat of peace, and to join forces to beat the Swedes out of the empire. Here the emperor, by a most exquisite management, brought the affairs of the diet to a conclusion, exceedingly to his own advantage, and to the further oppression of the Protestants; and in particular, in that the war against the king of Sweden was to be carried on in such a manner that the whole burthen and charge would lie on the Protestants themselves, and they be made the instruments to oppose their best friends. Other matters also ended equally to their disadvantage, as the methods resolved on to recover the church lands, and to prevent the education of the Protestant clergy; and what remained was referred to another general diet to be held at Frankfort-au-Main, in August 1631.

I won't pretend to say the other Protestant princes of Germany had never made any overtures to the king of Sweden to come to their assistance, but it is plain that they had entered into no league with him; that appears from the difficulties which retarded the fixing of the treaties afterwards, both with the Dukes of Brandenburgh and Saxony, which unhappily occasioned the ruin of Magdeburgh.

But it is plain the Swede was resolved on a war with the emperor; his Swedish majesty might, and indeed could not but foresee, that if he once showed himself with a sufficient force on the frontiers of the empire, all the Protestant princes would be obliged by their interest or by his arms to fall in with him, and this the consequence made appear to be a just conclusion; for the Electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony were both forced to join with him.

First, they were willing to join with him, at least they could not find in their hearts to join with the emperor, of whose powers they had such just apprehensions; they wished the Swedes success, and would have been very glad to have had the work done at another man's charge; but like true Germans they were more willing to be saved than to save themselves, and therefore hung back and stood upon terms.

Secondly, they were at last forced to it; the first was forced to join by the king of Sweden himself, who being come so far was not to be dallied with; and had not the Duke of Brandenburgh complied as he did, he had been ruined by the Swede; the Saxon was driven into the arms of the Swede by force, for Count Tilly, ravaging his country, made him comply with any terms to be saved from destruction.

Thus matters stood at the end of the diet at Ratisbon; the king of Sweden began to see himself leagued against at the diet both by Protestant and Papist; and, as I have often heard his majesty say since, he had resolved to try to force them off from the emperor, and to treat them as enemies equally with the rest if they did not.

But the Protestants convinced him soon after, that though they were tricked into the outward appearance of a league against him at Ratisbon, they had no such intentions; and by their ambassadors to let him know, that they only wanted his powerful assistance to defend their councils, when they would soon convince him that they had a due sense of the emperor's designs, and would do their utmost for their liberty; and these I take to be the first invitations the king of Sweden had to undertake the Protestant cause as such, and which entitled him to say he fought for the liberty and religion of the German nation.

I have had some particular opportunities to hear these things from the mouths of some of the very princes themselves, and therefore am the forwarder to relate them; and I place them here, because previous to the part I acted on this bloody scene, it is necessary to let the reader into some part of the story, and to show him in what manner and on what occasions this terrible war began.

The Protestants, alarmed at the usage they had met with at the former diet, had secretly proposed among themselves to form a general union or confederacy, for preventing that ruin which they saw, unless some speedy remedies were applied, would be inevitable. The Elector of Saxony, the head of the Protestants, a vigorous and politic prince, was the first that moved it; and the Landgrave of Hesse, a zealous and gallant prince, being consulted with, it rested a great while between those two, no method being found practicable to bring it to pass; the emperor being so powerful in all parts, that they foresaw the petty princes would not dare to negotiate an affair of such a nature, being surrounded with the imperial forces, who, by their two generals Wallestein and Tilly, kept them in continual subjection and terror.

This dilemma had like to have stifled the thoughts of the union as a thing impracticable, when one Seigensius, a Lutheran minister, a person of great abilities, and one whom the Elector of Saxony made great use of in matters of policy as well as religion, contrived for them this excellent expedient.

I had the honour to be acquainted with this gentleman while I was at Leipsic; it pleased him exceedingly to have been the contriver of so fine a structure as the Conclusions of Leipsic, and he was glad to be entertained on that subject. I had the relation from his own mouth, when, but very modestly, he told me he thought it was an inspiration darted on a sudden into his thoughts, when the Duke of Saxony calling him into his closet one morning with a face full of concern, shaking his head and looking very earnestly: 'What will become of us, doctor?' said the duke, 'we shall all be undone at Frankfort-au-Main.' 'Why so, please your highness?' says the doctor. 'Why, they will fight with the king of Sweden with our armies and our money,' says the duke, 'and devour our friends and ourselves, by the help of our friends and ourselves.' 'But what is become of the confederacy then,' said the doctor, 'which your highness had so happily framed in your thoughts, and which the Landgrave of Hesse was so pleased with?' 'Become of it!' says the duke, 'it is a good thought enough; but it is impossible to bring it to pass among so many members of the Protestant princes as are to be consulted with, for we neither have time to treat, nor will half of them dare to negotiate the matter,

the imperialists being quartered in their very bowels.' 'But may not some expedient be found out,' says the doctor, 'to bring them all together to treat of it in a general meeting?' 'It is well proposed,' says the duke; 'but in what town or city shall they assemble, where the very deputies shall not be besieged by Tilly or Wallestein in fourteen days' time, and sacrificed to the cruelty and fury of the Emperor Ferdinand?' 'Will your highness be the easier in it,' replies the doctor, 'if a way may be found out to call such an assembly upon other causes, at which the emperor may have no umbrage, and perhaps give his assent? You know the diet at Frankfort is at hand; it is necessary the Protestants should have an assembly of their own, to prepare matters for the general diet, and it may be no difficult matter to obtain it.' The duke, surprised with joy at the motion, embraced the doctor with an extraordinary transport; 'Thou hast done it, doctor,' said he, and immediately caused him to draw a form of a letter to the emperor, which he did with the utmost dexterity of style, in which he was a great master, representing to his imperial majesty, that in order to put an end to the troubles of Germany, his majesty would be pleased to permit the Protestant princes of the empire to hold a diet to themselves, to consider of such matters as they were to treat of at the general diet, in order to conform themselves to the will and pleasure of his imperial majesty, to drive out foreigners, and settle a lasting peace in the empire; he also insinuated something of their resolutions unanimously to give their suffrages in favour of the king of Hungary, at the election of a king of the Romans, a thing which he knew the emperor had in his thought, and would push at with all his might at the diet. This letter was sent, and the bait so neatly concealed, that the Electors of Bavaria and Mentz, the king of Hungary, and several of the Popish princes, not foreseeing that the ruin of them all lay in the bottom of it, foolishly advised the emperor to consent to it.

In consenting to this the emperor signed his own destruction, for here began the conjunction of the German Protestants with the Swede, which was the fatalest blow to Ferdinand, and which he could never recover.

Accordingly the diet was held at Leipsic, February 8, 1630; where the Protestants agreed on several heads for their mutual defence, which were the grounds of the following war; these were the famous Conclusions of Leipsic, which so alarmed the emperor and the whole empire, that to crush it in the beginning, the emperor commanded Count Tilly immediately to fall upon the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Saxony, as the principal heads of the union; but it was too late.

The Conclusions were digested into ten heads:

1. That since their sins had brought God's judgments upon the whole Protestant church, they should command public prayers to be made to Almighty God for the diverting the calamities that attended them.

2. That a treaty of peace might be set on foot, in order to come to a right understanding with the Catholic princes.

3. That a time for such a treaty being obtained, they should appoint an assembly of delegates to meet, preparatory to the treaty.

4. That all their complaints should be humbly represented to his imperial majesty and the Catholic electors, in order to a peaceable accommodation.

5. That they claim the protection of the emperor, according to the laws of the empire, and the present emperor's solemn oath and promise.

6. That they would appoint deputies, who should meet at certain times to consult of their common interest, and who should be always empowered to conclude of what should be thought needful for their safety.

7. That they will raise a competent force to maintain and defend their liberties, rights, and religion.

8. That it is agreeable to the constitution of the empire, concluded in the diet at Augsburg, to do so.

9. That the arming for their necessary defence shall by no means hinder their obedience to his imperial majesty, but that they will still continue their loyalty to him.

10. They agree to proportion their forces, which in all amounted to 70,000 men.

The emperor, exceedingly startled at the conclusions, issued out a severe proclamation or ban against them, which imported much the same thing as a declaration of war, and commanded Tilly to begin, and immediately to fall on the Duke of Saxony, with all the fury imaginable, as I have already observed.

Here began the flame to break out; for upon the emperor's ban the Protestants send away to the king of Sweden for succour.

His Swedish majesty had already conquered Mecklenburgh, and part of Pomerania, and was advancing with his victorious troops, increased by the addition of some regiments raised in those parts, in order to carry on the war against the emperor, having designed to follow up the Oder into Silesia, and so to push the war home to the emperor's hereditary countries of Austria and Bohemia, when the first messengers came to him in this case; but this changed his measures, and brought him to the frontiers of Brandenburgh, resolved to answer the desires of the Protestants. But here the Duke of Brandenburgh began to halt, making some difficulties, and demanding terms which drove the king to use some extremities with him, and stopt the Swedes for a while, who had otherwise been on the banks of the Elbe, as soon as Tilly, the imperial general, had entered Saxony, which if they had done, the miserable destruction of Magdeburgh had been prevented, as I observed before.

The king had been invited into the union, and when he first came back from the banks of the Oder, he had accepted it, and was preparing to back it with all his power.

The Duke of Saxony had already a good army, which he had with infinite diligence recruited, and mustered them under the cannon at Leipsic. The king of Sweden having, by his ambassador at Leipsic, entered into the union of the Protestants, was advancing victoriously to their aid, just as Count Tilly had entered the Duke of Saxony's dominions. The fame of the Swedish conquests, and of the hero who commanded them, shook my resolution of travelling into Turkey, being resolved to see the conjunction of the Protestant armies, and before the fire was broke out too far, to take the advantage of seeing both sides.

While I remained at Vienna, uncertain which way I should proceed, I remember I observed they talked of the king of Sweden as a prince of no consideration; one that they might let go on and tire himself in Mecklenburgh, and thereabout, till they could find leisure to deal with him, and then might be crushed as they pleased; but 'tis never safe to despise an enemy, so this was not an enemy to be despised, as they afterwards found.

As to the Conclusions of Leipsic, indeed at

first they gave the imperial court some uneasiness, but when they found the imperial armies began to fright the members out of the union, and that the several branches had no considerable forces on foot, it was the general discourse at Vienna that the union at Leipsic only gave the emperor an opportunity to crush absolutely the Dukes of Saxony, Brandenburgh, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and they looked upon it as a thing certain.

I never saw any real concern in their faces at Vienna till news came to court that the king of Sweden had entered into the union; but as this made them very uneasy, they began to move the powerfulest methods possible to divert this storm; and upon this news Tilly was hastened to fall into Saxony before this union could proceed to a conjunction of forces. This was certainly a very good resolution, and no measure could have been more exactly concerted had not the diligence of the Saxons prevented it.

The gathering of this storm, which from a cloud began to spread over the empire, and from the little duchy of Mecklenburgh began to threaten all Germany, absolutely determined me, as I noted before, as to travelling; and laying aside the thoughts of Hungary, I resolved, if possible, to see the king of Sweden's army.

I parted from Vienna the middle of May, and took post for Great Glogau in Silesia, as if I had purposed to pass into Poland, but designing indeed to go down the Oder to Custrin, in the marquisate of Brandenburgh, and so to Berlin; but when I came to the frontiers of Silesia, though I had passes I could go no farther, the guards on all the frontiers were so strict; so I was obliged to come back into Bohemia, and went to Prague.

From hence I found I could easily pass through the imperial provinces, to the Lower Saxony, and accordingly took passes for Hamburgh, designing, however, to use them no farther than I found occasion.

By virtue of these passes I got into the imperial army, under Count Tilly, then at the siege of Magdeburgh, May the 2d.

I confess I did not foresee the fate of this city, neither, I believe, did Count Tilly himself expect to glut his fury with so entire a desolation, much less did the people expect it. I did believe they must capitulate, and I perceived by discourse in the army that Tilly would give them but very indifferent conditions; but it fell out otherwise. The treaty of surrender was as it were begun, nay, some say concluded, when some of the outguards of the imperialists, finding the citizens had abandoned the guards of the works, and looked to themselves with less diligence than usual, they broke in, carried a half-moon, sword in hand, with little resistance; and though it was a surprise on both sides, the citizens neither fearing, nor the army expecting the occasion, the garrison, with as much resolution as could be expected under such a fright, flew to the walls, twice beat the imperialists off, but fresh men coming up, and the administrator of Magdeburgh himself being wounded and taken, the enemy broke in, took the city by storm, and entered with such terrible fury, that without respect to age or condition, they put all the garrison and inhabitants, man, woman, and child, to the sword, plundered the city, and when they had done this, set it on fire.

This calamity sure was the dreadfulest sight that ever I saw. The rage of the imperial soldiers was most intolerable, and not to be expressed; of 25,000, some said 30,000 people, there was not a soul to be seen alive, till the flames drove those that were hid in vaults and secret places to seek death in the streets, rather than perish in the fire. Of these miserable creatures some were killed too by the furious soldiers, but at last they saved the lives of such as came out of their cellars and holes, and so about 2000 poor desperate creatures were left. The exact number of those that perished in this city could never be known, because those the soldiers had first butchered, the flames afterwards devoured.

I was on the other side of the Elbe when this dreadful piece of butchery was done; the city of Magdeburgh had a sconce or fort over against it, called the toll-house, which joined to the city by a very fine bridge of boats.

This fort was taken by the imperialists a few days before, and having a mind to see it, and the rather because from thence I could have a very good view of the city, I was gone over Tilly's bridge of boats to view this fort. About ten o'clock in the morning I perceived they were storming by the firing, and immediately all ran to the works; I little thought of the taking of the city, but imagined it might be some outwork attacked, for we all expected the city would surrender that day, or next, and they might have capitulated upon very good terms.

Being upon the works of the fort, on a sudden I heard the dreadfulest cry raised in the city that can be imagined; 'tis not possible to express the manner of it, and I could see the women and children running about the streets in a most lamentable condition.

The city wall did not run along the side where the river was with so great a height, but we could plainly see the market-place and the several streets which run down to the river. In about an hour's time after this first cry all was in confusion; there was little shooting, the execution was all cutting of throats, and mere house murders; the resolute garrison, with the brave Baron Falconberg, fought it out to the last, and were cut in pieces, and by this time the imperial soldiers having broke open the gates and entered on all sides, the slaughter was very dreadful: we could see the poor people in crowds driven down the streets, flying from the fury of the soldiers, who followed, butchering them as fast as they could, and refused mercy to anybody; till, driving them to the river's edge, the desperate wretches would throw themselves into the river, where thousands of them perished, especially women and children. Several men that could swim got over to our side, where the soldiers, not heated with fight, gave them quarter, and took them up; and I cannot but do this justice to the German officers in the fort, they had five small flat boats, and they gave leave to the soldiers to go off in them, and get what booty they could, but charged them not to kill anybody, but take them all prisoners.

Nor was their humanity ill rewarded; for the soldiers, wisely avoiding those places where their fellows were employed in butchering the miserable people, rowed to other places, where crowds of people stood crying out for help, and expecting to be every minute either drowned or murdered; of these at sundry times they fetched over near 600, but took care to take in none but such as offered them good pay.

Never was money or jewels of greater service than now, for those that had anything of that sort to offer were soonest helped.

There was a burgher of the town, who seeing a boat coming near him, but out of his call, by the help of a speaking trumpet, told the soldiers in it he would give them 20,000 dollars to fetch

him off; they rowed close to the shore, and got him with his wife and six children into the boat, but such throngs of people got about the boat that had like to have sunk her, so that the soldiers were fain to drive a great many out again by main force, and while they were doing this, some of the enemies coming down the street desperately drove them all into the water.

The boat, however, brought the burgher and his wife and children safe; and though they had not all that wealth about them, yet in jewels and money he gave them so much as made all the fellows very rich.

I cannot pretend to describe the cruelty of this day; the town by five in the afternoon was all on a flame, the wealth consumed was inestimable, and a loss to the very conqueror. I think there was little or nothing left but the great church, and about 100 houses.

This was a sad welcome into the army for me, and gave me a horror and aversion to the emperor's people, as well as to his cause. I quitted the camp the third day after this execution, while the fire was hardly out in the city; and from thence getting safe conduct to pass into the Palatinate, I turned out of the road at a small village on the Elbe, called Emerfield, and by ways and towns I can give but small account of, having a boor for our guide, whom we could hardly understand, I arrived at Leipsic on the 17th of May.

We found the elector intense upon the strengthening of his army, but the people in the greatest terror imaginable, every day expecting Tilly with the German army, who, by his cruelty at Magdeburgh, was become so dreadful to the Protestants, that they expected no mercy wherever he came.

The emperor's power was made so formidable to all the Protestants, particularly since the diet at Ratisbon left them in a worse case than it found them, that they had not only formed the Conclusions of Leipsic, which all men looked on as the effect of desperation rather than any probable means of their deliverance, but had privately implored the protection and assistance of foreign powers, and particularly the king of Sweden, from whom they had promises of a speedy and powerful assistance. And truly if the Swede had not with a very strong hand rescued them, all their Conclusions at Leipsic had served to hasten their ruin. I remember very well, when I was in the imperial army, they discoursed with such contempt of the forces of the Protestants, that not only the imperialists, but the Protestants themselves gave them up as lost; the emperor had no less than 200,000 men in several armies on foot, who most of them were on the back of the Protestants in every corner. If Tilly did but write a threatening letter to any city or prince of the union, they presently submitted, renounced the Conclusions of Leipsic, and received imperial garrisons, as the cities of Ulm and Memingen, the duchy of Wirtemberg, and several others, and almost all Suaben.

Only the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse upheld the drooping courage of the Protestants, and refused all terms of peace; slighted all the threatenings of the imperial generals, and the Duke of Brandenburgh was brought in afterwards almost by force.

The Duke of Saxony mustered his forces under the walls of Leipsic, and I, having returned to Leipsic two days before, saw them pass the review. The duke, gallantly mounted, rode through the ranks, attended by his field marshal Arnheim, and seemed mighty well pleased with them, and indeed the troops made a very fine appearance; but I that had seen Tilly's army, and his old weather-beaten soldiers, whose discipline and exercises were so exact, and their courage so often tried, could not look on the Saxon army without some concern for them, when I considered who they had to deal with. Tilly's men were rugged, surly fellows, their faces had an air of hardy courage, mingled with wounds and scars, their armour showed the bruises of musket bullets, and the rust of the winter storms. I observed of them their clothes were always dirty, but their arms were clean and bright; they were used to camp in the open fields, and sleep in the frosts and rain; their horses were strong and hardy like themselves, and well taught their exercises. The soldiers knew their business so exactly that general orders were enough; every private man was fit to command, and their wheelings, marchings, counter-marchings, and exercise were done with such order and readiness, that the distinct words of command were hardly of any use among them; they were flushed with victory, and hardly knew what it was to fly.

There had passed messages between Tilly and the duke, and he gave always such ambiguous answers as he thought might serve to gain time; but Tilly was not to be put off with words, and drawing his army towards Saxony, sends four propositions to him to sign, and demands an immediate reply. The propositions were positive.

1. To cause his troops to enter into the emperor's service, and to march in person with them against the king of Sweden.

2. To give the imperial army quarters in his country, and supply them with necessary provisions.

3. To relinquish the union of Leipsic, and disown the Ten Conclusions.

4. To make restitution of the goods and lands of the church.

The duke being pressed by Tilly's trumpeter for an immediate answer, sat all night, and part of the next day, in council with his privy councillors, debating what reply to give him, which at last was concluded, in short, that he would live and die in defence of the Protestant religion, and the Conclusions of Leipsic, and bade Tilly defiance.

The die being thus cast, he immediately decamped with his whole army for Torgau, fearing that Tilly should get there before him, and so prevent his conjunction with the Swede. The duke had not yet concluded any positive treaty with the king of Swedeland, and the Duke of Brandenburgh, having made some difficulty of joining, they both stood on some niceties till they had like to have ruined themselves all at once.

Brandenburgh had given up the town of Spandau to the king by a former treaty, to secure a retreat for his army, and the king was advanced as far as Frankfort upon the Oder, when on a sudden some small difficulties arising, Brandenburgh seems cold in the matter, and with a sort of indifference demands to have his town of Spandau restored to him again. Gustavus Adolphus, who began presently to imagine the duke had made his peace with the emperor, and so would either be his enemy, or pretend a neutrality, generously delivered him his town of Spandau; but immediately turns about, and with his whole army besieges him in his capital city of Berlin. This brought the duke to know his error, and by the interpositions of the ladies, the queen of Sweden being the duke's sister, the matter was accommodated, and the duke joined his forces with the king.

But the Duke of Saxony had like to have been undone by this delay; for the imperialists, under

Count de Furstemburgh, were entered his country, and had possessed themselves of Halle, and Tilly was on his march to join him, as he afterwards did, and, ravaging the whole country, laid siege to Leipsic itself; the duke, driven to this extremity, rather flies to the Swede than treats with him, and on the second of September the duke's army joined with the king of Sweden.

I had not come to Leipsic but to see the Duke of Saxony's army, and that being marched as I have said for Torgau, I had no business there; but if I had, the approach of Tilly and the imperial army was enough to hasten me away, for I had no occasion to be besieged there; so on the 27th of August I left the town, as several of the principal inhabitants had done before, and more would have done had not the governor published a proclamation against it; and besides they knew not whither to fly, for all places were alike exposed. The poor people were under dreadful apprehensions of a siege, and of the merciless usage of the imperial soldiers, the example of Magdeburgh being fresh before them, the duke and his army gone from them, and the town, though well furnished, but indifferently fortified.

In this condition I left them, buying up stores of provisions, working hard to scour their moats, set up palisadoes, repair their fortifications, and preparing all things for a siege; and following the Saxon army to Torgau, I continued in the camp till a few days before they joined the king of Sweden.

I had much ado to persuade my companion from entering into the service of the Duke of Saxony, one of whose colonels, with whom we had contracted a particular acquaintance, offering him a commission to be cornet in one of the old regiments of horse; but the difference I had observed between this new army and Tilly's old troops had made such an impression on me, that I confess I had yet no manner of inclination for the service; and therefore persuaded him to wait a while till we had seen a little farther into affairs, and particularly till we had seen the Swedish army, which we had heard so much of.

The difficulties which the Elector Duke of Saxony made of joining with the king were made up by a treaty concluded with the king, on the 2d of September, at Coswick, a small town on the Elbe, whither the king's army was arrived the night before; for General Tilly being now entered into the duke's country, had plundered and ruined all the lower part of it, and was now actually besieging the capital city of Leipsic. These necessities made almost any conditions easy to him; the greatest difficulty was that the king of Sweden demanded the absolute command of the army, which the duke submitted to with less good will than he had reason to do, the king's experience and conduct considered.

I had not patience to attend the conclusions of their particular treaties, but as soon as ever the passage was clear I quitted the Saxon camp, and went to see the Swedish army. I fell in with the out-guards of the Swedes at a little town called Beltsig, on the river Wersa, just as they were relieving the guards, and going to march; and, having a pass from the English ambassador, was very well received by the officer who changed the guards, and with him I went back into the army. By nine in the morning the army was in full march, the king himself at the head of them on a grey pad, and, riding from one brigade to another, ordered the march of every line himself.

When I saw the Swedish troops, their exact discipline, their order, the modesty and familiarity of their officers, and the regular living of the soldiers, their camp seemed a well-ordered city; the meanest countrywoman with her market-ware was as safe from violence as in the streets of Vienna. There were no regiments of whores and rags as followed the imperialists; nor any woman in the camp, but such as being known to the provosts to be the wives of the soldiers, who were necessary for washing linen, taking care of the soldiers' clothes, and dressing their victuals.

The soldiers were well clad, not gay, furnished with excellent arms, and exceeding careful of them; and though they did not seem so terrible as I thought Tilly's men did when I first saw them, yet the figure they made, together with what we had heard of them, made them seem to me invincible. The discipline and order of their marchings, camping, and exercise was excellent and singular, and which was to be seen in no armies but the king's, his own skill, judgment, and vigilance having added much to the general conduct of armies then in use.

As I met the Swedes on their march I had no opportunity to acquaint myself with anybody, till after the conjunction of the Saxon army, and then it being but four days to the great battle of Leipsic, our acquaintance was but small, saving what fell out accidentally by conversation.

I met with several gentlemen in the king's army who spoke English very well, besides that there were three regiments of Scots in the army, the colonels whereof I found were extraordinarily esteemed by the king, as the Lord Rea, Colonel Lumsdell, and Sir John Hepburn. The latter of these, after I had by an accident become acquainted with, I found had been for many years acquainted with my father, and on that account I received a great deal of civility from him, which afterwards grew into a kind of intimate friendship. He was a complete soldier indeed, and for that reason so well beloved by that gallant king, that he hardly knew how to go about any great action without him.

It was impossible for me now to restrain my young comrade from entering into the Swedish service, and indeed everything was so inviting that I could not blame him. A captain in Sir John Hepburn's regiment had picked acquaintance with him, and he having as much gallantry in his face as real courage in his heart, the captain had persuaded him to take service, and promised to use his interest to get him a company in the Scotch brigade. I had made him promise me not to part from me in my travels without my consent, which was the only obstacle to his desires of entering into the Swedish pay; and being one evening in the captain's tent with him, and discoursing very freely together, the captain asked him very short, but friendly, and looking earnestly at me, 'Is this the gentleman, Mr. Fielding, that has done so much prejudice to the king of Sweden's service?' I was doubly surprised at the expression, and at the colonel, Sir John Hepburn, coming at that very moment into the tent, the colonel hearing something of the question, but knowing nothing of the reason of it, any more than as I seemed a little to concern myself at it; yet after the ceremony due to his character was over, would needs know what I had done to hinder his majesty's service. 'So much truly,' says the captain, 'that if his majesty knew it, he would think himself very little beholden to him.' 'I am sorry, sir,' said I, 'that I should offend in anything, who am but a stranger; but if you would please to inform me,

I would endeavour to alter anything in my behaviour that is prejudicial to any one, much less to his majesty's service.' 'I shall take you at your word, sir,' says the captain; 'the king of Sweden, sir, has a particular request to you.' 'I should be glad to know two things, sir,' said I; 'first, how that can be possible, since I am not yet known to any man in the army, much less to his majesty? and secondly, what the request can be?' 'Why, sir, his majesty desires you would not hinder this gentleman from entering into his service, who it seems desires nothing more, if he may have your consent to it.' 'I have too much honour for his majesty,' returned I, 'to deny anything which he pleases to command me; but methinks it is some hardship you should make that the king's order, which it is very probable he knows nothing of.' Sir John Hepburn took the case up something gravely, and drinking a glass of Leipsic beer to the captain, said, 'Come, captain, don't press these gentlemen; the king desires no man's service but what is purely volunteer.' So we entered into other discourse, and the colonel perceiving by my talk that I had seen Tilly's army, was mighty curious in his questions, and seeming very well satisfied with the account I gave him.

The next day, the army having passed the Elbe at Wittemberg, and joined the Saxon army near Torgau, his majesty caused both armies to draw up in battalia, giving every brigade the same post in the lines as he purposed to fight in. I must do the memory of that glorious general this honour, that I never saw an army drawn up with so much variety, order, and exact regularity since, though I have seen many armies drawn up by some of the greatest captains of the age. The order by which his men were directed to flank and relieve one another, the methods of receiving one body of men if disordered into another, and rallying one squadron without disordering another, was so admirable; the horse everywhere flanked, lined, and defended by the foot, and the foot by the horse, and both by the cannon, was such, that if those orders were but as punctually obeyed, it were impossible to put an army so modelled into any confusion.

The view being over, and the troops returned to their camps, the captain with whom we drank the day before meeting me, told me I must come and sup with him in his tent, where he would ask my pardon for the affront he gave me before. I told him he needed not put himself to the trouble, I was not affronted at all, that I would do myself the honour to wait on him, provided he would give me his word not to speak any more of it as an affront.

We had not been a quarter of an hour in his tent but Sir John Hepburn came in again, and addressing to me, told me he was glad to find me there; that he came to the captain's tent to inquire how to send to me; and that I must do him the honour to go with him to wait on the king, who had a mind to hear the account I could give him of the imperial army from my own mouth. I confess I was at some loss in my mind how to make my address to his majesty; but I had heard so much of the conversable temper of the king, and his particular sweetness of humour with the meanest soldier, that I made no more difficulty, but having paid my respect to Colonel Hepburn, thanked him for the honour he had done me, and offered to rise and wait upon him: 'Nay,' says the colonel, 'we will eat first; for I find Gourdon (which was the captain's name) has got something for supper, and the king's order is at seven o'clock.' So we went to supper, and Sir John becoming very friendly, must know my name; which, when I had told him, and of what place and family, he rose from his seat, and embracing me, told me he knew my father very well, and had been intimately acquainted with him, and told me several passages wherein my father had particularly obliged him. After this we went to supper; and the king's health being drank round, the colonel moved the sooner, because he had a mind to talk with me. When we were going to the king, he inquired of me where I had been, and what occasion brought me to the army. I told him the short history of my travels, and that I came hither from Vienna on purpose to see the king of Sweden and his army. He asked me if there was any service he could do me, by which he meant, whether I desired an employment; I pretended not to take him so, but told him the protection his acquaintance would afford me was more than I could have asked, since I might thereby have opportunity to satisfy my curiosity, which was the chief end of my coming abroad. He perceiving by this that I had no mind to be a soldier, told me very kindly I should command him in anything; that his tent and equipage, horses and servants, should always have orders to be at my service; but that, as a piece of friendship, he would advise me to retire to some place distant from the army, for that the army would march to-morrow, and the king was resolved to fight General Tilly, and he would not have me hazard myself; that if I thought fit to take his advice, he would have me take that interval to see the court at Berlin, whither he would send one of his servants to wait on me. His discourse was too kind not to extort the tenderest acknowledgment from me that I was capable of. I told him his care of me was so obliging, that I knew not what return to make him; but if he pleased to leave me to my choice, I desired no greater favour than to trail a pike under his command in the ensuing battle. 'I can never answer it to your father,' says he, 'to suffer you to expose yourself so far.' I told him my father would certainly acknowledge his friendship in the proposal made me; but I believed he knew him better than to think he would be well pleased with me if I should accept of it; that I was sure my father would have rode post 500 miles to have been at such a battle under such a general, and it should never be told him that his son had rode 50 miles to be out of it. He seemed to be something concerned at the resolution I had taken, and replied very quickly upon me, that he approved very well of my courage; 'but,' says he, 'no man gets any credit by running upon needless adventures, nor loses any by shunning hazards which he has no order for. It is enough,' says he, 'for a gentleman to behave well when he is commanded upon any service; I have had fighting enough,' says he, 'upon these points of honour, and I never got anything but reproof for it from the king himself.' 'Well, sir,' said I, 'however, if a man expects to rise by his valour, he must show it somewhere; and if I were to have any command of an army, I would first try whether I could deserve it. I have never yet seen any service, and must have my induction some time or other. I shall never have a better schoolmaster than yourself, nor a better school than such an army.' 'Well,' says Sir John, 'but you may have the same school and the same teaching after this battle is over; for I must tell you beforehand this will be a bloody touch: Tilly has a great army of old lads that are used to boxing; fellows with iron faces; and it is a little too much to engage so hotly the first entrance into the wars.

You may see our discipline this winter, and make your campaign with us next summer, when you need not fear but we shall have fighting enough, and you will be better acquainted with things. We do never put our common soldiers upon pitched battles the first campaign, but place our new men in garrisons, and try them in parties first.' 'Sir,' said I, with a little more freedom, 'I believe I shall not make a trade of the war, and therefore need not serve an apprenticeship to it. It is a hard battle where none escapes. If I come off, I hope I shall not disgrace you; and if not, it will be some satisfaction to my father to hear his son died fighting under the command of Sir John Hepburn, in the army of the king of Sweden; and I desire no better epitaph upon my tomb.' 'Well,' says Sir John, and by this time we were just come to the king's quarters, and the guards calling to us interrupted his reply; so we went into the courtyard, where the king was lodged, which was in an indifferent house of one of the burghers of Dieben; and Sir John, stepping up, met the king coming down some steps into a large room which looked over the town wall into a field where part of the artillery was drawn up. Sir John Hepburn sent his man presently to me to come up, which I did; and Sir John, without any ceremony, carries me directly up to the king, who was leaning on his elbow in the window. The king turning about, 'This is the English gentleman,' says Sir John, 'who I told your majesty had been in the imperial army.' 'How, then, did he get hither,' says the king, 'without being taken by the scouts?' At which question Sir John said nothing. 'By a pass, and please your majesty, from the English ambassador's secretary at Vienna,' said I, making a profound reverence. 'Have you then been at Vienna?' says the king. 'Yes, and please your majesty,' said I; upon which the king, folding up a letter he had in his hand, seemed much more earnest to talk about Vienna than about Tilly. 'And, pray, what news had you at Vienna?' 'Nothing, sir,' said I, 'but daily accounts, one in the neck of another, of their own misfortunes and your majesty's conquests, which makes a very melancholy court there.' 'But, pray,' said the king, 'what is the common opinion there about these affairs?' 'The common people are terrified to the last degree,' said I; 'and when your majesty took Frankfort upon Oder, if your army had marched but twenty miles into Silesia, half the people would have run out of Vienna, and I left them fortifying the city.' 'They need not,' replied the king, smiling; 'I have no design to trouble them; it is the Protestant countries I must be for.' Upon this the Duke of Saxony entered the room; and finding the king engaged, offered to retire; but the king, beckoning with his hand, called to him in French. 'Cousin,' says the king, 'this gentleman has been travelling, and comes from Vienna,' and so made me repeat what I had said before; at which the king went on with me, and Sir John Hepburn informing his majesty that I spoke high Dutch, he changed his language, and asked me in Dutch where it was I saw General Tilly's army. I told his majesty, at the siege of Magdeburgh. 'At Magdeburgh!' said the king, shaking his head; 'Tilly must answer to me one day for that city, and if not to me, to a greater king than I. Can you guess what army he had with him?' said the king. 'He had two armies with him,' said I; 'but one I suppose will do your majesty no harm.' 'Two armies!' said the king. 'Yes, sir, he has one army of about 26,000 men,' said I, 'and another of above 15,000 whores and their attendants;' at which the king laughed heartily; 'Ay, ay,' says the king, 'those 15,000 do us as much harm as the 26,000; for they eat up the country, and devour the poor Protestants more than the men. Well,' says the king, 'do they talk of fighting us?' 'They talk big enough, sir,' said I; 'but your majesty has not been so often fought with, as beaten in their discourse.' 'I know not for the men,' says the king; 'but the old man is as likely to do it as talk of it, and I hope to try them in a day or two.' The king inquired after that several matters of me about the Low Countries, the Prince of Orange, and of the court and affairs in England; and Sir John Hepburn informing his majesty that I was the son of an English gentleman of his acquaintance, the king had the goodness to ask him what care he had taken of me against the day of battle. Upon which Sir John repeated to him the discourse we had together by the way; the king, seeming particularly pleased with it, began to take me to task himself. 'You English gentlemen,' says he, 'are too forward in the wars, which makes you leave them too soon again.' 'Your majesty,' replied I, 'makes war in so pleasant a manner, as makes all the world fond of fighting under your conduct.' 'Not so pleasant neither,' says the king; 'here's a man can tell you that sometimes it is not very pleasant.' 'I know not much of the warrior, sir,' said I, 'nor of the world; but, if always to conquer be the pleasure of the war, your majesty's soldiers have all that can be desired.' 'Well,' says the king; 'but, however, considering all things, I think you would do well to take the advice Sir John Hepburn has given you.' 'Your majesty may command me to anything, but where your majesty and so many gallant gentlemen hazard their lives, mine is not worth mentioning; and I should not dare to tell my father, at my return into England, that I was in your majesty's army, and made so mean a figure, that your majesty would not permit me to fight under that royal standard.' 'Nay,' replied the king, 'I lay no commands upon you; but you are young.' 'I can never die, sir,' said I, 'with more honour than in your majesty's service.' I spake this with so much freedom, and his majesty was so pleased with it, that he asked me how I would choose to serve, on horseback or on foot. I told his majesty I should be glad to receive any of his majesty's commands, but, if I had not that honour, I had purposed to trail a pike under Sir John Hepburn, who had done me so much honour as to introduce me into his majesty's presence. 'Do so, then,' replied the king; and turning to Sir John Hepburn, said, 'And pray do you take care of him;' at which, overcome with the goodness of his discourse, I could not answer a word, but made him a profound reverence, and retired.

The next day but one, being the 7th of September, before day the army marched from Dieben to a large field about a mile from Leipsic, where we found Tilly's army in full battalia in admirable order, which made a show both glorious and terrible. Tilly, like a fair gamester, had taken up but one side of the plain, and left the other free, and all the avenues open for the king's army; nor did he stir to the charge till the king's army was completely drawn up and advanced towards him. He had in his army 44,000 old soldiers, every way answerable to what I have said of them before; and I shall only add, a better army, I believe, never was so soundly beaten.

The king was not much inferior in force, being joined with the Saxons, who were reckoned 22,000 men, and who drew up on the left, making a main battle and two wings, as the king did on the right.

The king placed himself at the right wing of

his own horse; Gustavus Horn had the main battle of the Swedes, the Duke of Saxony had the main battle of his own troops, and General Arnheim the right wing of his horse.

The second line of the Swedes consisted of the two Scotch brigades, and three Swedish, with the Finland horse in the wings.

In the beginning of the fight, Tilly's right wing charged with such irresistible fury upon the left of the king's army, where the Saxons were posted, that nothing could withstand them. The Saxons fled amain, and some of them carried the news over the country that all was lost, and the king's army overthrown; and indeed it passed for an oversight with some, that the king did not place some of his old troops among the Saxons, who were new raised men. The Saxons lost here near 2000 men, and hardly ever showed their faces again all the battle, except some few of their horse.

I was posted with my comrade, the captain, at the head of three Scottish regiments of foot, commanded by Sir John Hepburn, with express directions from the colonel to keep by him. Our post was in the second line, as a reserve to the king of Sweden's main battle, and, which was strange, the main battle, which consisted of four great brigades of foot, were never charged during the whole fight; and yet we, who had the reserve, were obliged to endure the whole weight of the imperial army. The occasion was, the right wing of the imperialists having defeated the Saxons, and being eager in the chase, Tilly, who was an old soldier, and ready to prevent all mistakes, forbids any pursuit. 'Let them go,' says he, 'but let us beat the Swedes, or we do nothing.' Upon this the victorious troops fell in upon the flank of the king's army, which, the Saxons being fled, lay open to them. Gustavus Horn commanded the left wing of the Swedes, and, having first defeated some regiments which charged him, falls in upon the rear of the imperial right wing, and separates them from the van, who were advanced a great way forward in pursuit of the Saxons; and having routed the said rear or reserve, falls on upon Tilly's main battle, and defeated part of them. The other part was gone in chase of the Saxons, and now also returned, fell in upon the rear of the left wing of the Swedes, charging them in the flank; for they drew up upon the very ground which the Saxons had quitted. This changed the whole front, and made the Swedes face about to the left, and make a great front on their flank to make this good. Our brigades, who were placed as a reserve for the main battle, were, by special order from the king, wheeled about to the left, and placed for the right of this new front to charge the imperialists; they were about 12,000 of their best foot, besides horse, and, flushed with the execution of the Saxons, fell on like furies. The king by this time had almost defeated the imperialists' left wing; their horse, with more haste than good speed, had charged faster than their foot could follow, and having broke into the king's first line, he let them go; where, while the second line bears the shock, and bravely resisted them, the king follows them on the crupper with 13 troops of horse, and some musketeers, by which, being hemmed in, they were all cut down in a moment as it were, and the army never disordered with them. This fatal blow to the left wing gave the king more leisure to defeat the foot which followed, and to send some assistance to Gustavus Horn in his left wing, who had his *hands full* with the main battle of the imperialists.

But those troops, who, as I said, had routed the Saxons, being called off from the pursuit, had charged our flank, and were now grown very strong, renewed the battle in a terrible manner. Here it was I saw our men go to work. Colonel Hall, a brave soldier, commanded the rear of the Swedes' left wing; he fought like a lion, but was slain, and most of his regiment cut off, though not unrevenged; for they entirely ruined Furstemberg's regiment of foot. Colonel Cullembach, with his regiment of horse, was extremely overlaid also, and the colonel and many brave officers killed, and in short all that wing was shattered and in an ill condition.

In this juncture came the king, and having seen what havoc the enemy made of Cullembach's troops, he comes riding along the front of our three brigades, and himself led us on to the charge. The colonel of his guards, the Baron Dyvel, was shot dead just as the king had given him some orders. When the Scots advanced, seconded by some regiments of horse, which the king also sent to the charge, the bloodiest fight began that ever men beheld; for the Scottish brigades giving fire three ranks at a time over one another's heads, poured in their shot so thick, that the enemy were cut down like grass before a scythe; and following into the thickest of their foot, with the clubs of their muskets made a most dreadful slaughter, and yet was there no flying; Tilly's men might be killed and knocked down, but no man turned his back, nor would give an inch of ground, but as they were wheeled, or marched, or retreated by their officers.

There was a regiment of cuirassiers, which stood whole to the last, and fought like lions; they went ranging over the field when all their army was broken, and nobody cared for charging them; they were commanded by Baron Cronenburgh, and at last went off from the battle whole. These were armed in black armour from head to foot, and they carried off their general. About six o'clock the field was cleared of the enemy, except at one place on the king's side, where some of them rallied, and, though they knew all was lost, would take no quarter, but fought it out to the last man, being found dead the next day in rank and file as they were drawn up.

I had the good fortune to receive no hurt in this battle, excepting a small scratch on the side of my neck by the push of a pike; but my friend received a very dangerous wound when the battle was as good as over. He had engaged with a German colonel, whose name we could never learn, and having killed his man, and pressed very close upon him, so that he had shot his horse, the horse in the fall kept the colonel down, lying on one of his legs, upon which he demanded quarter, which Captain Fielding granted, helping him to quit his horse, and having disarmed him, was bringing him into line, when the regiment of cuirassiers, which I mentioned, commanded by Baron Cronenburgh, came roving over the field, and with a flying charge saluted our front with a salvo of carabin-shot, which wounded us a great many men; and among the rest the captain received a shot in his thigh, which laid him on the ground, and being separated from the line, his prisoner got away with them.

This was the first service I was in, and indeed I never saw any fight since maintained with such gallantry, such desperate valour, together with such dexterity of management, both sides being composed of soldiers fully tried, bred to the wars, expert in everything, exact in their order, and incapable of fear, which made the battle be much

more bloody than usual. Sir John Hepburn, at my request, took particular care of my comrade, and sent his own surgeon to look after him; and afterwards, when the city of Leipsic was retaken, provided him lodgings there, and came very often to see him; and indeed I was in great care for him too, the surgeons being very doubtful of him a great while; for, having lain in the field all night among the dead, his wound, for want of dressing, and with the extremity of cold, was in a very ill condition, and the pain of it had thrown him into a fever. 'Twas quite dusk before the fight ended, especially where the last rallied troops fought so long, and therefore we durst not break our order to seek out our friends, so that 'twas near seven o'clock the next morning before we found the captain, who, though very weak by the loss of blood, had raised himself up, and placed his back against the buttock of a dead horse. I was the first that knew him, and running to him embraced him with a great deal of joy. He was not able to speak, but made signs to let me see he knew me, so we brought him into the camp, and Sir John Hepburn, as I noted before, sent his own surgeons to look after him.

The darkness of the night prevented any pursuit, and was the only refuge the enemy had left; for had there been three hours' more daylight, 10,000 more lives had been lost, for the Swedes (and Saxons especially) enraged by the obstinacy of the enemy, were so thoroughly heated that they would have given quarter but to few. The retreat was not sounded till seven o'clock, when the king drew up the whole army upon the field of battle, and gave strict command that none should stir from their order. So the army lay under their arms all night, which was another reason why the wounded soldiers suffered very much by the cold; for the king, who had a bold enemy to deal with, was not ignorant what a small body of desperate men rallied together might have done in the darkness of the night, and therefore he lay in his couch all night at the head of the line, though it froze very hard.

As soon as the day began to peep, the trumpets sounded to horse, and all the dragoons and light horse in the army were commanded to the pursuit. The cuirassiers and some commanded musketeers advanced some miles, if need were, to make good their retreat, and all the foot stood to their arms for a reserve; but in half an hour word was brought to the king that the enemy were quite dispersed, upon which detachments were made out of every regiment to search among the dead for any of our friends that were wounded; and the king himself gave a strict order, that if any were found wounded and alive among the enemy, none should kill them, but take care to bring them into the camp: a piece of humanity which saved the lives of near a thousand of the enemies.

This piece of service being over, the enemy's camp was seized upon, and the soldiers were permitted to plunder it; all the cannon, arms, and ammunition were secured for the king's use, the rest was given up to the soldiers, who found so much plunder that they had no reason to quarrel for shares.

For my share, I was so busy with my wounded captain that I got nothing but a sword, which I found just by him when I first saw him; but my man brought me a very good horse, with a furniture on him, and one pistol of extraordinary workmanship.

I bade him get upon his back and make the best of the day for himself, which he did, and I saw him no more *till three days after*, when he found me but at Leipsic, so richly dressed that I hardly knew him; and after making his excuse for his long absence, gave me a very pleasant account where he had been. He told me that, according to my order, being mounted on the horse he had brought me, he first rid into the field among the dead to get some clothes suitable to the equipage of his horse, and having seized on a laced coat, a helmet, a sword, and an extraordinary good cane, was resolved to see what was become of the enemy, and following the track of the dragoons, which he could easily do by the bodies on the road, he fell in with a small party of 25 dragoons under no command but a corporal, making to a village, where some of the enemy's horse had been quartered. The dragoons taking him for an officer, by his horse, desired him to command them, told him the enemy was very rich, and they doubted not a good booty. He was a bold brisk fellow, and told them with all his heart; but said he had but one pistol, the other being broke with firing; so they lent him a pair of pistols, and a small piece they had taken, and he led them on. There had been a regiment of horse and some troops of Crabats in the village, but they were fled on the first notice of the pursuit, excepting three troops, and these, on sight of this small party, supposing them to be only the first of a greater number, fled in the greatest confusion imaginable. They took the village, and about 50 horses, with all the plunder of the enemy; and with the heat of the service he had spoiled my horse, he said, for which he had brought me two more; for he, passing for the commander of the party, had all the advantage the custom of war gives an officer in like cases.

I was very well pleased with the relation the fellow gave me, and laughing at him, 'Well, captain,' said I, 'and what plunder have you got?' 'Enough to make me a captain, sir,' says he, 'if you please, and a troop ready raised too; for the party of dragoons are posted in the village by my command, till they have farther orders.' In short, he pulled out 60 or 70 pieces of gold, 5 or 6 watches, 13 or 14 rings, whereof two were diamond rings, one of which was worth 50 dollars, silver as much as his pockets would hold, besides that he had brought three horses, two of which were laden with baggage, and a boor he had hired to stay with them at Leipsic till he had found me out. 'But I am afraid, captain,' says I, 'you have plundered the village instead of plundering the enemy.' 'No indeed, not we,' says he; 'but the Crabats had done it for us, and we lighted on them just as they were carrying it off.' 'Well,' said I, 'but what will you do with your men; for when you come to give them orders they will know you well enough?' 'No, no,' says he, 'I took care of that; for just now I gave a soldier five dollars to carry them news that the army was marched to Moersburg, and that they should follow thither to the regiment.'

Having secured his money in my lodgings, he asked me if I pleased to see his horses, and to have one for myself? I told him I would go and see them in the afternoon; but the fellow being impatient, goes and fetches them. There were three horses, one whereof was a very good one, and, by the furniture, was an officer's horse of the Crabats; and that my man would have me accept, for the other he had spoiled, as he said. I was but indifferently horsed before, so I accepted of the horse, and went down with him to see the rest of his plunder there. He had got three or four pairs of pistols, two or three bundles of officers' linen, and lace, a field bed and a tent, and several

other things of value; but, at last, coming to a small fardel, 'And this,' says he, 'I took whole from a Crabat running away with it under his arm;' so he brought it up into my chamber. He had not looked into it, he said, but he understood it was some plunder the soldiers had made, and, finding it heavy, took it by consent. We opened it, and found it was a bundle of some linen, 13 or 14 pieces of plate, and in a small cup 3 rings, a fine necklace of pearl, and the value of 100 rix-dollars in money. The fellow was amazed at his own good fortune, and hardly knew what to do with himself. I bid him go take care of his other things, and of his horses, and come again; so he went and discharged the boor that waited, and packed up all his plunder, and came up to me in his old clothes again. 'How now, captain,' says I, 'what, have you altered your equipage already?' 'I am no more ashamed, sir, of your livery,' answered he, 'than of your service, and nevertheless your servant, for what I have got by it.' 'Well,' says I to him, 'but what will you do now with all your money?' 'I wish my poor father had some of it,' says he; 'and for the rest, I got it for you, sir, and desire you would take it.'

He spoke it with so much honesty and freedom that I could not but take it very kindly; but, however, I told him I would not take a farthing from him, as his master; but I would have him play the good husband with it now he had such good fortune to get it. He told me he would take my directions in everything. 'Why then,' said I, 'I'll tell you what I would advise you to do: turn it all into ready money, and convey it by return home into England, and follow yourself the first opportunity, and with good management you may put yourself in a good posture of living with it.' The fellow, with a sort of dejection in his looks, asked me if he had disobliged me in anything? 'Why?' says I. That I was willing to turn him out of his service. 'No, George' (that was his name), says I, 'but you may live on this money without being a servant.' 'I'll throw it all into the Elbe,' says he, 'over Torgau bridge, rather than leave your service; and, besides,' says he, 'can't I save my money without going from you? I got it in your service, and I'll never spend it out of your service, unless you put me away. I hope my money won't make me the worse servant; if I thought it would, I'd soon have little enough.' 'Nay, George,' says I, 'I shall not oblige you to it, for I am not willing to lose you neither. Come, then,' says I, 'let us put it all together, and see what it will come to.' So he laid it all together on the table; and by our computation he had gotten as much plunder as was worth about 1400 rix-dollars, besides three horses with their furniture, a tent, a bed, and some wearing linen. Then he takes the necklace of pearl, a very good watch, a diamond ring, and 100 pieces of gold, and lays them by themselves; and having, according to our best calculation, valued the things, he put up all the rest; and as I was going to ask him what they were left out for, he takes them up in his hand, and coming round the table, told me, that if I did not think him unworthy of my service and favour, he begged I would give him leave to make that present to me; that it was my first thought his going out; that he had got it all in my service, and he should think I had no kindness for him, if I should refuse it. I was resolved in my mind not to take it from him, and yet I could find no means to resist his importunity. At last, I told him I would accept of part of his present, and that I esteemed his respect in that as much as the whole, and that I would not have him importune me farther; so I took the ring and watch, with the horse and furniture as before, and made him turn all the rest into money at Leipsic; and not suffering him to wear his livery, made him put himself into a tolerable equipage, and taking a young Leipsicer into my service, he attended me as a gentleman from that time forward.

The king's army never entered Leipsic, but proceeded to Moersburg, and from thence to Halle, and so marched on into Franconia, while the Duke of Saxony employed his forces in recovering Leipsic, and driving the imperialists out of his country. I continued at Leipsic twelve days, being not willing to leave my comrade until he was recovered; but Sir John Hepburn so often importuned me to come into the army, and sent me word that the king had very often inquired for me, that at last I consented to go without him. So having made our appointment where to meet, and how to correspond by letters, I went to wait on Sir John Hepburn, who then lay with the king's army at the city of Erfurt in Saxony. As I was riding between Leipsic and Halle, I observed my horse went very awkwardly and uneasy, and sweat very much, though the weather was cold, and we had rid but very softly. I fancied, therefore, that the saddle might hurt the horse, and calls my new captain up: 'George,' says I, 'I believe this saddle hurts the horse.' So we alighted, and looking under the saddle found the back of the horse extremely galled; so I bid him take off the saddle, which he did, and giving the horse to my young Leipsicer to lead, we sat down to see if we could mend it, for there was no town near us. Says George, pointing with his finger, 'If you please to cut open the pannel there I'll get something to stuff into it which will bear it from the horse's back;' so while he looked for something to thrust in, I cut a hole in the pannel of the saddle, and following it with my finger I felt something hard which seemed to move up and down. Again, as I thrust it with my finger, 'Here's something that should not be here,' says I, not yet imagining what afterwards fell out, and calling Run back, bade him put up his finger. 'Whatever it is,' says he, 'it is this hurts the horse, for it bears just on his back when the saddle is set on.' So we strove to take hold on it, but could not reach it; at last we took the upper part of the saddle quite from the pannel, and there lay a small silk purse wrapt in a piece of leather, and full of gold ducats. 'Thou art born to be rich, George,' says I to him; 'here's more money.' We opened the purse, and found in it 438 small pieces of gold. There I had a new skirmish with him whose the money should be. I told him it was his; he told me no, I had accepted of the horse and furniture, and all that was about him was mine, and solemnly vowed he would not have a penny of it. I saw no remedy but put up the money for the present, mended our saddle and went on. We lay that night at Halle, and having had such a booty in the saddle, I made him search the saddles of the other two horses, in one of which we found three French crowns, but nothing in the other.

We arrived at Erfurt the 28th of September, but the army was removed, and entered into Franconia, and at the siege of Konigshoven we came up with them. The first thing I did, was to pay my civilities to Sir John Hepburn, who received me very kindly, but told me withal that I had not done well to be so long from him; and the king had particularly inquired for me, had commanded him to bring me to him at my return.

I told him the reason of my stay at Leipsic, and how I had left that place, and my comrade, before he was cured of his wounds, to wait on him, according to his letters. He told me the king had spoken some things very obliging about me, and he believed would offer me some command in the army, if I thought well to accept of it. I told him I had promised my father not to take service in an army without his leave; and yet if his majesty should offer it, I neither knew how to resist it, nor had I an inclination to anything more than the service, and such a leader; though I had much rather have served as a volunteer at my own charge (which, as he knew, was the custom of our English gentlemen), than in any command. He replied, 'Do as you think fit; but some gentlemen would give 20,000 crowns to stand so fair for advancement as you do.'

The town of Koningshoven capitulated that day, and Sir John was ordered to treat with the citizens, so I had no farther discourse with him then; and the town being taken, the army immediately advanced down the river Main, for the king had his eye upon Frankfort and Mentz, two great cities, both which he soon became master of, chiefly by the prodigious expedition of his march; for within a month after the battle, he was in the lower parts of the empire, and had passed from the Elbe to the Rhine, an incredible conquest; had taken all the strong cities, the bishoprics of Bamberg, of Wurtzburg, and almost all the circle of Franconia, with part of Schawberland; a conquest large enough to be seven years a making by the common course of arms.

Business going on thus, the king had not leisure to think of small matters, and I being not thoroughly resolved in my mind, did not press Sir John to introduce me. I had wrote to my father, with an account of my reception in the army, the civilities of Sir John Hepburn, the particulars of the battle, and had indeed pressed him to give me leave to serve the king of Sweden, to which particular I waited for an answer; but the following occasion determined me before an answer could possibly reach me.

The king was before the strong castle of Marienburg, which commands the city of Wurtzburg. He had taken the city, but the garrison and richer part of the burghers were retired into the castle, and trusting to the strength of the place, which was thought impregnable, they bade the Swedes do their worst. It was well provided with all things, and a strong garrison in it; so that the army indeed expected it would be a long piece of work. The castle stood on a high rock, and on the steep of the rock was a bastion, which defended the only passage up the hill into the castle; the Scots were chose out to make this attack, and the king was an eye-witness of their gallantry. In this action Sir John was not commanded out, but Sir James Ramsey led them on; but I observed that most of the Scotch officers in the other regiments prepared to serve as volunteers for the honour of their countrymen, and Sir John Hepburn led them on. I was resolved to see this piece of service, and therefore joined myself to the volunteers. We were armed with partisans, and each man two pistols at our belt. It was a piece of service that seemed perfectly desperate; the advantage of the hill, the precipice we were to mount, the height of the bastion, the resolute courage and number of the garrison, who from a complete covert made a terrible fire upon us, all joined to make the action hopeless. But the fury of the Scots musketeers was not to be abated by any difficulties; they mounted the hill, scaled the works like madmen, running upon the enemy's pikes; and after two hours' desperate fight, in the midst of fire and smoke, took it by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. The volunteers did their part, and had their share of the loss too; for thirteen or fourteen were killed out of thirty-seven, besides the wounded, among whom I received a hurt more troublesome than dangerous, by a thrust of a halberd into my arm, which proved a very painful wound, and I was a great while before it was thoroughly recovered.

The king received us as we drew off at the foot of the hill, calling the soldiers his brave Scots, and commending the officers by name. The next morning the castle was also taken by storm, and the greatest booty that ever was found in any one conquest in the whole war. The soldiers got here so much money that they knew not what to do with it, and the plunder they got here and at the battle of Leipsic, made them so unruly that, had not the king been the best master of discipline in the world, they had never been kept in any reasonable bounds.

The king had taken notice of our small party of volunteers, and though I thought he had not seen me, yet he sent the next morning for Sir John Hepburn, and asked him if I were not come to the army. 'Yes,' says Sir John, 'he has been here two or three days;' and as he was forming an excuse for not having brought me to wait on his majesty, says the king, interrupting him, 'I wonder you would let him thrust himself into such a hot piece of service as storming the Port Graft; pray let him know I saw him, and have a very good account of his behaviour.' Sir John returned with this account to me, and pressed me to pay my duty to his majesty the next morning; and accordingly, though I had but an ill night with the pain of my wound, I was with him at the levee in the castle.

I cannot but give some short account of the glory of the morning; the castle had been cleared of the dead bodies of the enemies, and what was not pillaged by the soldiers, was placed under a guard. There was first a magazine of very good arms for about 18 or 20,000 foot and 4000 horse, a very good train of artillery of about eighteen pieces of battery, thirty-two brass field-pieces, and four mortars. The bishop's treasure, and other public monies not plundered by the soldiers, was telling out by the officers, and amounted to 400,000 florins in money; and the burghers of the town, in solemn procession, bareheaded, brought the king three tons of gold as a composition to exempt the city from plunder. Here was also a stable of gallant horses, which the king had the curiosity to go and see.

When the ceremony of the burghers was over, the king came down into the castle court, walked on the parade (where the great train of artillery was placed on their carriages), and round the walls, and gave order for repairing the bastion that was stormed by the Scots; and as, at the entrance of the parade, Sir John Hepburn and I made our reverence to the king, 'Ho, cavalier,' said the king to me, 'I am glad to see you,' and so passed forward. I made my bow very low, but his majesty said no more at that time.

When the view was over, the king went up into the lodgings, and Sir John and I walked in an antechamber for about a quarter of an hour, when one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber came out to Sir John, and told him the king asked for him. He stayed but a little with the king, and came out to me, and told me the king had ordered him to bring me to him.

His majesty, with a countenance full of honour and goodness, interrupted my compliment, and

asked me how I did; at which, answering only with a bow, says the king, 'I am sorry to see you are hurt. I would have laid my commands on you not to have shown yourself in so sharp a piece of service, if I had known you had been in the camp.' 'Your majesty does me too much honour,' said I, 'in your care of a life that has yet done nothing to deserve your favour.' His majesty was pleased to say something very kind to me, relating to my behaviour in the battle of Leipsic, which I have not vanity enough to write; at the conclusion whereof, when I replied very humbly, that I was not sensible that any service I had done, or could do, could possibly merit so much goodness, he told me he had ordered me a small testimony of his esteem, and withal gave me his hand to kiss. I was now conquered, and, with a sort of surprise, told his majesty I found myself so much engaged by his goodness, as well as my own inclination, that if his majesty would please to accept of my devoir, I was resolved to serve in his army, or wherever he pleased to command me. 'Serve me!' says the king; 'why, so you do. But I must not have you be a musketeer, a poor soldier at a dollar a week will do that. Pray, Sir John,' says the king, 'give him what commission he desires.' 'No commission, sir,' says I, 'would please me better than leave to fight near your majesty's person, and to serve you at my own charge, till I am qualified by more experience to receive your commands.' 'Why, then, it shall be so,' said the king. 'And I charge you, Hepburn,' says he, 'when anything offers that is either fit for him, or he desires, that you tell me of it;' and giving me his hand again to kiss, I withdrew.

I was followed, before I had passed the castle gate, by one of the king's pages, who brought me a warrant, directed to Sir John Hepburn, to go to the master of the horse, for an immediate delivery of things ordered by the king himself for my account; where being come, the querry produced me a very good coach with four horses, harness and equipage, and two very fine saddle-horses, out of the stable of the bishop's horses afore-mentioned; with these there was a list for three servants, and a warrant to the steward of the king's baggage to defray me my horses and servants at the king's charge, till further order. I was very much at a loss how to manage myself in this so strange freedom of so great a prince; and consulting with Sir John Hepburn, I was proposing to him whether it was not proper to go immediately back to pay my duty to his majesty, and acknowledge his bounty in the best terms I could; but while we were resolving to do so, the guards stood to their arms, and we saw the king go out at the gate in his coach to pass into the city, so we were diverted from it for that time. I acknowledge the bounty of the king was very surprising, but I must say it was not so very strange to me when I afterwards saw the course of his management: bounty in him was his natural talent; but he never distributed his favours but where he thought himself both loved and faithfully served; and when he was so, even the single actions of his private soldiers he would take particular notice of himself, and publicly own, acknowledge, and reward them, of which I am obliged to give some instances.

A private musketeer, at the storming the castle of Wurtzburg, when all the detachment was beaten off, stood in the face of the enemy, and fired his piece; and, though he had 1000 shot made at him, stood unconcerned, and charged his piece again, and let fly at the enemy, continuing to do so three times; at the same time, beckoning with his hand to his fellows to come on again, which they did, animated by his example, and carried the place for the king.

When the town was taken, the king ordered the regiment to be drawn out, and calling for that soldier, thanked him before them all for taking the town for him, gave him 1000 dollars in money, and a commission with his own hand for a foot company, or leave to go home, which he would. The soldier took the commission on his knees, kissed it, and put it into his bosom, and told the king he would never leave his service as long as he lived.

This bounty of the king's, timed and suited by his judgment, was the reason that he was very well served, entirely beloved, and most punctually obeyed by his soldiers, who were sure to be cherished and encouraged, if they did well, having the king generally an eye-witness of their behaviour.

My indiscretion rather than valour had engaged me so far at the battle of Leipsic, that being in the van of Sir John Hepburn's brigade, almost three whole companies of us were separated from our line, and surrounded by the enemies' pikes. I cannot but say also, that we were disengaged rather by a desperate charge Sir John made with the whole regiment to fetch us off, than by our own valour, though we were not wanting to ourselves neither; but this part of the action being talked of very much to the advantage of the young English volunteer, and possibly more than I deserved, was the occasion of all the distinction the king used me with ever after.

I had by this time letters from my father, in which, though with reluctance, he left me at liberty to enter into arms if I thought fit, always obliging me to be directed, and, as he said, commanded by Sir John Hepburn. At the same time he wrote to Sir John Hepburn, commending his son's fortunes, as he called it, to his care; which letters Sir John showed the king, unknown to me.

I took care always to acquaint my father of every circumstance, and forgot not to mention his majesty's extraordinary favour, which so affected my father, that he obtained a very honourable mention of it in a letter from King Charles to the king of Sweden, written by his own hand.

I had waited on his majesty with Sir John Hepburn, to give him thanks for his magnificent present, and was received with his usual goodness, and after that I was every day among the gentlemen of his ordinary attendance; and if his majesty went out on a party, as he would often do, or to view the country, I always attended him among the volunteers, of whom a great many always followed him; and he would often call me out, talk with me, send me upon messages to towns, to princes, free cities, and the like, upon extraordinary occasions.

The first piece of service he put me upon had like to have embroiled me with one of his favourite colonels. The king was marching through the Bergstraet, a low country on the edge of the Rhine, and, as all men thought, was going to besiege Heidelberg, but, on a sudden, orders a party of his guards, with five companies of Scots, to be drawn out. While they were drawing out this detachment, the king calls me to him, 'Ho! cavalier,' says he (that was his usual word), 'you shall command this party;' and thereupon gives me orders to march back all night, and in the morning, by break of day, to take post under the walls of the fort of Oppenheim, and immediately to intrench myself as well as I could. Grave

Neels, the colonel of his guards, thought himself injured by this command, but the king took the matter upon himself; and Grave Neels told me very familiarly afterwards, 'We have such a master,' says he, 'that no man can be affronted by: I thought myself wronged,' says he, 'when you commanded my men over my head; and for my life,' says he, 'I knew not which way to be angry.'

I executed my commission so punctually, that by break of day I was set down within musket shot of the fort, under covert of a little mount, on which stood a windmill, and had indifferently fortified myself, and at the same time had posted some of my men on two other passes, but at further distance from the fort, so that the fort was effectually blocked up on the land side. In the afternoon the enemy sallied on my first intrenchment, but being covered from their cannon, and defended by a ditch which I had drawn across the road, they were so well received by my musketeers, that they retired with the loss of six or seven men.

The next day Sir John Hepburn was sent with two brigades of foot to carry on the work, and so my commission ended. The king expressed himself very well pleased with what I had done; and when he was so, was never sparing of telling of it, for he used to say, that public commendations were a great encouragement to valour.

While Sir John Hepburn lay before the fort, and was preparing to storm it, the king's design was to get over the Rhine, but the Spaniards which were in Oppenheim had sunk all the boats they could find; at last the king, being informed where some lay that were sunk, caused them to be weighed with all the expedition possible, and in the night of the seventh of December, in three boats passed over his regiment of guards, about three miles above the town, and, as the king thought, secure from danger. But they were no sooner landed, and not drawn into order, but they were charged by a body of Spanish horse, and had not the darkness given them opportunity to draw up in the inclosures in several little parties, they had been in great danger of being disordered; but by this means they lined the hedges and lanes so with musketeers, that the remainder had time to draw up in battalia, and saluted the horse with their muskets, so that they drew further off.

The king was very impatient, hearing his men engaged, having no boats nor possible means to get over to help them. At last, about eleven o'clock at night, the boats came back, and the king thrust another regiment into them, and, though his officers dissuaded him, would go over himself with them on foot, and did so. This was three months that very day when the battle of Leipsic was fought, and winter-time too, that the progress of his arms had spread from the Elbe, where it parts Saxony and Brandenburgh, to the Lower Palatinate and the Rhine.

I went over in the boat with the king. I never saw him in so much concern in my life, for he was in pain for his men; but before we got on shore the Spaniards retired. However, the king landed, ordered his men, and prepared to intrench, but he had no time; for by that time the boats were put off again, the Spaniards, not knowing more troops were landed, and being reinforced from Oppenheim, came on again, and charged with great fury; but all things were now in order, and they were readily received and beaten back again; they came on again the third time, and with repeated charges attacked us; but at last, finding us too strong for them, they gave it over. By this time another regiment of foot was come over, and as soon as day appeared, the king, with the three regiments, marched to the town, which surrendered at the first summons, and the next day the fort yielded to Sir John Hepburn.

The castle at Oppenheim held out still with a garrison of 800 Spaniards, and the king, leaving 200 Scots of Sir James Ramsey's men in the town, drew out to attack the castle. Sir James Ramsey being left wounded at Wurtzburg, the king gave me the command of those 200 men, which were a regiment, that is to say, all that were left of a gallant regiment of 2000 Scots, which the king brought out of Sweden with him, under that brave colonel. There was about 30 officers, who, having no soldiers, were yet in pay, and served as reformadoes with the regiment, and were over and above the 200 men.

The king designed to storm the castle on the lower side, by the way that leads to Mentz, and Sir John Hepburn landed from the other side, and marched up to storm on the Rhine port.

My reformado Scots, having observed that the town port of the castle was not so well guarded as the rest, all the eyes of the garrison being bent towards the king and Sir John Hepburn, came running to me, and told me they believed they could enter the castle sword in hand, if I would give them leave. I told them I durst not give them orders, my commission being only to keep and defend the town; but they being very importunate, I told them they were volunteers, and might do what they pleased; that I would lend them fifty men, and draw up the rest to second them, or bring them off, as I saw occasion, so as I might not hazard the town. This was as much as they desired; they sallied immediately, and in a trice the volunteers scaled the port, cut in pieces the guard, and burst open the gate, at which the fifty entered. Finding the gate won, I advanced immediately with 100 musketeers more, having locked up all the gates of the town but the castle port, and leaving fifty still for a reserve just at that gate. The townsmen too, seeing the castle as it were taken, run to arms, and followed me with above 200 men. The Spaniards were knocked down by the Scots before they knew what the matter was; and the king and Sir John Hepburn, advancing to storm, were surprised when, instead of resistance, they saw the Spaniards throwing themselves over the walls to avoid the fury of the Scots. Few of the garrison got away, but were either killed or taken; and, having cleared the castle, I set open the port on the king's side, and sent his majesty word the castle was his own. The king came on, and entered on foot. I received him at the head of the Scots reformadoes, who all saluted him with their pikes. The king gave them his hat, and turning about, 'Brave Scots, brave Scots,' says he, smiling, 'you were too quick for me;' then beckoning to me, made me tell him how and in what manner we had managed the storm, which he was exceeding well pleased with, but especially at the caution I had used to bring them off if they had miscarried, and secure the town.

From hence the army marched to Mentz, which in four days' time capitulated, with the fort and citadel, and the city paid his majesty 300,000 dollars to be exempted from the fury of the soldiers. Here the king himself drew the plan of those invincible fortifications which, to this day, make it one of the strongest cities in Germany.

Friburg, Koningstien, Niustat, Keiser-Lautern, and almost all the Lower Palatinate, surrendered at the very terror of the king of Sweden's approach, and never suffered the danger of a siege.

The king held a most magnificent court at Mentz, attended by the Landgrave of Hesse, with an incredible number of princes and lords of the empire, with ambassadors and residents of foreign princes; and here his majesty stayed till March, when the queen, with a great retinue of Swedish nobility, came from Erfurt to see him. The king, attended by a gallant train of German nobility, went to Frankfort, and from thence on to Hoest, to meet the queen, where her majesty arrived February 8th.

During the king's stay in these parts, his armies were not idle. His troops, on one side, under the Rhinegrave, a brave and ever-fortunate commander, and under the Landgrave of Hesse, on the other, ranged the country from Lorrain to Luxemburg, and past the Moselle on the west, and the Weser on the north. Nothing could stand before them. The Spanish army, which came to the relief of the Catholic electors, was everywhere defeated, and beaten quite out of the country, and the Lorrain army quite ruined. 'Twas a most pleasant court sure as ever was seen, where every day expresses arrived of armies defeated, towns surrendered, contributions agreed upon, parties routed, prisoners taken, and princes sending ambassadors to sue for truces and neutralities, to make submissions and compositions, and to pay arrears and contributions.

Here arrived, February 10th, the king of Bohemia from England, and with him my Lord Craven, with a body of Dutch horse, and a very fine train of English volunteers, who immediately, without any stay, marched on to Hoest to wait upon his majesty of Sweden, who received him with a great deal of civility, and was treated at a noble collation, by the king and queen, at Frankfort. Never had the unfortunate king so fair a prospect of being restored to his inheritance of the Palatinate as at that time; and had King James, his father-in-law, had a soul answerable to the occasion, it had been effected before; but it was a strange thing to see him equipped from the English court, with one lord and about 40 or 50 English gentlemen in his attendance, whereas, had the king of England now, as it is well known he might have done, furnished him with 10,000 or 12,000 English foot, nothing could have hindered him taking a full possession of his country; and yet even without that help did the king of Sweden clear almost his whole country of imperialists, and after his death reinstall his son in the Electorate, but no thanks to us.

The Lord Craven did me the honour to inquire for me by name, and his majesty of Sweden did me yet more, by presenting me to the king of Bohemia; and my Lord Craven gave me a letter from my father, and speaking something of my father having served under the Prince of Orange in the famous battle of Neuport, the king, smiling, returned, 'And pray tell him from me, his son has served as well in the warm battle of Leipsic.'

My father, being very much pleased with the honour I had received from so great a king, had ordered me to acquaint his majesty, that if he pleased to accept of their service, he would raise him a regiment of English horse at his own charge, to be under my command, and to be sent over into Holland; and my Lord Craven had orders from the king of England, to signify his consent to the said levy. I acquainted my old friend Sir John Hepburn with the contents of the letter, in order to have his advice, who, being pleased with the proposal, would have me go to the king immediately with the letter, but present service put it off for some days.

The taking of Creutznach was the next service of any moment. The king drew out in person to the siege of this town; the town soon came to parley, but the castle seemed a work of difficulty; for its situation was so strong, and so surrounded with works behind and above one another, that most people thought the king would receive a check from it; but it was not easy to resist the resolution of the king of Sweden.

He never battered it but with two small pieces, but having viewed the works himself, ordered a mine under the first ravelin, which being sprung with success, he commands a storm. I think there was not more commanded men than volunteers, both English, Scots, French, and Germans; my old comrade was by this time recovered of his wound at Leipsic, and made one. The first body of volunteers of about 40, were led on by my Lord Craven, and I led the second, among whom were most of the reformado Scots officers who took the castle of Oppenheim. The first party was not able to make anything of it; the garrison fought with so much fury that many of the volunteer gentlemen being wounded, and some killed, the rest were beaten off with loss. The king was in some passion at his men, and rated them for running away, as he called it, though they really retreated in good order, and commanded the assault to be renewed. It was our turn to fall on next; our Scots officers, not being used to be beaten, advanced immediately, and my Lord Craven, with his volunteers, pierced in with us, fighting gallantly in the breach with a pike in his hand, and, to give him the honour due to his bravery, he was with the first on the top of the rampart, and gave his hand to my comrade, and lifted him up after him. We helped one another up, till at last almost all the volunteers had gained the height of the ravelin, and maintained it with a great deal of resolution, expecting, when the commanded men had gained the same height, to advance upon the enemy, when one of the enemy's captains called to my Lord Craven, and told him, if they might have honourable terms they would capitulate; which my lord telling him he would engage for, the garrison fired no more, and the captain leaping down from the next rampart, came with my Lord Craven into the camp, where the conditions were agreed on, and the castle surrendered.

After the taking of this town, the king hearing of Tilly's approach, and how he had beaten Gustavus Horn, the king's field marshal, out of Bamberg, began to draw his forces together, and leaving the care of his conquests in these parts to his Chancellor Oxenstein, prepares to advance towards Bavaria.

I had taken an opportunity to wait upon his majesty with Sir John Hepburn, and being about to introduce the discourse of my father's letter, the king told me he had received a compliment on my account in a letter from King Charles. I told him his majesty had by his exceeding generosity bound me and all my friends to pay their acknowledgments to him, and that I supposed my father had obtained such a mention of it from the king of England as gratitude moved him to; that his majesty's favour had been shown in me to a family both willing and ready to serve him; that I had received some commands from my father, which, if his majesty pleased to do me the honour to accept of, might put me in a condition to acknowledge his majesty's goodness, in a manner more proportioned to the sense I had of his favour; and with that I produced my father's letter, and read that clause in it which related to the regiment of horse, which was as follows:

'I read with a great deal of satisfaction the account you give of the great and extraordinary conquests of the king of Sweden, and with more his majesty's singular favour to you; I hope you will be careful to value and deserve so much honour; I am glad you rather chose to serve as a volunteer at your own charge, than to take any command, which, for want of experience, you might misbehave in.

'I have obtained of the king that he will particularly thank his majesty of Sweden for the honour he has done you; and if his majesty gives you so much freedom, I could be glad you should in the humblest manner thank his majesty in the name of an old broken soldier.

'If you think yourself officer enough to command them, and his majesty pleased to accept them, I would have you offer to raise his majesty a regiment of horse, which I think I may near complete in our neighbourhood with some of your old acquaintance, who are very willing to see the world. If his majesty gives you the word, they shall receive his command in the Maes, the king having promised me to give them arms, and transport them for that service into Holland; and I hope they may do his majesty such service as may be for your honour, and the advantage of his majesty's interest and glory.

'Your loving Father.'

'It is an offer like a gentleman and like a soldier,' says the king; 'and I'll accept of it on two conditions; first,' says the king, 'that I will pay your father the advance money for the raising the regiment; and next, that they shall be landed in the Weser or the Elbe, for which, if the king of England will not, I will pay the passage; for if they land in Holland, it may prove very difficult to get them to us when the army shall be marched out of this part of the country.'

I returned this answer to my father, and sent my man George into England to order that regiment, and made him quartermaster; I sent blank commissions for the officers, signed by the king, to be filled up as my father should think fit; and when I had the king's order for the commissions, the secretary told me I must go back to the king with them. Accordingly I went back to the king, who, opening the packet, laid all the commissions but one upon a table before him, and bade me take them, and, keeping that one still in his hand, 'Now,' says he, 'you are one of my soldiers;' and therewith gave me his commission, as colonel of horse in present pay. I took the commission, kneeling, and humbly thanked his majesty. 'But,' says the king, 'there is one article of war I expect of you more than of others.' 'Your majesty can expect nothing of me which I shall not willingly comply with,' said I, 'as soon as I have the honour to understand what it is.' 'Why, it is,' says the king, 'that you shall never fight but when you have orders; for I shall not be willing to lose my colonel before I have the regiment.' 'I shall be ready at all times, sir,' returned I, 'to obey your majesty's orders.'

I sent my man express with the king's answer, and the commission to my father, who had the regiment completed in less than two months' time, and six of the officers, with a list of the rest, came away to me, whom I presented to his majesty when he lay before Nuremberg, where they kissed his hand.

One of the captains offered to bring the whole regiment travelling as private men into the army in six weeks' time, and either to transport their equipage, or buy it in Germany; but it was thought impracticable. However, I had so many came in that manner that I had a complete troop always about me, and obtained the king's order to muster them as a troop.

On the 8th of March the king decamped, and marching up the river Maine, bent his course directly for Bavaria, taking several small places by the way, and, expecting to engage with Tilly, who, he thought, would dispute his entrance into Bavaria, kept his army together; but Tilly, finding himself too weak to encounter him, turned away, and leaving Bavaria open to the king, marched into the Upper Palatinate. The king finding the country clear of the imperialists, comes to Nuremberg, made his entrance into that city the 21st of March, and being nobly treated by the citizens, he continued his march into Bavaria, and on the 26th sat down before Donawert. The town was taken the next day by storm, so swift were the conquests of this invincible captain. Sir John Hepburn, with the Scots and the English volunteers at the head of them, entered the town first, and cut all the garrison to pieces, except such as escaped over the bridge.

I had no share in the business of Donawert, being now among the horse; but I was posted on the roads with five troops of horse, where we picked up a great many stragglers of the garrison, whom we made prisoners of war.

It is observable, that this town of Donawert is a very strong place, and well fortified, and yet such expedition did the king make, and such resolution did he use in his first attacks, that he carried the town without putting himself to the trouble of formal approaches. It was generally his way, when he came before any town with a design to besiege it, he never would encamp at a distance, and begin his trenches a great way off, but bring his men immediately within half musket-shot of the place; there, getting under the best covert he could, he would immediately begin his batteries and trenches before their faces; and if there was any place possible to be attacked, he would fall to storming immediately. By this resolute way of coming on, he carried many a town in the first heat of his men, which would have held out many days against a more regular siege.

This march of the king broke all Tilly's measures, for now he was obliged to face about, and leaving the Upper Palatinate, to come to the assistance of the Duke of Bavaria; for the king being 20,000 strong, besides 10,000 foot and 4000 horse and dragoons which joined him from the Duringer Wald, was resolved to ruin the duke, who lay now open to him, and was the most powerful and inveterate enemy of the Protestants in the empire.

Tilly was now joined with the Duke of Bavaria, and might together make about 22,000 men; and in order to keep the Swedes out of the country of Bavaria, had planted themselves along the banks of the river Lech, which runs on the edge of the duke's territories; and having fortified the other side of the river, and planted his cannon for several miles, at all the convenient places on the river, resolved to dispute the king's passage.

I shall be the longer in relating this account of the Lech, being esteemed in those days as great an action as any battle or siege of that age, and particularly famous for the disaster of the gallant old general, Tilly; and for that I can be more particular in it than other accounts, having been an eye-witness to every part of it.

The king being truly informed of the disposition of the Bavarian army, was once of the mind to have left the banks of the Lech, have repassed

the Danube, and so setting down before Ingolstat, the duke's capital city, by the taking that strong town, to have made his entrance into Bavaria, and the conquest of such a fortress, one entire action; but the strength of the place, and the difficulty of maintaining his army in an enemy's country, while Tilly was so strong in the field, diverted him from that design; he therefore concluded that Tilly was first to be beaten out of the country, and then the siege of Ingolstat would be easier.

Whereupon the king resolved to go and view the situation of the enemy. His majesty went out the 2d of April with a strong party of horse, which I had the honour to command; we marched as near as we could to the banks of the river, not to be too much exposed to the enemy's cannon, and having gained a little height, where the whole course of the river might be seen, the king halted, and commanded to draw up. The king alighted, and calling me to him, examined every reach and turning of the river by his glass, but finding the river run a long and almost a straight course, he could find no place which he liked, but at last turning himself north, and looking down the stream, he found the river fetching a long reach, double short upon itself, making a round and very narrow point. 'There's a point will do our business,' says the king; 'and, if the ground be good, I'll pass there, let Tilly do his worst.'

He immediately ordered a small party of horse to view the ground, and to bring him word particularly how high the bank was on each side and at the point; 'and he shall have 50 dollars,' says the king, 'that will bring me word how deep the water is.' I asked his majesty leave to let me go, which he would by no means allow of; but as the party was drawing out, a serjeant of dragoons told the king, if he pleased to let him go disguised as a boor, he would bring him an account of everything he desired. The king liked the motion well enough, and the fellow being very well acquainted with the country, puts on a ploughman's habit, and went away immediately with a long pole upon his shoulder; the horse lay all this while in the woods, and the king stood undiscerned by the enemy on the little hill aforesaid. The dragoon with his long pole comes down boldly to the bank of the river, and calling to the sentinels which Tilly had placed on the other bank, talked with them, asked them if they could not help him over the river, and pretended he wanted to come to them. At last, being come to the point where, as I said, the river makes a short turn, he stands parleying with them a great while, and sometimes pretending to wade over, then finding it pretty shallow, he pulls off his hose and goes in, still thrusting his pole in before him, till being gotten up to his middle, he could reach beyond him, where it was too deep, and so shaking his head, comes back again. The soldiers on the other side laughing at him, asked him if he could swim? He said no. 'Why, you fool you,' says one of the sentinels, 'the channel of the river is 20 feet deep.' 'How do you know that?' says the dragoon. 'Why, our engineer,' says he, 'measured it yesterday.' This was what he wanted; but not yet fully satisfied: 'Ay, but,' says he, 'may be it may not be very broad, and if one of you would wade in to meet me till I could reach you with my pole, I'd give him half a ducat to pull me over.' The innocent way of his discourse so deluded the soldiers, that one of them immediately strips and goes in up to the shoulders, and our dragoon goes in on this side to meet him; but the stream took the other soldier away, and he being a good swimmer, came swimming over to this side. The dragoon was then in a great deal of pain for fear of being discovered, and was once going to kill the fellow, and make off; but at last resolved to carry on the humour, and having entertained the fellow with a tale of a tub, about the Swedes stealing his oats, the fellow being cold, wanted to be gone, and as he was willing to be rid of him, pretended to be very sorry he could not get over the river, and so makes off.

By this, however, he learned both the depth and breadth of the channel, the bottom and nature of both shores, and everything the king wanted to know. We could see him from the hill by our glasses very plain, and could see the soldier naked with him. Says the king, 'He will certainly be discovered and knocked on the head from the other side. He is a fool,' says the king, 'if he does not kill the fellow and run off;' but when the dragoon told his tale, the king was extremely well satisfied with him, gave him 100 dollars, and made him a quartermaster to a troop of cuirassiers.

The king having further examined the dragoon, he gave him a very distinct account of the shore and ground on this side, which he found to be higher than the enemy's by 10 or 12 foot, and a hard gravel.

Hereupon the king resolves to pass there, and in order to it, gives himself particular directions for such a bridge as I believe never army passed a river on before nor since.

His bridge was only loose planks laid upon large trestles, in the same homely manner as I have seen bricklayers raise a low scaffold to build a brick wall; the trestles were made higher than one another to answer to the river, as it became deeper or shallower, and was all framed and fitted before any appearance was made of attempting to pass.

When all was ready, the king brings his army down to the bank of the river, and plants his cannon as the enemy had done, some here and some there, to amuse them.

At night, April 4th, the king commanded about 2000 men to march to the point, and to throw up a trench on either side, and quite round it, with a battery of six pieces of cannon at each end, besides three small mounts, one at the point and one of each side, which had each of them two pieces upon them. This work was begun so briskly, and so well carried on, the king firing all the night from the other parts of the river, that by daylight all the batteries at the new work were mounted, the trench lined with 2000 musketeers, and all the utensils of the bridge lay ready to be put together.

Now the imperialists discovered the design, but it was too late to hinder it. The musketeers in the great trench, and the five new batteries, made such continual fire, that the other bank, which, as before, lay 12 feet below them, was too hot for the imperialists; whereupon Tilly, to be provided for the king, at his coming over, falls to work in a wood right against the point, and raises a great battery for 20 pieces of cannon, with a breastwork, or line, as near the river as he could, to cover his men, thinking that when the king had built his bridge, he might easily beat it down with his cannon.

But the king had doubly prevented him, first, by laying his bridge so low that none of Tilly's shot could hurt it; for the bridge lay not above half a foot above the water's edge, by which means the king, who in that showed himself an excellent engineer, had secured it from any batteries to be made within the land, and the angle

of the bank secured it from the remoter batteries on the other side, and the continual fire of the cannon and small shot beat the imperialists from their station just against it, they having no works to cover them.

And in the second place, to secure his passage, he sent over about 200 men, and after that 200 more, who had orders to cast up a large ravelin on the other bank, just where he designed to land his bridge; this was done with such expedition too, that it was finished before night, and in condition to receive all the shot of Tilly's great battery, and effectually covered his bridge. While this was doing, the king on his side lays over his bridge. Both sides wrought hard all day and all night, as if the spade, not the sword, had been to decide the controversy, and that he had got the victory whose trenches and batteries were first ready; in the meanwhile the cannon and musket bullets flew like hail, and made the service so hot, that both sides had enough to do to make their men stand to their work; the king in the hottest of it, animated his men by his presence, and Tilly, to give him his due, did the same; for the execution was so great, and so many officers killed, General Attringer wounded, and two serjeant-majors killed, that at last Tilly himself was obliged to expose himself, and to come up to the very face of our line to encourage his men, and give his necessary orders.

And here, about one o'clock, much about the time that the king's bridge and works were finished, and just as they said he had ordered to fall on upon our ravelin with 3000 foot, was the brave old Tilly slain with a musket bullet in the thigh; he was carried off to Ingolstat, and lived some days after, but died of that wound the same day as the king had his horse shot under him at the siege of that town.

We made no question of passing the river here, having brought everything so forward, and with such extraordinary success; but we should have found it a very hot piece of work if Tilly had lived one day more; and, if I may give my opinion of it, having seen Tilly's battery and breastwork, in the face of which we must have passed the river, I must say, that whenever we had marched, if Tilly had fallen in with his horse and foot, placed in that trench, the whole army would have passed as much danger as in the face of a strong town in the storming a counterscarp. The king himself, when he saw with what judgment Tilly had prepared his works, and what danger he must have run, would often say, that day's success was every way equal to the victory of Leipsic.

Tilly being hurt and carried off, as if the soul of the army had been lost, they began to draw off; the Duke of Bavaria took horse, and rid away as if he had fled out of battle for his life.

The other generals with a little more caution, as well as courage, drew off by degrees, sending their cannon and baggage away first, and leaving some to continue firing on the bank of the river to conceal their retreat. The river preventing any intelligence, we knew nothing of the disaster befallen them; and the king, who looked for blows, having finished his bridge and ravelin, ordered to run a line of palisadoes, to take in more ground on the bank of the river, to cover the first troops he should send over; this being finished the same night, the king sends over a party of his guards to relieve the men who were in the ravelin, and commanded 600 musketeers to man the new line out of the Scots brigade.

Early in the morning, a small party of Scots, commanded by one Captain Forbes, of my Lord Rea's regiment, were sent out to learn something of the enemy, the king observing they had not fired all night; and while this party were abroad, the army stood in battalia, and my old friend Sir John Hepburn, whom of all men the king most depended upon for any desperate service, was ordered to pass the bridge with his brigade, and to draw up without the line, with command to advance as he found the horse, who were to second him, came over.

Sir John being passed without the trench, meets Captain Forbes with some prisoners, and the good news of the enemy's retreat; he sends him directly to the king, who was by this time at the head of his army, in full battalia, ready to follow his vanguard, expecting a hot day's work of it. Sir John sends messenger after messenger to the king, entreating him to give him orders to advance; but the king would not suffer him; for he was ever upon his guard, and would not venture a surprise; so the army continued on this side the Lech all day and the next night. In the morning the king sent for me, and ordered me to draw out 300 horse, and a colonel with 600 horse, and a colonel with 800 dragoons, and ordered us to enter the wood by three ways, but so as to be able to relieve one another, and then ordered Sir John Hepburn with his brigade to advance to the edge of the wood to secure our retreat; and at the same time commanded another brigade of foot to pass the bridge, if need were, to second Sir John Hepburn, so warily did this prudent general proceed.

We advanced with our horse into the Bavarian camp, which we found forsaken. The plunder of it was inconsiderable, for the exceeding caution the king had used gave them time to carry off all their baggage; we followed them three or four miles, and returned to our camp.

I confess I was most diverted that day with viewing the works which Tilly had cast up, and must own again, that had he not been taken off, we had met with as desperate a piece of work as ever was attempted. The next day the rest of the cavalry came up to us, commanded by Gustavus Horn, and the king and the whole army followed. We advanced through the heart of Bavaria, took Rain at the first summons, and several other small towns, and sat down before Ausburg.

Ausburg, though a Protestant city, had a Popish Bavarian garrison in it of above 5000 men, commanded by a Fugger, a great family in Bavaria. The governor had posted several little parties as out-scouts, at the distance of two miles and a half or three miles from the town. The king, at his coming up to this town, sends me with my little troop, and three companies of dragoons, to beat in these out-scouts. The first party I light on was not above 16 men, who had made a small barricado across the road, and stood resolutely upon their guard. I commanded the dragoons to alight, and open the barricado, which while they resolutely performed, the 16 men gave them two volleys of their muskets, and through the enclosures made their retreat to a turnpike about a quarter of a mile farther. We passed their first traverse, and coming up to the turnpike, I found it defended by 200 musketeers. I prepared to attack them, sending word to the king how strong the enemy was, and desired some foot to be sent me. My dragoons fall on, and though the enemy made a very hot fire, had beat them from this post before 200 foot which the king had sent me had come up. Being joined with the foot, I followed the enemy, who retreated fighting, till they came under the cannon

of a strong redoubt, where they drew up, and I could see another body of foot of about 300 join them out of the works; upon which I halted, and considering I was in view of the town, and a great way from the army, I faced about, and began to march off. As we marched, I found the enemy followed, but kept at a distance, as if they only designed to observe me. I had not marched far, but I heard a volley of small shot, answered by two or three more, which I presently apprehended to be at the turnpike, where I had left a small guard of 26 men, with a lieutenant. Immediately I detached 100 dragoons to relieve my men, and secure my retreat, following myself as fast as the foot could march. The lieutenant sent me back word the post was taken by the enemy, and my men cut off. Upon this I doubled my pace, and when I came up I found it as the lieutenant said; for the post was taken and manned with 300 musketeers, and three troops of horse. By this time also I found the party in my rear made up towards me, so that I was like to be charged, in a narrow place, both in front and rear.

I saw there was no remedy but with all my force to fall upon that party before me, and so to break through before those from the town could come up with me; wherefore commanding my dragoons to alight, I ordered them to fall on upon the foot; their horse were drawn up in an enclosed field on one side of the road, a great ditch securing the other side, so that they thought if I charged the foot in front they would fall upon my flank, while those behind would charge my rear; and indeed had the other come in time they had cut me off. My dragoons made three fair charges on their foot, but were received with so much resolution, and so brisk a fire, that they were beaten off, and sixteen men killed. Seeing them so rudely handled and the horse ready to fall in, I relieved them with 100 musketeers, and they renewed the attack at the same time with my troop of horse. Flanked on both wings with 50 musketeers I faced their horse, but did not offer to charge them; the case grew now desperate, and the enemy behind were just at my heels, with near 600 men. The captain who commanded the musketeers, who flanked my horse, came up to me, says he, 'If we do not force this pass, all will be lost: if you will draw out your troop and 20 of my foot, and fall in, I'll engage to keep off the horse with the rest.' 'With all my heart,' says I.

Immediately I wheeled off my troop, and a small party of the musketeers followed me, and fell in with the dragoons and foot, who seeing the danger too, as well as I, fought like madmen. The foot at the turnpike were not able to hinder our breaking through, so we made our way out, killing about 150 of them, and put the rest into confusion.

But now was I in as great a difficulty as before, how to fetch off my brave captain of foot, for they charged home upon him; he defended himself with extraordinary gallantry, having the benefit of a piece of hedge to cover him; but he lost half his men, and was just upon the point of being defeated when the king, informed by a soldier that escaped from the turnpike, one of 26, had sent a party of 600 dragoons to bring me off. These came upon the spur, and joined with me just as I had broke through the turnpike; the enemy's foot rallied behind their horse, and by this time their other party was come in, but seeing our relief, they drew off together.

I lost above 100 men in these skirmishes, and killed them about 180; we secured the turnpike, and placed a company of foot there, with 100 dragoons, and came back well beaten to the army. The king, to prevent such uncertain skirmishes, advanced the next day in view of the town, and, according to his custom, sits down with his whole army within cannon-shot of their walls.

The king won this great city by force of words; for by two or three messages and letters to and from the citizens the town was gained, the garrison not daring to defend them against their wills. His majesty made his public entrance into the city on the 14th of April, and, receiving the compliments of the citizens, advanced immediately to Ingolstat, which is accounted, and really is, the strongest town in all these parts.

The town had a very strong garrison in it, and the Duke of Bavaria lay entrenched with his army under the walls of it, on the other side of the river. The king, who never loved long sieges, having viewed the town and brought his army within musket-shot of it, called a council of war, where it was the king's opinion, in short, that the town would lose him more than it was worth, and therefore he resolved to raise his siege.

Here the king, going to view the town, had his horse shot with a cannon bullet from the works, which tumbled the king and his horse over one another, that everybody thought he had been killed, but he received no hurt at all. That very minute, as near as could be learnt, General Tilly died in the town, of the shot he received on the bank of the Lech as aforesaid.

I was not in the camp when the king was hurt, for the king had sent almost all the horse and dragoons, under Gustavus Horn, to face the Duke of Bavaria's camp, and after that to plunder the country, which truly was a work the soldiers were very glad of, for it was very seldom they had that liberty given them, and they made very good use of it when it was; for the country of Bavaria was rich and plentiful, having seen no enemy before during the whole war.

The army having left the siege of Ingolstat, proceeds to take in the rest of Bavaria. Sir John Hepburn, with three brigades of foot, and Gustavus Horn, with 3000 horse and dragoons, went to the Landshut, and took it the same day; the garrison was all horse, and gave us several camisadoes at our approach, in one of which I lost two of my troops, but when we had beat them into close quarters, they presently capitulated. The general got a great sum of money of the town, besides a great many presents to the officers. And from thence the king went on to Munich, the Duke of Bavaria's court; some of the general officers would fain have had the plundering of the duke's palace; but the king was too generous. The city paid him 400,000 dollars, and the duke's magazine was there seized, in which was 140 pieces of cannon, and small arms for above 20,000 men. The great chamber of the duke's rarities was preserved by the king's special order, with a great deal of care. I expected to have stayed here some time, and to have taken a very exact account of this curious laboratory; but being commanded away, I had no time, and the fate of the war never gave me opportunity to see it again.

The imperialists, under the command of Commissary Osta, had besieged Bibrach, an imperial city not very well fortified, and the inhabitants being under the Swede's protection, defended themselves as well as they could, but were in great danger, and sent several expresses to the king for help.

The king immediately detaches a strong body of horse and foot to relieve Bibrach, and would be the commander himself. I marched among the horse, but the imperialists saved us the labour; for the news of the king's coming frighted away Osta, that he left Bibrach, and hardly looked behind him till he got up to the Bodensee, on the confines of Swisserland.

At our return from this expedition, the king had the first news of Wallestein's approach, who, on the death of Count Tilly, being declared generalissimo of the emperor's forces, had played the tyrant in Bohemia, and was now advancing with 60,000 men, as they reported, to relieve the Duke of Bavaria.

The king, therefore, in order to be in a posture to receive this great general, resolves to quit Bavaria, and to expect him on the frontiers of Franconia; and because he knew the Nurembergers, for their kindness to him, would be the first sacrifice, he resolved to defend that city against him, whatever it cost.

Nevertheless, he did not leave Bavaria without a defence; but on the one hand he left Sir John Bannier, with 10,000 men, about Ausburg, and the Duke of Saxe-Weymer, with another like army, about Ulme and Meningen, with orders so to direct their march, as that they might join him upon any occasion in a few days.

We encamped about Nuremberg, the middle of June. The army, after so many detachments, was not above 19,000 men. The imperial army, joined with the Bavarian, were not so numerous as was reported, but were really 60,000 men. The king, not strong enough to fight, yet, as he used to say, was strong enough not to be forced to fight, formed his camp so under the cannon of Nuremberg, that there was no besieging the town, but they must besiege him too; and he fortified his camp in so formidable a manner that Wallestein never durst attack him. On the 30th of June, Wallestein's troops appeared, and on the 5th of July, encamped close by the king, and posted themselves not on the Bavarian side, but between the king and his own friends of Schwaben and Frankenland, in order to intercept his provisions, and, as they thought, to starve him out of his camp.

Here they lay to see, as it were, who could subsist longest; the king was strong in horse, for we had full 8000 horse and dragoons in the army, and this gave us great advantage in the several skirmishes we had with the enemy. The enemy had possession of the whole country, and had taken effectual care to furnish their army with provisions; they placed their guards in such excellent order, to secure their convoys, that their waggons went from stage to stage as quiet as in a time of peace, and were relieved every five miles by parties constantly posted on the road. And thus the imperial general sat down by us, not doubting but he should force the king either to fight his way through, on very disadvantageous terms, or to rise for want of provisions, and leave the city of Nuremberg a prey to his army; for he had vowed the destruction of the city, and to make it a second Magdeburgh.

But the king, who was not to be easily deceived, had countermined all Wallestein's designs; he had passed his honour to the Nurembergers that he would not leave them, and they had undertaken to victual his army, and secure him from want, which they did so effectually, that he had no occasion to expose his troops to any hazard or fatigues for convoys or forage on any account whatever.

The city of Nuremberg is a very rich and populous city, and the king being very sensible of their danger, had given his word for their defence; and when they, being terrified at the threats of the imperialists, sent their deputies to beseech the king to take care of them, he sent them word he would, and be besieged with them. They, on the other hand, laid in such stores of all sorts of provision, both for men and horse, that had Wallestein lain before it six months longer, there would have been no scarcity. Every private house was a magazine, the camp was plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions, and the market always full, and as cheap as in times of peace. The magistrates were so careful, and preserved so excellent an order in the disposal of all sorts of provision, that no engrossing of corn could be practised; for the prices were every day directed at the town-house; and if any man offered to demand more money for corn than the stated price, he could not sell, because at the town store-house you might buy cheaper. Here are two instances of good and bad conduct; the city of Magdeburgh had been entreated by the king to settle funds, and raise money for their provision and security, and to have a sufficient garrison to defend them, but they made difficulties, either to raise men for themselves, or to admit the king's troops to assist them, for fear of the charge of maintaining them; and this was the cause of the city's ruin.

The city of Nuremberg opened their arms to receive the assistance proffered by the Swedes, and their purses to defend their town and common cause, and this was the saving them absolutely from destruction. The rich burghers and magistrates kept open houses, where the officers of the army were always welcome; and the council of the city took such care of the poor, that there was no complaining nor disorders in the whole city. There is no doubt but it cost the city a great deal of money; but I never saw a public charge borne with so much cheerfulness, nor managed with so much prudence and conduct in my life. The city fed above 50,000 mouths every day, including their own poor, besides themselves; and yet, when the king had lain thus three months, and finding his armies longer in coming up than he expected, asked the burgrave how their magazines held out? He answered, they desired his majesty not to hasten things for them, for they could maintain themselves and him 12 months longer, if there was occasion. This plenty kept both the army and city in good health, as well as in good heart; whereas nothing was to be had of us but blows; for we fetched nothing from without our works, nor had no business without the line, but to interrupt the enemy.

The manner of the king's encampment deserves a particular chapter. He was a complete surveyor, and a master in fortification, not to be outdone by anybody. He had posted his army in the suburbs of the town, and drawn lines round the whole circumference, so that he begirt the whole city with his army; his works were large, the ditch deep, flanked with innumerable bastions, ravelins, hornworks, forts, redoubts, batteries, and palisadoes, the incessant work of 8000 men for about 14 days; besides that the king was adding something or other to it every day; and the very posture of his camp was enough to tell a bigger army than Wallestein's, that he was not to be assaulted in his trenches.

The king's design appeared chiefly to be the preservation of the city; but that was not all; he had three armies acting abroad in three

several places; Gustavus Horn was on the Mosel; the Chancellor Oxenstern about Mentz, Cologn, and the Rhine; Duke William and Duke Bernard, together with General Bannier, in Bavaria; and though he designed they should all join him, and had wrote to them all to that purpose, yet he did not hasten them, knowing that while he kept the main army at bay about Nuremberg, they would, without opposition, reduce those several countries they were acting in to his power. This occasioned his lying longer in the camp at Nuremberg than he would have done, and this occasioned his giving the imperialists so many alarms by his strong parties of horse, of which he was well provided, that they might not be able to make any considerable detachments for the relief of their friends; and here he showed his mastership in the war, for by this means his conquests went on as effectually as if he had been abroad himself.

In the meantime, it was not to be expected two such armies should lie long so near without some action. The imperial army being masters of the field, laid the country for 20 miles round Nuremberg in a manner desolate; what the inhabitants could carry away had been before secured in such strong towns as had garrisons to protect them, and what was left the hungry Crabats devoured, or set on fire; but sometimes they were met with by our men, who often paid them home for it. There had passed several small encounters between our parties and theirs; and, as it falls out in such cases, sometimes one side, sometimes the other, got the better; but I have observed, there never was any party sent out by the king's special appointment, but always came home with victory.

The first considerable attempt, as I remember, was made on a convoy of ammunition: the party sent out was commanded by a Saxon colonel, and consisted of 1000 horse, and 500 dragoons, who burnt above 600 waggons, loaded with ammunition and stores for the army, besides taking about 2000 muskets, which they brought back to the army.

The latter end of July the king received advice, that the imperialists had formed a magazine for provision at a town called Freynstat, 20 miles from Nuremberg. Hither all the booty and contributions raised in the Upper Palatinate, and parts adjacent, was brought and laid up as in a place of security; a garrison of 600 men being placed to defend it; and when a quantity of provisions was got together, convoys were appointed to fetch it off.

The king was resolved, if possible, to take or destroy this magazine; and sending for Colonel Dubalt, a Swede, and a man of extraordinary conduct, he tells him his design, and withal, that he must be the man to put it into execution, and ordered him to take what forces he thought convenient. The colonel, who knew the town very well, and the country about it, told his majesty he would attempt it with all his heart, but he was afraid it would require some foot to make the attack. 'But we can't stay for that,' says the king; 'you must then take some dragoons with you;' and immediately the king called for me. I was just coming up the stairs, as the king's page was come out to inquire for me; so I went immediately in to the king. 'Here is a piece of hot work for you,' says the king, 'Dubalt will tell it you; go together and contrive it.'

We immediately withdrew, and the colonel told me the design, and what the king and he had discoursed; that, in his opinion, foot would be wanted, but the king had declared that there was no time for the foot to march, and had proposed dragoons. I told him, I thought dragoons might do as well; so we agreed to take 1600 horse and 400 dragoons. The king, impatient in his design, came into the room to us to know what we had resolved on, approved our measures, gave us orders immediately; and turning to me, 'You shall command the dragoons,' says the king, 'but Dubalt must be general in this case, for he knows the country.' 'Your majesty,' said I, 'shall be always served by me in any figure you please.' The king wished us good speed, and hurried us away the same afternoon, in order to come to the place in time. We marched slowly on because of the carriages we had with us, and came to Freynstat about one o'clock in the night, perfectly undiscovered; the guards were so negligent, that we came to the very port before they had notice of us, and a serjeant with 12 dragoons thrust in upon the out-sentinels, and killed them without noise.

Immediately ladders were placed to the half-moon, which defended the gate, which the dragoons mounted and carried in a trice, about 28 men being cut in pieces within. As soon as the ravelin was taken, they burst open the gate, at which I entered, at the head of 200 dragoons, and seized the drawbridge. By this time the town was in alarm, and the drums beat to arms, but it was too late; for, by the help of a petard, we broke open the gate and entered the town. The garrison made an obstinate fight for about half an hour; but our men being all in, and three troops of horse dismounted coming to our assistance with their carabines, the town was entirely mastered by three of the clock, and guards set to prevent anybody running to give notice to the enemy. There were about 200 of the garrison killed, and the rest taken prisoners. The town being thus secured, the gates were opened, and Colonel Dubalt came in with the horse.

The guards being set, we entered the magazine, where we found an incredible quantity of all sorts of provision. There was 150 tons of bread, 8000 sacks of meal, 4000 sacks of oats, and of other provisions in proportion. We caused as much of it as could be loaded to be brought away in such waggons and carriages as we found, and set the rest on fire, town and all; we stayed by it till we saw it past a possibility of being saved, and then drew off with 800 waggons, which we found in the place, most of which we loaded with bread, meal, and oats. While we were doing this, we sent a party of dragoons into the fields, who met us again as we came out, with above 1000 head of black cattle, besides sheep.

Our next care was to bring this booty home without meeting with the enemy; to secure which, the colonel immediately despatched an express to the king, to let him know of our success, and to desire a detachment might be made to secure our retreat, being charged with so much plunder.

And it was no more than need; for though we had used all the diligence possible to prevent any notice, yet somebody more forward than ordinary had escaped away, and carried news of it to the imperial army. The general upon this bad news, detaches Major-general Sparr, with a body of 6000 men, to cut off our retreat. The king, who had notice of this detachment, marches out in person, with 3000 men, to wait upon General Sparr. All this was the account of one day. The king met General Sparr at the moment when his troops were divided, fell upon them, routed one part of them, and the rest in a few

hours after; killed them a thousand men, and took the general prisoner.

In the interval of this action, we came safe to the camp with our booty, which was very considerable, and would have supplied our whole army for a month. Thus we feasted at the enemy's cost, and beat them into the bargain.

The king gave all the live cattle to the Nurembergers, who, though they had really no want of provisions, yet fresh meat was not so plentiful as such provisions which were stored up in vessels and laid by.

After this skirmish, we had the country more at command than before, and daily fetched in fresh provisions and forage in the fields.

The two armies had now lain a long time in sight of one another, and daily skirmishes had considerably weakened them; and the king beginning to be impatient, hastened the advancement of his friends to join him, in which also they were not backward; but having drawn together their forces from several parts, and all joined the Chancellor Oxenstern, news came the 15th of August that they were in full march to join us; and being come to a small town called Brock, the king went out of the camp with about 1000 horse to view them. I went along with the horse, and, the 22d of August, saw the review of all the armies together, which were 30,000 men in extraordinary equipage, old soldiers, and commanded by officers of the greatest conduct and experience in the world. There was the rich Chancellor of Sweden, who commanded as general, Gustavus Horn, and John Bannier, both Swedes and old generals; Duke William and Duke Bernard of Weymar, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Palatine of Birkenfelt, and abundance of princes and lords of the empire.

The armies being joined, the king, who was now a match for Wallestein, quits his camp, and draws up in battalia before the imperial trenches; but the scene was changed; Wallestein was no more able to fight now than the king was before, but, keeping within his trenches, stood upon his guard. The king coming up close to his works, plants batteries, and cannonaded him in his very camp.

The imperialists, finding the king press upon them, retreat into a woody country about three leagues, and taking possession of an old ruined castle, posted their army behind it.

This old castle they fortified, and placed a very strong guard there. The king having viewed the place, though it was a very strong post, resolved to attack it with the whole right wing. The attack was made with a great deal of order and resolution, the king leading the first party on with sword in hand, and the fight was maintained on both sides with the utmost gallantry and obstinacy all the day and the next night too; for the cannon and musket never gave over till the morning. But the imperialists having the advantage of the hill, of their works and batteries, and being continually relieved, and the Swedes naked, without cannon or works, the post was maintained; and the king finding it would cost him too much blood, drew off in the morning.

This was the famous fight at Attembergh, where the imperialists boasted to have shewn the world the king of Sweden was not invincible. They call it the victory at Attembergh; 'tis true, the king failed in his attempt of carrying their works; but there was so little of a victory in it, that the imperial general thought fit not to venture a second brush, but to draw off their army, as soon as they could, to a safer quarter.

I had no share in this attack, very few of the horse being in the action; but my comrade, who was always among the Scots volunteers, was wounded and taken prisoner by the enemy. They used him very civilly, and the king and Wallestein straining courtesies with one another, the king released Major-General Sparr without ransom, and the imperial general sent home Colonel Tortenson, a Swede, and sixteen volunteer gentlemen, who were taken in the heat of the action, among whom my captain was one.

The king lay 14 days facing the imperial army, and using all the stratagems possible to bring them to a battle, but to no purpose; during which time we had parties continually out, and very often skirmishes with the enemy.

I had a command of one of these parties in an adventure, wherein I got no booty nor much honour. The king had received advice of a convoy of provisions which was to come to the enemy's camp from the Upper Palatinate; and having a great mind to surprise them, he commanded us to waylay them with 1200 horse and 800 dragoons. I had exact directions given me of the way they were to come; and posting my horse in a village a little out of the road, I lay with my dragoons in a wood, by which they were to pass by break of day. The enemy appeared with their convoy, and being very wary, their out-scouts discovered us in the wood, and fired upon the sentinel I had posted in a tree at the entrance of the wood. Finding myself discovered, I would have retreated to the village where my horse were posted; but in a moment the wood was skirted with the enemy's horse, and a thousand musketeers advanced to beat me out. In this pickle I sent away three messengers, one after the other, for the horse, who were within two miles of me, to advance to my relief; but all my messengers fell into the enemy's hands. Four hundred of my dragoons on foot, whom I had placed at a little distance before me, stood to their work, and beat off two charges of the enemy's foot, with some loss on both sides: meantime, 200 of my men faced about, and rushing out of the wood, broke through a party of the enemy's horse, who stood to watch our coming out. I confess I was exceedingly surprised at it, thinking those fellows had done it to make their escape, or else were gone over to the enemy; and my men were so discouraged at it, that they began to look about which way to run to save themselves, and were just upon the point of disbanding to shift for themselves, when one of the captains called to me aloud to beat a parley and treat. I made no answer, but, as if I had not heard him, immediately gave the word for all the captains to come together. The consultation was but short, for the musketeers were advancing to a third charge, with numbers which we were not likely to deal with. In short, we resolved to beat a parley, and demand quarter, for that was all we could expect; when on a sudden the body of horse I had posted in the village, being directed by the noise, had advanced to relieve me if they saw occasion, and had met the 200 dragoons, who guided them directly to the spot where they had broke through, and altogether fell upon the horse of the enemy who were posted on that side, and mastering them before they could be relieved, cut them all to pieces, and brought me off. Under the shelter of this party, we made good our retreat to the village; but we lost above 300 men, and were glad to make off from the village too, for the enemy were very much too strong for us.

Returning thence towards the camp, we fell foul with 200 Crabats, who had been upon the plundering account. We made ourselves some

amends upon them for our former loss, for we showed them no mercy; but our misfortunes were not ended, for we had but just despatched those Crabats, when we fell in with 3000 imperial horse, who, on the expectation of the aforesaid convoy, were sent out to secure them.

All I could do, I could not persuade my men to stand their ground against this party; so that, finding they would run away in confusion, I agreed to make off, and facing to the right, we went over a large common at full trot; till at last fear, which always increases in a flight, brought us to a plain flight, the enemy at our heels. I must confess I was never so mortified in my life; it was to no purpose to turn head, no man would stand by us, we run for life, and a great many we left by the way, who were either wounded by the enemy's shot, or else could not keep race with us.

At last, having got over the common, which was near two miles, we came to a lane; one of our captains, a Saxon by country, and a gentleman of a good fortune, alighted at the entrance of the lane, and with a bold heart faced about, shot his own horse, and called his men to stand by him and defend the lane. Some of his men halted, and we rallied about 600 men, which we posted as well as we could to defend the pass; but the enemy charged us with great fury.

The Saxon gentleman, after defending himself with exceeding gallantry, and refusing quarter, was killed upon the spot. A German dragoon, as I thought him, gave me a rude blow with the stock of his piece on the side of my head, and was just going to repeat it, when one of my men shot him dead. I was so stunned with the blow, that I knew nothing; but recovering, I found myself in the hands of two of the enemy's officers, who offered me quarter, which I accepted; and indeed, to give them their due, they used me very civilly. Thus this whole party was defeated, and not above 500 men got safe to the army, nor had half the number escaped, had not the Saxon captain made so bold a stand at the head of the lane.

Several other parties of the king's army revenged the quarrel, and paid them home for it; but I had a particular loss in this defeat, that I never saw the king after; for though his majesty sent a trumpet to reclaim us as prisoners the very next day, yet I was not delivered, some scruple happening about exchanging, till after the battle of Lutzen, where that gallant prince lost his life.

The imperial army rose from their camp about eight or ten days after the king had removed, and I was carried prisoner in the army till they sat down to the siege of Coburgh castle, and then was left with other prisoners of war in the custody of Colonel Spezuter, in a small castle near the camp called Neustad. Here we continued indifferent well treated, but could learn nothing of what action the armies were upon, till the Duke of Friedland, having been beaten off from the castle of Coburgh, marched into Saxony, and the prisoners were sent for into the camp, as was said, in order to be exchanged.

I came into the imperial leaguer at the siege of Leipsic, and within three days after my coming, the city was surrendered, and I got liberty to lodge at my old quarters in the town upon my parole.

The king of Sweden was at the heels of the imperialists; for finding Wallestein resolved to ruin the Elector of Saxony, the king had re-collected as much of his divided army as he could, and came upon him just as he was going to besiege Torgau.

As it is not my design to write a history of any more of these wars than I was actually concerned in, so I shall only note, that upon the king's approach, Wallestein halted, and likewise called all his troops together, for he apprehended the king would fall on him; and we that were prisoners fancied the imperial soldiers went unwillingly out, for the very name of the king of Sweden was become terrible to them. In short, they drew all the soldiers of the garrison they could spare out of Leipsic, and sent for Papenheim again, who was gone but three days before, with 6000 men, on a private expedition. On the 16th of November, the armies met on the plains of Lutzen; a long and bloody battle was fought, the imperialists were entirely routed and beaten, 12,000 slain upon the spot, their cannon, baggage, and 2000 prisoners taken; but the king of Sweden lost his life, being killed at the head of his troops in the beginning of the fight.

It is impossible to describe the consternation the death of this conquering king struck into all the princes of Germany; the grief for him exceeded all manner of human sorrow. All people looked upon themselves as ruined and swallowed up; the inhabitants of two-thirds of all Germany put themselves into mourning for him; when the ministers mentioned him in their sermons or prayers, whole congregations would burst out into tears: the Elector of Saxony was utterly inconsolable, and would for several days walk about his palace like a distracted man, crying the saviour of Germany was lost, the refuge of abused princes was gone, the soul of the war was dead; and from that hour was so hopeless of outliving the war, that he sought to make peace with the emperor.

Three days after this mournful victory, the Saxons recovered the town of Leipsic by stratagem.

The Duke of Saxony's forces lay at Torgau, and perceiving the confusion the imperialists were in at the news of the overthrow of their army, they resolved to attempt the recovery of the town. They sent about twenty scattering troopers, who, pretending themselves to be imperialists fled from the battle, were let in one by one, and still as they came in, they stayed at the court of guard, in the port, entertaining the soldiers with discourse about the fight, and how they escaped, and the like, till the whole number being got in, at a watchword, they fell on the guard, and cut them all to pieces; and immediately opening the gates to three troops of Saxon horse, the town was taken in a moment.

It was a welcome surprise to me, for I was at liberty of course; and the war being now on another foot as I thought, and the king dead, I resolved to quit the service.

I had sent my man, as I have already noted, into England, in order to bring over the troops my father had raised for the king of Sweden. He executed his commission so well that he landed with five troops at Embden, in very good condition; and orders were sent them by the king, to join the Duke of Lunenberg's army; which they did at the siege of Boxtude in Lower Saxony.

Here, by long and very sharp service, they were most of them cut off, and though they were several times recruited, yet I understood there were not three full troops left.

The Duke of Saxe-Weymar, a gentleman of great courage, had the command of the army after the king's death, and managed it with so much prudence that all things were in as much order as could be expected after so great a loss: for the imperialists were everywhere beaten, and Wal-

lestein never made any advantage of the king's death.

I waited on him at Hailbron, whither he was gone to meet the great Chancellor of Sweden, where I paid him my respects, and desired he would bestow the remainder of my regiment on my comrade the captain, which he did with all the civility and readiness imaginable. So I took my leave of him, and prepared to come for England.

I shall only note this, that, at this diet, the Protestant princes of the empire renewed their league with one another, and with the crown of Sweden, and came to several regulations and conclusions for the carrying on the war, which they afterwards prosecuted under the direction of the said Chancellor of Sweden. But it was not the work of a small difficulty, nor of a short time; and having been persuaded to continue almost two years afterwards at Frankfort, Hailbron, and thereabout, by the particular friendship of that noble wise man, and extraordinary statesman, Axel Oxenstern, Chancellor of Sweden, I had opportunity to be concerned in, and present at, several treaties of extraordinary consequence, sufficient for a history, if that were my design.

Particularly, I had the happiness to be present at, and have some concern in, the treaty for the restoring the posterity of the truly noble Palsgrave, king of Bohemia. King James of England had indeed too much neglected the whole family; and I may say with authority enough, from my own knowledge of affairs, had nothing been done for them but what was from England, that family had remained desolate and forsaken to this day.

But that glorious king, whom I can never mention without some remark of his extraordinary merit, had left particular instructions with his chancellor to rescue the Palatinate to its rightful lord, as a proof of his design to restore the liberty of Germany, and reinstate the oppressed princes who were subjected to the tyranny of the House of Austria.

Pursuant to this resolution, the Chancellor proceeded very much like a man of honour; and though the king of Bohemia was dead a little before, yet he carefully managed the treaty, answered the objections of several princes, who, in the general ruin of the family, had reaped private advantages, settled the capitulations for the quota of contributions very much for their advantage, and fully reinstalled the Prince Charles in the possession of all his dominions in the Lower Palatinate, which afterwards was confirmed to him and his posterity by the peace of Westphalia, where all these bloody wars were finished in a peace, which has since been the foundation of the Protestants' liberty, and the best security of the whole empire.

I spent two years rather in wandering up and down than travelling, for though I had no mind to serve, yet I could not find in my heart to leave Germany; and I had obtained some so very close intimacies with the general officers, that I was often in the army, and sometimes they did me the honour to bring me into their councils of war.

Particularly at that eminent council before the battle of Nordlingen, I was invited to the council of war, both by Duke Bernard of Weymar and by Gustavus Horn. They were generals of equal worth, and their courage and experience had been so well and so often tried that more than ordinary regard was always given to what they said. Duke Bernard was indeed the younger man, and Gustavus had served longer under our great schoolmaster the king; but it was hard to judge which was the better general, since both had experience enough, and shown undeniable proofs both of their bravery and conduct.

I am obliged, in the course of my relation, so often to mention the great respect I often received from these great men, that it makes me sometimes jealous lest the reader may think I affect it as a vanity. The truth is, and I am ready to confess the honours I received upon all occasions from persons of such worth, and who had such an eminent share in the greatest action of that age, very much pleased me; and particularly as they gave me occasions to see everything that was doing on the whole stage of the war; for, being under no command, but at liberty to rove about, I could come to no Swedish garrison or party, but, sending my name to the commanding officer, I could have the word sent me; and if I came into the army, I was often treated as I was now at this famous battle of Nordlingen.

But I cannot but say, that I always looked upon this particular respect to be the effect of more than ordinary regard the king of Sweden always showed me, rather than any merit of my own; and the veneration they all had for his memory made them continue to show me all the marks of a suitable esteem.

But to return to the council of war; the great, and indeed the only question before us was, shall we give battle to the imperialists or not? Gustavus Horn was against it, and gave, as I thought, the most invincible arguments against a battle that reason could imagine.

First, they were weaker than the enemy by above 5000 men.

Secondly, the cardinal Infant of Spain, who was in the imperial army with 8000 men, was but there *en passant*, being going from Italy to Flanders, to take upon him the government of the Low Countries; and if he saw no prospect of immediate action, would be gone in a few days.

Thirdly, they had two reinforcements, one of 5000 men, under the command of Colonel Cratz, and one of 7000 men, under the Rhinegrave, who were just at hand, the last within three days' march of them. And,

Lastly, they had already saved their honour, in that they had put 600 foot into the town of Nordlingen in the face of the enemy's army, and consequently the town might hold out some days the longer.

Fate rather than reason certainly blinded the rest of the generals against such arguments as these. Duke Bernard, and almost all the generals, were for fighting, alleging the affront it would be to the Swedish reputation to see their friends in the town lost before their faces.

Gustavus Horn stood stiff to his cautious advice, and was against it; and I thought the Baron D'Offkirk treated him a little indecently; for, being very warm in the matter, he told them, that if Gustavus Adolphus had been governed by such cowardly counsel, he had never been conqueror of half Germany in two years. 'No,' replied old General Horn, very smartly, 'but he had been now alive to have testified for me that I was never taken by him for a coward; and yet,' says he, 'the king was never for a victory with a hazard, when he could have it without.'

I was asked my opinion, which I would have declined, being in no commission, but they pressed me to speak. I told them I was for staying at least till the Rhinegrave came up, who at least might, if expresses were sent to hasten him, be up with us in twenty-four hours. But Offkirk could not hold his passion, and, had not he been overruled, he would have almost quarrelled with Marshal Horn. Upon which the old general,

not to foment him, with a great deal of mildness stood up, and spoke thus:

'Come, Offkirk,' says he, 'I'll submit my opinion to you and the majority of our fellow-soldiers; we will fight, but upon my word we shall have our hands full.'

The resolution thus taken, they attacked the imperial army. I must confess the counsels of this day seemed as confused as the resolutions of the night.

Duke Bernard was to lead the van of the left wing, and to post himself upon a hill which was on the enemy's right, without their intrenchments; so that, having secured that post, they might level their cannon upon the foot, who stood behind the lines, and relieved the town at pleasure. He marched accordingly by break of day, and, falling with great fury upon eight regiments of foot, which were posted at the foot of the hill, he presently routed them, and made himself master of the post. Flushed with this success, he never regards his own concerted measures of stopping there, and possessing what he had got, but pushes on, and falls in with the main body of the enemy's army.

While this was doing, Gustavus Horn attacks another post on a hill, where the Spaniards had posted, and lodged themselves behind some works they had cast up on the side of the hill; here they defended themselves with extreme obstinacy for five hours, and at last obliged the Swedes to give it over with loss. This extraordinary gallantry of the Spaniards was the saving of the imperial army; for Duke Bernard having all this while resisted the frequent charges of the imperialists, and borne the weight of two-thirds of their army, was not able to stand any longer; but, sending one messenger in the neck of another to Gustavus Horn for more foot, he finding he could not carry his point, had given it over, and was in full march to second the duke. But now it was too late; for the king of Hungary seeing the duke's men as it were wavering, and having notice of Horn's wheeling about to second him, falls in with all his force upon his flank, and, with his Hungarian hussars, made such a furious charge, that the Swedes could stand no longer.

The rout of the left wing was so much the more unhappy, as it happened just upon Gustavus Horn's coming up; for, being pushed on with the enemies at their heels, they were driven upon their own friends, who, having no ground to open and give them way, were trodden down by their own runaway brethren. This brought all into the utmost confusion. The imperialists cried *Victoria*, and fell into the middle of the infantry with a terrible slaughter.

I have always observed, it is fatal to upbraid an old experienced officer with want of courage. If Gustavus Horn had not been whetted with the reproaches of the Baron D'Offkirk, and some of the other general officers, I believe it had saved the lives of a thousand men; for, when all was thus lost, several officers advised him to make a retreat with such regiments as he had yet unbroken; but nothing could persuade him to stir a foot, but, turning his flank into a front, he saluted the enemy as they passed by him in pursuit of the rest, with such terrible volleys of small shot, as cost them the lives of abundance of their men.

The imperialists, eager in the pursuit, left him unbroken, till the Spanish brigade came up and charged him. These he bravely repulsed with a great slaughter, and after them a body of *dragoons*; till being laid at on every side, and most of his men killed, the brave old general, with all the rest who were left, were made prisoners.

The Swedes had a terrible loss here, for almost all their infantry were killed or taken prisoners. Gustavus Horn refused quarter several times; and still those that attacked him were cut down by his men, who fought like furies, and, by the example of their general, behaved themselves like lions. But at last, these poor remains of a body of the bravest men in the world, were forced to submit. I have heard him say, he had much rather have died than been taken, but that he yielded in compassion to so many brave men as were about him; for none of them would take quarter till he gave his consent.

I had the worst share in this battle that ever I had in any action of my life; and that was, to be posted among as brave a body of horse as any in Germany, and yet not be able to succour our own men; but our foot were cut in pieces (as it were) before our faces; and the situation of the ground was such as we could not fall in. All that we were able to do, was to carry off about 2000 of the foot, who, running away in the rout of the left wing, rallied among our squadrons, and got away with us. Thus we stood till we saw all was lost, and then made the best retreat we could to save ourselves; several regiments having never charged nor fired a shot; for the foot had so embarrassed themselves among the lines and works of the enemy, and in the vineyards and mountains, that the horse were rendered absolutely unserviceable.

The Rhinegrave had made such expedition to join us, that he reached within three miles of the place of action that night, and he was a great safeguard for us in rallying our dispersed men, who else had fallen into the enemy's hands, and in checking the pursuit of the enemy.

And indeed, had but any considerable body of the foot made an orderly retreat, it had been very probable they had given the enemy a brush that would have turned the scale of victory; for our horse being whole, and in a manner untouched, the enemy found such a check in the pursuit, that 1600 of their forwardest men, following too eagerly, fell in with the Rhinegrave's advanced troops the next day, and were cut in pieces without mercy.

This gave us some satisfaction for the loss, but it was but small compared to the ruin of that day. We lost near 8000 men upon the spot, and above 3000 prisoners, all our cannon and baggage, and 120 colours. I thought I never made so indifferent a figure in my life, and so we thought all; to come away, lose our infantry, our general, and our honour, and never fight for it. Duke Bernard was utterly disconsolate for old Gustavus Horn, for he concluded him killed; he tore the hair from his head like a madman, and telling the Rhinegrave the story of the council of war, would reproach himself with not taking his advice, often repeating it in his passion. 'It is I,' said he, 'have been the death of the bravest general in Germany:' would call himself fool and boy, and such names, for not listening to the reasons of an old experienced soldier. But when he heard he was alive in the enemy's hands, he was the easier, and applied himself to the recruiting his troops, and the like business of the war; and it was not long before he paid the imperialists with interest.

I returned to Frankfort au Main after this action, which happened the 17th of August 1634; but the progress of the imperialist was so great that there was no staying at Frankfort. The Chancellor Oxenstern removed to Magdeburgh,

Duke Bernard and the Landgrave marched into Alsatia, and the imperialists carried all before them for all the rest of the campaign. They took Philipsburgh by surprise; they took Ausburgh by famine, Spire and Treves by sieges, taking the Elector prisoner. But this success did one piece of service to the Swedes, that it brought the French into the war on their side; for the Elector of Treves was their confederate. The French gave the conduct of the war to Duke Bernard. This, though the Duke of Saxony fell off, and fought against them, turned the scale so much in their favour, that they recovered their losses, and proved a terror to all Germany. The farther accounts of the war I refer to the histories of those times, which I have since read with a great deal of delight.

I confess, when I saw the progress of the imperial army after the battle of Nordlingen, and the Duke of Saxony turning his arms against them, I thought their affairs declining; and, giving them over for lost, I left Frankfort, and came down the Rhine to Cologne, and from thence into Holland.

I came to the Hague the 8th of March 1635, having spent three years and a half in Germany, and the greatest part of it in the Swedish army.

I spent some time in Holland, viewing the wonderful power of art, which I observed in the fortifications of their towns, where the very bastions stand on bottomless morasses, and yet are as firm as any in the world. There I had the opportunity of seeing the Dutch army, and their famous general Prince Maurice. It is true the men behaved themselves well enough in action, when they were put to it, but the prince's way of beating his enemies without fighting, was so unlike the gallantry of my royal instructor, that it had no manner of relish with me. Our way in Germany was always to seek out the enemy and fight him; and, give the imperialists their due, they were seldom hard to be found, but were as free of their flesh as we were.

Whereas Prince Maurice would lie in a camp till he starved half his men, if by lying there he could but starve two-thirds of his enemies; so that indeed the war in Holland had more of fatigues and hardships in it, and ours had more of fighting and blows: hasty marches, long and unwholesome encampments, winter parties counter-marching, dodging, and intrenching, were the exercises of his men, and oftentimes killed him more men with hunger, cold, and diseases, than he could do with fighting; not that it required less courage, but rather more, for a soldier had at any time rather die in the field *a la coup de mousquet*, than be starved with hunger, or frozen to death in the trenches.

Nor do I think I lessen the reputation of that great general, for it is most certain he ruined the Spaniard more by spinning the war thus out in length, than he could possibly have done by a swift conquest; for had he, Gustavus like, with a torrent of victory, dislodged the Spaniard from all the twelve provinces in five years, whereas he was forty years in beating them out of seven, he had left him rich and strong at home, and able to keep the Dutch in constant apprehensions of a return of his power; whereas, by the long continuance of the war, he so broke the very heart of the Spanish monarchy, so absolutely and irrecoverably impoverished them, that they have ever since languished of the disease, till they are fallen from the most powerful, to be the most despicable nation in the world.

The prodigious charge the king of Spain was at in losing the seven provinces, broke the very spirit of the nation; and that so much, that all the wealth of their Peruvian mountains have not been able to retrieve it; King Philip having often declared that war, besides his armada for invading England, had cost him three hundred and seventy millions of ducats, and 400,000 of the best soldiers in Europe; whereof, by an unreasonable Spanish obstinacy, above 60,000 lost their lives before Ostend, a town not worth a sixth part, either of the blood or money it cost in a siege of three years; and which at last he had never taken, but that Prince Maurice thought it not worth the charge of defending any longer.

However, I say, their way of fighting in Holland did not relish with me at all. The prince lay a long time before a little fort called Shenkscans, which the Spaniard took by surprise, and I thought he might have taken it much sooner. Perhaps it might be my mistake; but I fancied my hero, the king of Sweden, would have carried it sword in hand in half the time.

However it was, I did not like it; so in the latter end of the year I came to the Hague, and took shipping for England, where I arrived, to the great satisfaction of my father, and all my friends.

My father was then in London, and carried me to kiss the king's hand. His majesty was pleased to receive me very well, and to say a great many very obliging things to my father upon my account.

I spent my time very retired from court, for I was almost wholly in the country; and it being so much different from my genius, which hankered after a warmer sport than hunting among our Welsh mountains, I could not but be peeping in all the foreign accounts from Germany, to see who and who was together. There I could never hear of a battle, and the Germans being beaten, but I began to wish myself there. But when an account came of the progress of John Bannier, the Swedish general in Saxony, and of the constant victories he had there over the Saxons, I could no longer contain myself, but told my father this life was very disagreeable to me; that I lost my time here, and might to much more advantage go into Germany, where I was sure I might make my fortune upon my own terms: that, as young as I was, I might have been a general officer by this time, if I had not laid down my commission: that General Bannier, or the Marshal Horn, had either of them so much respect for me, that I was sure I might have anything of them; and that if he pleased to give me leave, I would go for Germany again. My father was very unwilling to let me go, but seeing me uneasy, told me that if I was resolved, he would oblige me to stay no longer in England than the next spring, and I should have his consent.

The winter following began to look very unpleasant upon us in England, and my father used often to sigh at it; and would tell me sometimes, he was afraid we should have no need to send Englishmen to fight in Germany.

The cloud that seemed to threaten most was from Scotland. My father, who had made himself master of the arguments on both sides, used to be often saying, he feared there was some about the king who exasperated him too much against the Scots, and drove things too high. For my part, I confess I did not much trouble my head with the cause; but all my fear was, they would not fall out, and we should have no fighting. I have often reflected since, that I ought to have known better, that had seen how the most flourishing provinces of Germany were reduced to the

most miserable condition that ever any country in the world was, by the ravagings of soldiers, and the calamities of war.

How much soever I was to blame, yet so it was; I had a secret joy at the news of the king's raising an army, and nothing could have withheld me from appearing in it. But my eagerness was anticipated by an express the king sent my father, to know if his son was in England; and my father having ordered me to carry the answer myself, I waited upon his majesty with the messenger. The king received me with his usual kindness, and asked me if I was willing to serve him against the Scots?

I answered, I was ready to serve him against any that his majesty thought fit to account his enemies, and should count it an honour to receive his commands. Hereupon his majesty offered me a commission. I told him, I supposed there would not be much time for raising of men; that if his majesty pleased, I would be at the rendezvous with as many gentlemen as I could get together, to serve his majesty as volunteers.

The truth is, I found all the regiments of horse the king designed to raise, were but two, as regiments; the rest of the horse were such as the nobility raised in several counties, and commanded them themselves; and, as I had commanded a regiment of horse abroad, it looked a little odd to serve with a single troop at home; and the king took the thing presently. 'Indeed it will be a volunteer war,' said the king, 'for the northern gentry have sent me an account of above 4000 horse they have already.' I bowed, and told his majesty I was glad to hear his subjects were so forward to serve him. So, taking his majesty's orders to be at York by the end of March, I returned to my father.

My father was very glad I had not taken a commission; for, I know not from what kind of emulation between the western and northern gentry, the gentlemen of our side were not very forward in the service; their loyalty to the king in the succeeding times made it appear it was not from any disaffection to his majesty's interest or person, or to the cause; but this, however, made it difficult for me when I came to get any gentleman of quality to serve with me; so that I presented myself to his majesty only as a volunteer, with eight gentlemen, and about thirty-six countrymen, well mounted and armed.

And, as it proved, these were enough, for this expedition ended in an accommodation with the Scots; and they not advancing so much as to their own borders, we never came to any action; but the armies lay in the counties of Northumberland and Durham, eat up the country, and sent the king a vast sum of money, and so this war ended, a pacification was made, and both sides returned.

The truth is, I never saw such a despicable appearance of men in arms to begin a war in my life; whether it was that I had seen so many braver armies abroad that prejudiced me against them, or that it really was so; for to me they seemed little better than a rabble met together to devour, rather than fight for their king and country. There was indeed a great appearance of gentlemen, and those of extraordinary quality; but their garb, their equipages, and their men did not look like war; their troops were filled with footmen and servants, and wretchedly armed, God wot. I believe I might say, without vanity, one regiment of Finland horse would have made sport at beating them all. There was such crowds of *parsons* (for this was a church war in particular), *that the* camp and court was full of them; and the king was so eternally besieged with clergymen of one sort or another, that it gave offence to the chief of the nobility.

As was the appearance, so was the service. The army marched to the borders, and the headquarter was at Berwick-upon-Tweed; but the Scots never appeared, no, not so much as their scouts. Whereupon the king called a council of war, and there it was resolved to send the Earl of Holland, with a party of horse, into Scotland to learn some news of the enemy; and truly the first news he brought us was, that finding their army encamped at Coldingham, 15 miles from Berwick, as soon as he appeared, the Scots drew out a party to charge him; upon which most of his men halted, I don't say run away, but it was next door to it; for they could not be persuaded to fire their pistols, and wheel off like soldiers, but retreated in such a disorderly and shameful manner, that, had the enemy but had either the courage or conduct to have followed them, it must have certainly ended in the ruin of the whole party.

I confess, when I went into arms at the beginning of this war, I never troubled myself to examine sides; I was glad to hear the drums beat for soldiers, as if I had been a mere Swiss, that had not cared which side went up or down, so I had my pay. I went as eagerly and blindly about my business as the meanest wretch that 'listed in the army; nor had I the least compassionate thought for the miseries of my native country, till after the fight at Edgehill. I had known as much, and perhaps more, than most in the army, what it was to have an enemy ranging in the bowels of a kingdom; I had seen the most flourishing provinces of Germany reduced to perfect deserts, and the voracious Crabats, with inhuman barbarity, quenching the fires of the plundered villages with the blood of the inhabitants. Whether this had hardened me against the natural tenderness which I afterwards found return upon me or not, I cannot tell; but I reflected upon myself afterwards with a great deal of trouble for the unconcernedness of my temper at the approaching ruin of my native country.

I was in the first army at York, as I have already noted, and, I must confess, had the least diversion there that ever I found in an army in my life; for when I was in Germany with the king of Sweden, we used to see the king, with the general officers, every morning on horseback, viewing his men, his artillery, his horses, and always something going forward. Here we saw nothing but courtiers and clergymen, bishops and parsons, as busy as if the direction of the war had been in them. The king was seldom seen among us, and never without some of them always about him.

Those few of us that had seen the wars, and would have made a short end of this for him, began to be very uneasy; and particularly a certain nobleman took the freedom to tell the king that the clergy would certainly ruin the expedition. The case was this; he would have had the king have immediately marched into Scotland, and put the matter to the trial of a battle, and he urged it every day; and the king finding his reasons very good, would often be of his opinion; but next morning he would be of another mind.

This gentleman was a man of conduct enough, and of unquestioned courage, and afterwards lost his life for the king. He saw we had an army of young stout fellows, numerous enough; and though they had not yet seen much service, he was for bringing them to action, that the

Scots might not have time to strengthen themselves; nor they have time, by idleness and sotting, the bane of soldiers, to make themselves unfit for anything.

I was one morning in company with this gentleman, and as he was a warm man, and eager in his discourse, 'A pox of these priests,' says he, 'it is for them the king has raised this army, and put his friends to a vast charge; and now we are come, they won't let us fight.'

But I was afterwards convinced the clergy saw farther into the matter than we did. They saw the Scots had a better army than we had; bold and ready, commanded by brave officers; and they foresaw that, if we fought, we should be beaten, and if beaten, they were undone. And it was very true, we had all been ruined if we had engaged.

It is true, when we came to the pacification which followed, I confess I was of the same mind the gentleman had been of; for we had better have fought and been beaten, than have made so dishonourable a treaty, without striking a stroke. This pacification seems to me to have laid the scheme of all the blood and confusion which followed in the civil war; for whatever the king and his friends might pretend to do by talking big, the Scots saw he was to be bullied into anything, and that, when it came to the push, the courtiers never cared to bring it to blows.

I have little or nothing to say as to action in this mock expedition. The king was persuaded at last to march to Berwick; and, as I have said already, a party of horse went out to learn news of the Scots, and as soon as they saw them, ran away from them bravely.

This made the Scots so insolent, that whereas before they lay encamped behind a river, and never showed themselves in a sort of modest deference to their king, which was the pretence of not being aggressors or invaders, only arming in their own defence; now, having been invaded by the English troops entering Scotland, they had what they wanted. And to show it was not fear that restrained them before, but policy, now they came up in parties to our very gates, braving and facing us every day.

I had, with more curiosity than discretion, put myself as a volunteer at the head of one of our parties of horse, under my Lord Holland, when they went out to discover the enemy. They went, they said, to see what the Scots were a-doing.

We had not marched far, but our scouts brought word they had discovered some horse, but could not come up to them because a river parted them. At the heels of these came another party of our men upon the spur to us, and said the enemy was behind, which might be true for aught we knew; but it was so far behind that nobody could see them, and yet the country was plain and open for above a mile before us. Hereupon we made a halt; and indeed I was afraid it would have been an odd sort of a halt, for our men began to look one upon another, as they do in like cases when they are going to break; and when the scouts came galloping in, the men were in such disorder, that, had but one man broke away, I am satisfied they had all run for it.

I found my Lord Holland did not perceive it; but after the first surprise was a little over, I told my lord what I had observed, and that unless some course was immediately taken, they would all run at the first sight of the enemy. I found he was much concerned at it, and began to consult what course to take to prevent it. I confess it is a hard question, how to make men stand and face an enemy, when fear has possessed their minds with an inclination to run away; but I'll give that honour to the memory of that noble gentleman who, though his experience in matters of war was small, having never been in much service, yet his courage made amends for it; for I daresay he would not have turned his horse from an army of enemies, nor have saved his life at the price of running away for it.

My lord soon saw, as well as I, the fright the men were in after I had given him a hint of it; and, to encourage them, rode through their ranks, and spoke cheerfully to them, and used what arguments he thought proper to settle their minds. I remembered a saying which I had heard old Marshal Gustavus Horn speak in Germany: 'If you find your men falter, or in doubt, never suffer them to halt, but keep them advancing; for while they are going forward it keeps up their courage.'

As soon as I could get opportunity to speak to him, I gave him this as my opinion. 'That's very well,' says my lord; 'but I am studying,' says he, 'to post them so as that they can't run if they would; and if they stand but once to face the enemy, I don't fear them afterwards.'

While we were discoursing thus, word was brought that several parties of the enemies were seen on the farther side of the river, upon which my lord gave the word to march; and as we were marching on, my lord calls out a lieutenant, who had been an old soldier, with only five troopers whom he had most confidence in, and having given him his lesson, he sends him away. In a quarter of an hour one of the five troopers comes back, galloping and hallooing, and tells us his lieutenant had with his small party beaten a party of 20 of the enemy's horse over the river, and had secured the pass, and desired my lord would march up to him immediately.

It is a strange thing that men's spirits should be subjected to such sudden changes, and capable of so much alteration from shadows of things. They were for running before they saw the enemy; now they are in haste to be led on; and, but that in raw men we are obliged to bear with anything, the disorder in both was intolerable.

The story was a premeditated sham, and not a word of truth in it, invented to raise their spirits, and cheat them out of their cowardly phlegmatic apprehensions. And my lord had his end in it, for they were all on fire to fall on; and I am persuaded, had they been led immediately into a battle begun to their hands, they would have laid about them like furies, for there is nothing like victory to flush a young soldier. Thus, while the humour was high, and the fermentation lasted, away we marched; and passing one of their great commons, which they call moors, we came to the river, as he called it, where our lieutenant was posted with his four men. It was a little brook, fordable with ease; and leaving a guard at the pass, we advanced to the top of a small ascent, from whence we had a fair view of the Scots army, as they laid behind another river larger than the former.

Our men were posted well enough, behind a small enclosure, with a narrow lane in their front; and my lord had caused his dragoons to be placed in the front, to line the hedges; and in this posture he stood viewing the enemy at a distance. The Scots, who had some intelligence of our coming, drew out three small parties, and sent them by different ways, to observe our number; and forming a fourth party, which I guessed to be about 600 horse, advanced to the top of the

plain, and drew up to face us, but never offered to attack us.

One of the small parties, making about 100 men, one-third foot, passes upon our flank in view, but out of reach; and as they marched, shouted at us, which our men, better pleased with that work than fighting, readily enough answered, and fain would have fired at them for the pleasure of making a noise; for they were too far off to hit them.

I observed that these parties had always some foot with them; and yet if the horse galloped or pushed on ever so forward, the foot were as forward as they, which was an extraordinary advantage.

Gustavus Adolphus, that king of soldiers, was the first that I have ever observed, found the advantage of mixing small bodies of musketeers among his horse; and had he had such nimble strong fellows as these, he would have prized them above all the rest of his men. These were those they call Highlanders; they would run on foot with their arms and all their accoutrements, and keep very good order too, and yet keep pace with the horse, let them go at what rate they would. When I saw the foot thus interlined among the horse, together with the way of ordering their flying parties, it presently occurred to my mind, that here was some of our old Scots come home out of Germany, that had the ordering of matters; and if so, I knew we were not a match for them.

Thus we stood facing the enemy till our scouts brought us word the whole Scots army was in motion, and in full march to attack us; and though it was not true, and the fear of our men doubled every object, yet it was thought convenient to make our retreat. The whole matter was, that the scouts having informed them what they could of our strength, the 600 were ordered to march towards us, and three regiments of foot were drawn out to support the horse.

I know not whether they would have ventured to attack us, at least before their foot had come up; but whether they would have put it to the hazard or no, we were resolved not to hazard the trial, so we drew down to the pass; and, as retreating looks something like running away, especially when an enemy is at hand, our men had much ado to make their retreat pass for a march, and not a flight; and, by their often looking behind them, anybody might know what they would have done if they had been pressed.

I confess I was heartily ashamed when the Scots, coming up to the place where we had been posted, stood and shouted at us. I would have persuaded my lord to have charged them, and he would have done it with all his heart, but he saw it was not practicable; so we stood at gaze with them above two hours, by which time their foot were come up to them, and yet they did not offer to attack us. I never was so ashamed of myself in my life; we were all dispirited; the Scots gentlemen would come out single, within shot of our post, which, in time of war, is always accounted a challenge to any single gentleman to come out and exchange a pistol with them, and nobody would stir; at last our old lieutenant rides out to meet a Scotsman that came pickering on his quarter. This lieutenant was a brave and a strong fellow, had been a soldier in the Low Countries; and though he was not of any quality, only a mere soldier, had his preferment for his conduct. He gallops bravely up to his adversary, and exchanging their pistols, the lieutenant's horse *happened to be killed*. The Scotsman very gene*rously dismounts*, and engages him with his sword, and fairly masters him, and carries him away prisoner; and I think this horse was all the blood that was shed in that war.

The lieutenant's name, thus conquered, was English, and as he was a very stout old soldier, the disgrace of it broke his heart. The Scotsman, indeed, used him very generously; for he treated him in the camp very courteously, gave him another horse, and set him at liberty, gratis. But the man laid it so to heart, that he never would appear in the army, but went home to his own country, and died.

I had enough of party-making, and was quite sick with indignation at the cowardice of the men; and my lord was in as great a fret as I, but there was no remedy; we durst not go about a retreat, for we should have been in such confusion, that the enemy must have discovered it. So my lord resolved to keep the post, if possible, and send to the king for some foot. Then were our men ready to fight with one another who should be the messenger; and at last, when a lieutenant with twenty dragoons was despatched, he told us afterwards, he found himself a hundred strong before he was gotten a mile from the place.

In short, as soon as ever the day declined, and the dusk of the evening began to shelter the designs of the men, they dropt away from us one by one; and at last in such numbers, that, if we had stayed till the morning, we had not had fifty men left, out of 1200 horse and dragoons.

When I saw how it was, consulting with some of the officers, we all went to my Lord Holland, and pressed him to retreat, before the enemy should discern the flight of our men; so he drew us off, and we came to the camp the next morning, in the shamefulest condition that ever poor men could do. And this was the end of the worst expedition ever I made in my life.

To fight and be beaten, is a casualty common to a soldier, and I have since had enough of it; but to run away at the sight of an enemy, and neither strike or be stricken, this is the very shame of the profession, and no man that has done it ought to show his face again in the field, unless disadvantages of place or number make it tolerable, neither of which was our case.

My Lord Holland made another march a few days after, in hopes to retrieve this miscarriage; but I had enough of it, so I kept in my quarters; and though his men did not desert him as before, yet, upon the appearance of the enemy, they did not think fit to fight, and came off with but little more honour than they did before.

There was no need to go out to seek the enemy after this; for they came, as I have noted, and pitched in sight of us, and their parties came up every day to the very outworks of Berwick; but nobody cared to meddle with them; and in this posture things stood when the pacification was agreed on by both parties; which, like a short truce, only gave both sides breath to prepare for a new war more ridiculously managed than the former. When the treaty was so near a conclusion, as that conversation was admitted on both sides, I went over to the Scotch camp to satisfy my curiosity, as many of our English officers did also.

I confess the soldiers made a very uncouth figure, especially the Highlanders; the oddness and barbarity of their garb and arms seemed to have something in it remarkable.

They were generally tall swinging fellows; their swords were extravagantly, and, I think, insignificantly broad, and they carried great wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies. Their dress was as antique as the

rest: a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches, and stockings, of a stuff they called plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of merry-andrews, ready for Bartholomew Fair. They are in companies all of a name, and therefore call one another only by their Christian names, as Jemmy, Jockey, that is, John; and Sawny, that is, Alexander, and the like. And they scorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be kings. The meanest fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour, as the best nobleman in the country, and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront.

But to their own clans, or lairds, they are the willingest and most obedient fellows in nature. Give them their due, were their skill in exercises and discipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the bravest soldiers in the world. They are large bodies, and prodigiously strong; and two qualities they have above other nations, viz. hardy to endure hunger, cold, and hardships, and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage in the field, that I know none like it; for if they conquer, no enemy can escape them; and if they run, even the horse can hardly overtake them. These were some of them, who, as I observed before, went out in parties with their horse.

There were three or four thousand of these in the Scots army, armed only with swords and targets; and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no muskets at that time among them.

But there were also a great many regiments of disciplined men, who, by their carrying their arms, looked as if they understood their business, and by their faces, that they durst see an enemy.

I had not been half an hour in their camp after the ceremony of giving our names, and passing their outguards and mainguards was over, but I was saluted by several of my acquaintance; and, in particular, by one who led the Scotch volunteers at the taking the castle of Openheim, of which I have given an account. They used me with all the respect they thought due to me, on account of old affairs; gave me the word, and a serjeant waited upon me whenever I pleased to go abroad.

I continued 12 or 14 days among them, till the pacification was concluded; and they were ordered to march home. They spoke very respectfully of the king; but I found were exasperated to the last degree at Archbishop Laud and the English bishops, for endeavouring to impose the Common Prayer Book upon them; and they always talked with the utmost contempt of our soldiers and army. I always waived the discourse about the clergy, and the occasion of the war; but I could not but be too sensible what they said of our men was true, and by this I perceived they had an universal intelligence from among us, both of what we were doing, and what sort of people we were that were doing it; and they were mighty desirous of coming to blows with us. I had an invitation from their general, but I declined it, lest I should give offence. I found they accepted the pacification as a thing not likely to hold, or that they did not design should hold; and that they were resolved to keep their forces on foot, notwithstanding the agreement. Their whole army was full of brave officers, men of as much experience and conduct as any in the world; and all men who know anything of war, know good officers presently make a good army.

Things being thus huddled up, the English came back to York, where the army separated, and the Scots went home to increase theirs; for I easily foresaw that peace was the farthest thing from their thoughts.

The next year the flame broke out again; the king drew his forces down into the north, as before, and expresses were sent to all the gentlemen that had commands, to be at the place by the 15th of July. As I had accepted of no command in the army, so I had no inclination at all to go; for I foresaw there would be nothing but disgrace attending it. My father observing such an alteration in my usual forwardness, asked me one day what was the matter, that I, who used to be so forward to go into the army, and so eager to run abroad to fight, now showed no inclination to appear when the service of the king and country called me to it? I told him I had as much zeal as ever for the king's service, and for the country too; but he knew a soldier could not abide to be beaten; and being from thence a little more inquisitive, I told him the observations I had made in the Scots army, and the people I had conversed with there. 'And sir,' says I, 'assure yourself, if the king offers to fight them, he will be beaten; and I don't love to engage when my judgment tells me beforehand I shall be worsted;' and, as I had foreseen, it came to pass; for the Scots resolving to proceed, never stood upon the ceremony of aggression, as before, but on the 20th of August they entered England with their army.

However, as my father desired, I went to the king's army, which was then at York, but not gotten all together: the king himself was at London, but upon this news takes post for the army, and advancing a part of his forces, he posted the Lord Conway and Sir Jacob Astley, with a brigade of foot and some horse, at Newborn upon the river Tyne, to keep the Scots from passing that river.

The Scots could have passed the Tyne without fighting; but, to let us see that they were able to force their passage, they fall upon this body of men; and, notwithstanding all the advantages of the place, they beat them from the post, took their baggage, and two pieces of cannon, with some prisoners. Sir Jacob Astley made what resistance he could, but the Scots charged with so much fury, and being also overpowered, he was soon put into confusion. Immediately the Scots made themselves masters of Newcastle, and the next day of Durham, and laid those two counties under intolerable contributions.

Now was the king absolutely ruined; for among his own people the discontents before were so plain, that had the clergy had any forecast, they would never have embroiled him with the Scots, till he had fully brought matters to an understanding at home; but the case was thus: the king, by the good husbandry of Bishop Juxon, his treasurer, had a million of ready money in his treasury, and, upon that account, having no need of a parliament, had not called one in twelve years; and perhaps had never called another, if he had not, by this unhappy circumstance, been reduced to a necessity of it; for now this ready money was spent in two foolish expeditions, and his army appeared in a condition not fit to engage the Scots; the detachment under Sir Jacob Astley, which were of the flower of his men, had been routed at Newborn, and the enemy had possession of two entire counties.

All men blamed Laud for prompting the king to provoke the Scots, a headstrong nation, and zealous for their own way of worship; and Laud

himself found, too late, the consequences of it, both to the whole cause and to himself; for the Scots, whose native temper is not easily to forgive an injury, pursued him by their party into England, and never gave it over, till they laid his head on the block.

The ruined country now clamoured in his majesty's ears with daily petitions, and the gentry of other neighbouring counties cry out for peace and a parliament. The king, embarrassed with these difficulties, and quite empty of money, calls a great council of the nobility at York, and demands their advice, which any one could have told him before, would be to call a parliament.

I cannot, without regret, look back upon the misfortune of the king, who, as he was one of the best princes in his personal conduct that ever reigned in England, had yet some of the greatest unhappinesses in his conduct as a king, that ever prince had, and the whole course of his life demonstrated it.

1. An impolitic honesty. His enemies called it obstinacy; but as I was perfectly acquainted with his temper, I cannot but think it was his judgment, when he thought he was in the right, to adhere to it as a duty, though against his interest.

2. Too much compliance when he was complying.

No man but himself would have denied, what at sometimes he denied, and have granted what at other times he granted; and this uncertainty of counsel proceeded from two things:

1. The heat of the clergy, to whom he was exceedingly devoted, and for whom indeed he ruined himself.

2. The wisdom of his nobility.

Thus, when the counsel of his priests prevailed, all was fire and fury; the Scots were rebels, and must be subdued, and the parliament's demands were to be rejected as exorbitant. But whenever the king's judgment was led by the grave and steady advice of his nobility and counsellors, he was always inclined by them to temperate his measures between the two extremes; and had he gone on in such a temper, he had never met with the misfortunes which afterwards attended him, or had so many thousands of his friends lost their lives and fortunes in his service.

I am sure, we that knew what it was to fight for him, and that loved him better than any of the clergy could pretend to, have had many a consultation how to bring over our master from so espousing their interest, as to ruin himself for it; but it was in vain.

I took this interval, when I sat still and only looked on, to make these remarks, because I remember the best friends the king had were at this time of that opinion, that it was an unaccountable piece of indiscretion to commence a quarrel with the Scots, a poor and obstinate people, for a ceremony and book of church discipline, at a time when the king stood but upon indifferent terms with his people at home.

The consequence was, it put arms into the hands of his subjects to rebel against him; it embroiled him with his parliament in England, to whom he was fain to stoop in a fatal and unusual manner to get money, all his own being spent, and so to buy off the Scots, whom he could not beat off.

I cannot but give one instance of the unaccountable politics of his ministers. If they overruled this unhappy king to it, with design to exhaust and impoverish him, they were the worst *of traitors*; if not, the grossest of fools. They prompted the king to equip a fleet against the Scots, and to put on board it 5000 landmen. Had this been all, the design had been good, that while the king had faced the army upon the borders, these 5000 landing in the frith of Edinburgh might have put that whole nation into disorder. But, in order to this, they advise the king to lay out his money in fitting out the biggest ships he had; and the Royal Sovereign, the biggest ship the world had ever seen, which cost him no less than £100,000, was now built, and fitted out for this voyage.

This was the most incongruous and ridiculous advice that could be given, and made us all believe we were betrayed, though we knew not by whom.

To fit out ships of 100 guns to invade Scotland, which had not one man-of-war in the world, nor any open confederacy with any prince or state that had any fleet! it was a most ridiculous thing. A hundred sail of Newcastle colliers, to carry the men, with their stores and provisions, and ten frigates of 40 guns each, had been as good a fleet as reason and the nature of the thing could have made tolerable.

Thus things were carried on, till the king, beggared by the mismanagement of his counsels, and beaten by the Scots, was driven to the necessity of calling a parliament in England.

It is not my design to enter into the feuds and brangles of this parliament. I have noted, by observations of their mistakes, who brought the king to this happy necessity of calling them.

His majesty had tried parliaments upon several occasions before, but never found himself so much embroiled with them but he could send them home, and there was an end of it; but as he could not avoid calling these, so they took care to put him out of a condition to dismiss them.

The Scots army was now quartered upon the English. The counties, the gentry, and the assembly of lords at York petitioned for a parliament.

The Scots presented their demands to the king, in which it was observed that matters were concerted between them and a party in England; and I confess, when I saw that, I began to think the king in an ill case; for, as the Scots pretended grievances, we thought, the king redressing those grievances, they could ask no more; and therefore all men advised the king to grant their full demands. And whereas the king had not money to supply the Scots in their march home, I know there were several meetings of gentlemen with a design to advance considerable sums of money to the king to set him free, and in order to reinstate his majesty as before. Not that we ever advised the king to rule without a parliament; but we were very desirous of putting him out of the necessity of calling them, at least just then.

But the eighth article of the Scots' demands expressly required, that an English parliament might be called to remove all obstructions of commerce, and to settle peace, religion, and liberty; and in another article they tell the king, the 24th of September, being the time his majesty appointed for the meeting of the peers, will make it too long ere the parliament meet.

And in another, that a parliament was the only way of settling peace, and bringing them to his majesty's obedience.

When we saw this in the army, it was time to look about. Everybody perceived that the Scots army would call an English parliament; and whatever aversion the king had to it, we all saw he would be obliged to comply with it; and now they all began to see their error who advised the king to this Scotch war.

While these things were transacting, the assembly of the peers met at York; and by their advice a treaty was begun with the Scots. I had the honour to be sent with the first message, which was in writing.

I brought it, attended by a trumpet, and a guard of 500 horse, to the Scots quarters. I was stopped at Darlington, and my errand being known, General Lesly sent a Scots major and fifty horse to receive me, but would let neither my trumpet or guard set foot within their quarters. In this manner I was conducted to audience in the chapter-house at Durham, where a committee of Scots lords, who attended the army, received me very courteously, and gave me their answer in writing also.

It was in this answer that they showed, at least to me, their design of embroiling the king with his English subjects; they discoursed very freely with me, and did not order me to withdraw when they debated their private opinions. They drew up several answers, but did not like them. At last they gave me one which I did not receive; I thought it was too insolent to be borne with. As near as I can remember, it was thus:

'The commissioners of Scotland, attending the service in the army, do refuse any treaty in the city of York.'

One of the commissioners, who treated me with more distinction than the rest, and discoursed freely with me, gave me an opportunity to speak more freely of this than I expected.

I told them, if they would return to his majesty an answer fit for me to carry, or if they would say they would not treat at all, I would deliver such a message. But I entreated them to consider the answer was to their sovereign, and to whom they made a great profession of duty and respect; and at least they ought to give their reasons why they declined a treaty at York, and to name some other place, or humbly to desire his majesty to name some other place. But to send word they would not treat at York, I could deliver no such message; for, when put into English, it would signify they would not treat at all.

I used a great many reasons and arguments with them on this head; and at last, with some difficulty, obtained of them to give the reason, which was the Earl of Strafford's having the chief command at York, whom they declared their mortal enemy, he having declared them rebels in Ireland.

With this answer I returned. I could make no observations in the short time I was with them; for as I stayed but one night, so I was guarded as a close prisoner all the while. I saw several of their officers whom I knew, but they durst not speak to me; and if they would have ventured, my guard would not have permitted them.

In this manner I was conducted out of their quarters to my own party again; and having delivered my message to the king, and told his majesty the circumstances, I saw the king receive the account of the haughty behaviour of the Scots with some regret. However, it was his majesty's time now to bear; and therefore the Scots were complied with, and the treaty appointed at Rippon, where, after much debate, several preliminary articles were agreed on, as a cessation of arms; quarters and bounds to the armies; subsistence to the Scots army; and the residue of the demands was referred to a treaty at London, etc.

We were all amazed at the treaty, and I cannot but remember we used to wish much rather we had been suffered to fight; *for though* we had been worsted at first, the power and strength of the king's interest, which was not yet tried, must, in fine, have been too strong for the Scots; whereas now we saw the king was for complying with anything, and all his friends would be ruined.

I confess I had nothing to fear, and so was not much concerned; but our predictions soon came to pass; for no sooner was this parliament called, but abundance of those who had embroiled their king with his people of both kingdoms, like the disciples when their Master was betrayed to the Jews, forsook him and fled; and now parliament tyranny began to succeed church tyranny, and we soldiers were glad to see it at first. The bishops trembled, the judges went to jail, the officers of the customs were laid hold on; and the parliament began to lay their fingers on the great ones, particularly Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford. We had no great concern for the first; but the last was a man of so much conduct and gallantry, and so beloved by the soldiers and principal gentry of England, that everybody was touched with his misfortune.

The parliament now grew mad in their turn; and as the prosperity of any party is the time to show their discretion, the parliament showed they knew as little where to stop as other people. The king was not in a condition to deny anything, and nothing could be demanded but they pushed it. They attainted the Earl of Strafford, and thereby made the king cut off his right hand to save his left, and yet not save it neither. They obtained another bill, to empower them to sit during their own pleasure, and after them, triennial parliaments to meet, whether the king call them or no; and granting this completed his majesty's ruin.

Had the house only regulated the abuses of the court, punished evil counsellors, and restored parliaments to their original and just powers, all had been well, and the king, though he had been more than mortified, had yet reaped the benefit of future peace; for now the Scots were sent home, after having eaten up two counties, and received a prodigious sum of money to boot. And the king, though too late, goes in person to Edinburgh, and grants them all they could desire, and more than they asked; but in England the desires of ours were unbounded, and drove at all extremes.

They threw out the bishops from sitting in the house; make a protestation equivalent to the Scotch covenant; and this done, print their remonstrance. This so provoked the king, that he resolves upon seizing some of the members, and in an ill hour enters the house in person to take them. Thus one imprudent thing on one hand produced another of the other hand, until the king was obliged to leave them to themselves, for fear of being mobbed into something or other unworthy of himself.

These proceedings began to alarm the gentry and nobility of England; for, however willing we were to have evil counsellors removed, and the government return to a settled and legal course, according to the happy constitution of this nation, and might have been forward enough to have owned the king had been misled and imposed upon to do things which he had rather had not been done; yet it did not follow that all the powers and prerogatives of the crown should devolve upon the parliament, and the king in a manner be deposed, or else sacrificed to the fury of the rabble.

The heats of the house running them thus to all extremes, and at last to take from the king

the power of the militia, which indeed was all that was left to make him anything of a king, put the king upon opposing force with force; and thus the flame of civil war began.

However backward I was in engaging in the second year's expedition against the Scots, I was as forward now; for I waited on the king at York, where a gallant company of gentlemen, as ever were seen in England, engaged themselves to enter into his service; and here some of us formed ourselves into troops for the guard of his person.

The king having been waited upon by the gentry of Yorkshire, and having told them his resolution of erecting his royal standard, and received from them hearty assurances of support, dismisses them, and marches to Hull, where lay the train of artillery, and all the arms and ammunition belonging to the northern army, which had been disbanded. But here the parliament had been beforehand with his majesty, so that, when he came to Hull, he found the gates shut, and Sir John Hotham, the governor, upon the walls, though with a great deal of seeming humility and protestations of loyalty to his person, yet with a positive denial to admit any of the king's attendants into the town. If his majesty pleased to enter the town in person with any reasonable number of his household, he would submit; but would not be prevailed on to receive the king, as he would be received, with his force, though those forces were then but very few.

The king was exceedingly provoked at this repulse, and indeed it was a great surprise to us all; for certainly never prince began a war against the whole strength of his kingdom under the circumstances that he was in. He had not a garrison or a company of soldiers in his pay; not a stand of arms, or a barrel of powder, a musket, cannon, or mortar; not a ship of all the fleet, or money in his treasury to procure them; whereas the parliament had all his navy, and ordnance, stores, magazines, arms, ammunition, and revenue, in their keeping. And this I take to be another defect of the king's counsel, and a sad instance of the distraction of his affairs, that, when he saw how all things were going to wreck, as it was impossible but he should see it, and it is plain he did see it, that he should not, long enough before it came to extremities, secure the navy, magazines, and stores of war in the hands of his trusty servants, that would have been sure to have preserved them for his use at a time when he wanted them.

It cannot be supposed but the gentry of England, who generally preserved their loyalty for their royal master, and at last heartily showed it, were exceedingly discouraged at first, when they saw the parliament had all the means of making war in their own hands, and the king was naked and destitute either of arms or ammunition, or money to procure them.

Not but that the king, by extraordinary application, recovered the disorder the want of these things had thrown him into, and supplied himself with all things needful.

But my observation was this, had his majesty had the magazines, navy, and forts in his own hand, the gentry, who wanted but the prospect of something to encourage them, had come in at first, and the parliament being unprovided, would have been presently reduced to reason.

But this was it that baulked the gentry of Yorkshire, who went home again, giving the king good promises, but never appeared for him, till, by raising a good army in Shropshire and Wales, he marched towards London, and they saw there was a prospect of their being supported.

In this condition the king erected his standard at Nottingham, August 2d, 1642, and I confess I had very melancholy apprehensions of the king's affairs; for the appearance to the royal standard was but small. The affront the king had met with at Hull had baulked and dispirited the northern gentry, and the king's affairs looked with a very dismal aspect. We had expresses from London of the prodigious success of the parliament's levies; how their men came in faster than they could entertain them, and that arms were delivered out to whole companies 'listed together, and the like; and all this while the king had not got together a thousand foot, and had no arms for them neither. When the king saw this, he immediately despatches five several messengers, whereof one went to the Marquis of Worcester into Wales; one went to the queen, then at Windsor; one to the Duke of Newcastle, then Marquis of Newcastle, into the north; one into Scotland, and one into France, where the queen soon after arrived, to raise money, and buy arms, and to get what assistance she could among her own friends. Nor was her majesty idle, for she sent over several ships laden with arms and ammunition, with a fine train of artillery, and a great many very good officers; and though one of the first fell into the hands of the parliament, with 300 barrels of powder and some arms, and 150 gentlemen, yet most of the gentlemen found means, one way or other, to get to us, and most of the ships the queen freighted arrived; and at last her majesty came herself, and brought an extraordinary supply, both of men, money, arms, &c., with which she joined the king's forces under the Earl of Newcastle in the north. Finding his majesty thus bestirring himself to muster his friends together, I asked him if he thought it might not be for his majesty's service to let me go among my friends, and his loyal subjects about Shrewsbury? 'Yes,' says the king, smiling, 'I intend you shall, and I design to go with you myself.' I did not understand what the king meant then, and did not think it good manners to inquire; but the next day I found all things disposed for a march, and the king on horseback by eight of the clock; when calling me to him, he told me I should go before, and let my father and all my friends know he would be at Shrewsbury the Saturday following. I left my equipages, and taking post with only one servant, was at my father's the next morning by break of day. My father was not surprised at the news of the king's coming at all; for it seems he, together with the loyal gentry of those parts, had sent particularly to give the king an invitation to move that way, which I was not made privy to; with an account what encouragement they had there in the endeavours made for his interest. In short, the whole country was entirely for the king; and such was the universal joy the people showed when the news of his majesty's coming down was positively known, that all manner of business was laid aside, and the whole body of the people seemed to be resolved upon the war.

As this gave a new face to the king's affairs, so I must own it filled me with joy; for I was astonished before, when I considered what the king and his friends were like to be exposed to. The news of the proceedings of the parliament, and their powerful preparations, were now no more terrible. The king came at the time appointed, and having lain at my father's house one night, entered Shrewsbury in the morning. The acclamations of the people, the concourse of

the nobility and gentry about his person, and the crowds which now came every day into his standard, were incredible.

The loyalty of the English gentry was not only worth notice, but the power of the gentry is extraordinarily visible in this matter. The king, in about six weeks' time, which was the most of his stay at Shrewsbury, was supplied with money, arms, ammunition, and a train of artillery, and 'listed a body of an army upwards of 20,000 men.

His majesty seeing the general alacrity of his people, immediately issued out commissions, and formed regiments of horse and foot; and having some experienced officers about him, together with about 16 who came from France, with a ship loaded with arms and some field-pieces, which came very seasonably into the Severn, the men were exercised, regularly disciplined and quartered, and now we began to look like soldiers. My father had raised a regiment of horse at his own charge, and completed them, and the king gave out arms to them from the supplies which I mentioned came from abroad. Another party of horse, all brave, stout fellows, and well mounted, came in from Lancashire, and the Earl of Derby at the head of them. The Welshmen came in by droves; and so great was the concourse of people, that the king began to think of marching, and gave the command, as well as the trust of regulating the army, to the brave Earl of Lindsey, as general of the foot; the parliament general being the Earl of Essex; two braver men, or two better officers, were not in the kingdom. They had both been old soldiers, and had served together as volunteers in the Low Country wars, under Prince Maurice. They had been comrades and companions abroad, and now came to face one another as enemies in the field.

Such was the expedition used by the king and his friends, in the levies of this first army, that, notwithstanding the wonderful expedition the parliament made, the king was in the field before them; and now the gentry in other parts of the nation bestirred themselves, and seized upon and garrisoned several considerable places for the king. In the north, the Earl of Newcastle not only garrisoned the most considerable places, but even the general possession of the north was for the king, excepting Hull and some few places, which the old Lord Fairfax had taken up for the parliament. On the other hand, entire Cornwall, and most of the western counties were the king's. The parliament had their chief interest in the south and eastern part of England; as Kent, Surrey and Sussex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Huntingdon, Hertford, Buckinghamshire, and the other midland counties. These were called, or some of them at least, the Associated Counties, and felt little of the war, other than the charges; but the main support of the parliament was the city of London. The king made the seat of his court at Oxford, which he caused to be regularly fortified. The Lord Say had been here, and had possession of the city for the enemy, and was debating about fortifying it, but came to no resolution, which was a very great oversight in them; the situation of the place, and the importance of it, on many accounts, to the city of London, considered; and they would have retrieved this error afterwards, but then it was too late, for the king made it the headquarters, and received great supplies and assistance from the wealth of the colleges, and the plenty of the neighbouring country. Abingdon, Wallingford, Basing, and Reading, were all garrisoned and fortified as outworks, to *defend this* as the centre. And thus all England became the theatre of blood, and war was spread into every corner of the country, though as yet there was no stroke struck. I had no command in this army; my father led his own regiment; and, as old as he was, would not leave his royal master; and my elder brother stayed at home to support the family. As for me, I rode a volunteer in the royal troop of guards, which may very well deserve the title of a royal troop, for it was composed of young gentlemen, sons of the nobility, and some of the prime gentry of the nation, and I think not a person of so mean a birth or fortune as myself. We reckoned in this troop two-and-thirty lords, or who came afterwards to be such; and eight-and-thirty of younger sons of the nobility, five French noblemen, and all the rest gentlemen of very good families and estates.

And that I may give the due to their personal valour, many of this troop lived afterwards to have regiments and troops under their command, in the service of the king; many of them lost their lives for him, and most of them their estates; nor did they behave unworthy of themselves in their first showing their faces to the enemy, as shall be mentioned in its place.

While the king remained at Shrewsbury, his loyal friends bestirred themselves in several parts of the kingdom. Goring had secured Portsmouth; but being young in matters of war, and not in time relieved, though the Marquis of Hertford was marching to relieve him, yet he was obliged to quit the place, and shipped himself for Holland, from whence he returned with relief for the king, and afterwards did very good service upon all occasions, and so effectually cleared himself of the scandal the hasty surrender of Portsmouth had brought upon his courage.

The chief power of the king's forces lay in three places, in Cornwall, in Yorkshire, and at Shrewsbury. In Cornwall, Sir Ralph Hopton, afterwards Lord Hopton, Sir Bevil Granvil, and Sir Nicholas Slamming, secured all the country, and afterwards spread themselves over Devonshire and Somersetshire, took Exeter from the parliament, fortified Bridgewater and Barnstable, and beat Sir William Waller at the battle of Roundway Down, as I shall touch at more particularly when I come to recite the part of my own travels that way.

In the north, the Marquis of Newcastle secured all the country, garrisoned York, Scarborough, Carlisle, Newcastle, Pomfret, Leeds, and all the considerable places, and took the field with a very good army, though afterwards he proved more unsuccessful than the rest, having the whole power of a kingdom at his back, the Scots coming in with an army to the assistance of the parliament; which indeed was the general turn of the scale of the war; for, had it not been for the Scots army, the king had most certainly reduced the parliament, at least to good terms of peace, in two years' time.

The king was the third article: his force at Shrewsbury I have noted already; the alacrity of the gentry filled him with hopes, and all his army with vigour, and the 8th of October 1642, his majesty gave orders to march. The Earl of Essex had spent above a month after his leaving London (for he went thence the 9th of September) in modelling and drawing together his forces; his rendezvous was at St. Albans, from whence he marched to Northampton, Coventry, and Warwick, and leaving garrisons in them, he comes on to Worcester. Being thus advanced, he possesses Oxford, as I noted before, Banbury, Bristol, Gloucester, and Worcester, out of all

which places, except Gloucester, we drove him back to London in a very little while.

Sir John Biron had raised a very good party of 500 horse, most gentlemen, for the king, and had possessed Oxford; but, on the approach of Lord Say, quitted it, being now but an open town, and retreated to Worcester; from whence, on the approach of Essex's army, he retreated to the king. And now all things grew ripe for action, both parties having secured their posts, and settled their schemes of the war, taken their posts and places as their measures and opportunities directed, the field was next in their eye, and the soldiers began to inquire when they should fight; for as yet there had been little or no blood drawn, and it was not long before they had enough of it; for I believe I may challenge all the historians in Europe to tell me of any war in the world where, in the space of four years, there were so many pitched battles, sieges, fights, and skirmishes, as in this war; we never encamped or intrenched, never fortified the avenues to our posts, or lay fenced with rivers and defiles; here was no leaguers in the field, as at the story of Nuremberg, neither had our soldiers any tents, or what they call heavy baggage. It was the general maxim of this war, Where is the enemy? let us go and fight them: or, on the other hand, if the enemy was coming, What was to be done? why, what should be done? draw out into the fields and fight them. I cannot say it was the prudence of the parties; and had the king fought less he had gained more; and I shall remark several times, when the eagerness of fighting was the worst counsel, and proved our loss. This benefit, however, happened in general to the country, that it made a quick, though a bloody end of the war, which otherwise had lasted till it might have ruined the whole nation.

On the 10th of October the king's army was in full march, his majesty generalissimo, the Earl of Lindsey, general of the foot, Prince Rupert, general of the horse; and the first action in the field was by Prince Rupert and Sir John Biron. Sir John had brought his body of 500 horse, as I noted already, from Oxford to Worcester; the Lord Say, with a strong party, being in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and expected in the town; Colonel Sandys, a hot man, and who had more courage than judgment, advances with about 1500 horse and dragoons, with design to beat Sir John Biron out of Worcester, and take post there for the parliament.

The king had noticed that the Earl of Essex designed for Worcester, and Prince Rupert was ordered to advance with a body of horse and dragoons to face the enemy, and bring off Sir John Biron. This his majesty did to amuse the Earl of Essex, that he might expect him that way; whereas the king's design was to get between the Earl of Essex's army and the city of London. And his majesty's end was doubly answered; for he not only drew Essex on to Worcester, where he spent more time than he needed, but he beat the party into the bargain.

I went volunteer in this party, and rid in my father's regiment; for though we really expected not to see the enemy, yet I was tired with lying still. We came to Worcester just as notice was brought to Sir John Biron that a party of the enemy was on their march for Worcester, upon which the prince, immediately consulting what was to be done, resolves to march next morning, and fight them.

The enemy, who lay at Pershore, about eight miles from Worcester, and, as I believe, had no notice of our march, came on very confidently in the morning, and found us fairly drawn up to receive them. I must confess this was the bluntest downright way of making war that ever was seen. The enemy, who, in all the little knowledge I had of war, ought to have discovered our numbers, and guessed by our posture what our design was, might easily have informed themselves that we intended to attack them, and so might have secured the advantage of a bridge in their front; but without any regard to these methods of policy, they came on at all hazards. Upon this notice my father proposed to the prince to halt for them, and suffer ourselves to be attacked, since we found them willing to give us the advantage; the prince approved of the advice, so we halted within view of a bridge, leaving space enough on our front for about half the number of their forces to pass and draw up; and at the bridge was posted about 50 dragoons, with orders to retire as soon as the enemy advanced, as if they had been afraid. On the right of the road was a ditch, and a very high bank behind, where we had placed 300 dragoons, with orders to lie flat on their faces till the enemy had passed the bridge, and to let fly among them as soon as our trumpets sounded a charge. Nobody but Colonel Sandys would have been caught in such a snare; for he might easily have seen that, when he was over the bridge, there was not room enough for him to fight in; but 'The Lord of Hosts' was so much in their mouths, for that was the word for that day, that they took little heed how to conduct the host of the Lord to their own advantage.

As we expected, they appeared, beat our dragoons from the bridge, and passed it. We stood firm in one line with a reserve, and expected a charge; but Colonel Sandys, showing a great deal more judgment than we thought he was master of, extends himself to the left, finding the ground too strait, and began to form his men with a great deal of readiness and skill; for by this time he saw our number was greater than he expected. The prince perceiving it, and foreseeing that the stratagem of the dragoons would be frustrated by this, immediately charges with the horse, and the dragoons at the same time standing upon their feet, poured in their shot upon those that were passing the bridge. This surprise put them into such disorder that we had but little work with them; for though Colonel Sandys, with the troops next him, sustained the shock very well, and behaved themselves gallantly enough, yet the confusion beginning in the rear, those that had not yet passed the bridge were kept back by the fire of the dragoons, and the rest were easily cut in pieces. Colonel Sandys was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and the crowd was so great to get back that many pushed into the water, and were rather smothered than drowned. Some of them who never came into the fight were so frightened that they never looked behind them, till they came to Pershore; and, as we were afterwards informed, the life-guards of the general who had quartered in the town, left it in disorder enough, expecting us at the heels of their men.

If our business had been to keep the parliament army from coming to Worcester, we had a very good opportunity to have secured the bridge at Pershore; but our design lay another way, as I have said, and the king was for drawing Essex on to the Severn, in hopes to get behind him, which fell out accordingly.

Essex, spurred by this affront in the infancy of their affairs, advances the next day, and came to Pershore time enough to be at the funeral of

some of his men; and from thence he advances to Worcester.

We marched back to Worcester extremely pleased with the good success of our first attack; and our men were so flushed with this little victory, that it put vigour into the whole army. The enemy lost about 3000 men, and we carried away near 150 prisoners, with 500 horses, some standards and arms, and, among the prisoners, their colonel, but he died a little after of his wounds.

Upon the approach of the enemy, Worcester was quitted, and the forces marched back to join the king's army which lay then at Bridgenorth, Ludlow, and thereabout. As the king expected, it fell out: Essex found so much work at Worcester to settle parliament quarters and secure Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford, that it gave the king a full day's march of him; so the king, having the start of him, moves towards London; and Essex, nettled to be both beaten in fight and outdone in conduct, decamps, and follows the king.

The parliament, and the Londoners too, were in a strange consternation at this mistake of their general; and had the king, whose great misfortune was always to follow precipitant advices; had the king, I say, pushed on his first design, which he had formed with very good reason, and for which he had been dodging with Essex eight or ten days, viz. of marching directly to London, where he had a very great interest, and where his friends were not yet oppressed and impoverished, as they were afterwards, he had turned the scale of his affairs. And every man expected it; for the members began to shift for themselves; expresses were sent on the heels of one another to the Earl of Essex, to hasten after the king, and, if possible, to bring him to a battle. Some of these letters fell into our hands, and we might easily discover that the parliament were in the last confusion at the thoughts of our coming to London; besides this, the city was in a worse fright than the house, and the great moving men began to go out of town. In short, they expected us, and we expected to come; but providence, for our ruin, had otherwise determined it.

Essex, upon news of the king's march, and upon receipt of the parliament's letters, makes long marches after us, and on the 23d of October reaches the village of Keynton, in Warwickshire. The king was almost as far as Banbury, and there calls a council of war. Some of the old officers that foresaw the advantage the king had, the concern the city was in, and the vast addition, both to the reputation of his forces and the increase of his interest it would be if the king could gain that point, urged the king to march on to London. Prince Rupert and the fresh colonels pressed for fighting; told the king it dispirited their men to march with the enemy at their heels; that the parliament army was inferior to him by 6000 men, and fatigued with hasty marching; that, as their orders were to fight, he had nothing to do but to post himself to advantage, and receive them to their destruction; that the action near Worcester had let them know how easy it was to deal with a rash enemy; and that it was a dishonour for him, whose forces were so much superior, to be pursued by his subjects in rebellion. These and the like arguments prevailed with the king to alter his wiser measures and resolve to fight. Nor was this all; when a resolution of fighting was taken, that part of the advice which they who were for fighting gave as a reason for their opinion was forgot, and, instead of halting, and posting ourselves to advantage till the enemy came up, we were ordered to march back and meet them.

Nay, so eager was the prince for fighting, that when, from the top of Edgehill, the enemy's army was descried in the bottom between them and the village of Keynton, and that the enemy had bid us defiance by discharging three cannons, we accepted the challenge, and answering with two shots from our army, we must needs forsake the advantage of the hills, which they must have mounted under the command of our cannon, and march down to them into the plain. I confess I thought here was a great deal more gallantry than discretion; for it was plainly taking an advantage out of our own hands and putting it into the hands of the enemy. An enemy that must fight, may always be fought with to advantage. My old hero, the glorious Gustavus Adolphus, was as forward to fight as any man of true valour, mixed with any policy need to be, or ought to be; but he used to say, an enemy reduced to a necessity of fighting is half beaten.

It is true we were all but young in the war; the soldiers hot and forward, and eagerly desired to come to hands with the enemy. But I take the more notice of it here, because the king in this acted against his own measures; for it was the king himself had laid the design of getting the start of Essex, and marching to London. His friends had invited him thither, and expected him, and suffered deeply for the omission; and yet he gave way to these hasty counsels, and suffered his judgment to be overruled by majority of voices; an error, I say, the king of Sweden was never guilty of; for if all the officers at a council of war were of a different opinion, yet, unless their reasons mastered his judgment, their votes never altered his measures; but this was the error of our good, but unfortunate master, three times in this war, and particularly in two of the greatest battles of the time, viz. this of Edgehill, and that of Naseby.

The resolution for fighting being published in the army, gave an universal joy to the soldiers, who expressed an extraordinary ardour for fighting. I remember my father talking with me about it, asked me what I thought of the approaching battle. I told him I thought the king had done very well; for at that time I did not consult the extent of the design, and had a mighty mind, like other rash people, to see it brought to a day, which made me answer my father as I did. 'But,' said I, 'sir, I doubt there will be but indifferent doings on both sides, between two armies both made up of fresh men, that had never seen any service.' My father minded little what I spoke of that; but, when I seemed pleased that the king had resolved to fight, he looked angrily at me, and told me he was sorry I could see no farther into things. 'I tell you,' says he, hastily, 'if the king should kill and take prisoners this whole army, general and all, the parliament will have the victory; for we have lost more by slipping this opportunity of getting into London, than we shall ever get by ten battles.' I saw enough of this afterwards to convince me of the weight of what my father said, and so did the king too; but it was then too late: advantages slipt in war are never recovered.

We were now in a full march to fight the Earl of Essex. It was on Sunday morning the 24th of October 1642, fair weather over head, but the ground very heavy and dirty. As soon as we came to the top of Edgehill, we discovered their

whole army. They were not drawn up, having had two miles to march that morning; but they were very busy forming their lines, and posting the regiments as they came up. Some of their horse were exceedingly fatigued, having marched 48 hours together; and had they been suffered to follow us three or four days' march farther, several of their regiments of horse would have been quite ruined, and their foot would have been rendered unserviceable for the present. But we had no patience.

As soon as our whole army was come to the top of the hill, we were drawn up in order of battle. The king's army made a very fine appearance; and, indeed, they were a body of gallant men as ever appeared in the field, and as well furnished at all points; the horse exceeding well accoutred, being most of them gentlemen and volunteers; some whole regiments serving without pay. Their horses very good and fit for service as could be desired. The whole army were not above 18,000 men, and the enemy not 1000 over or under, though we had been told they were not above 12,000; but they had been reinforced with 4000 men from Northampton.

The king was with the general, the Earl of Lindsey, in the main battle; Prince Rupert commanded the right wing, and the Marquis of Hertford, the Lord Willoughby, and several other very good officers, the left.

The signal of battle being given with two cannon-shot, we marched in order of battalia down the hill, being drawn up in two lines, with bodies of reserve. The enemy advanced to meet us much in the same form, with this difference only, that they had placed their cannon on their right, and the king had placed ours in the centre, before, or rather between two great brigades of foot. Their cannon began with us first, and did some mischief among the dragoons of our left wing; but our officers perceiving the shot took the men and missed the horses, ordered all to alight, and every man leading his horse, to advance in the same order; and this saved our men, for most of the enemy's shot flew over their heads. Our cannon made a terrible execution upon their foot for a quarter of an hour, and put them into great confusion, till the general obliged them to halt, and changed the posture of his front, marching round a small rising ground, by which he avoided the fury of our artillery.

By this time the wings were engaged, the king having given the signal of battle, and ordered the right wing to fall on. Prince Rupert, who, as is said, commanded that wing, fell on with such fury, and pushed the left wing of the parliament army so effectually, that in a moment he filled all with terror and confusion. Commissary-general Ramsey, a Scotchman, a Low Country soldier, and an experienced officer, commanded their left wing; and though he did all that an expert soldier and a brave commander could do, yet it was to no purpose; his lines were immediately broken, and all overwhelmed in a trice. Two regiments of foot, whether as part of the left wing, or on the left of the main body, I know not, were disordered by their own horse, and rather trampled to death by the horses, than beaten by our men; but they were so entirely broken and disordered, that I do not remember that ever they made one volley upon our men; for their own horse running away, and falling foul on these foot, were so vigorously followed by our men, that the foot never had a moment to rally or look behind them. The point of the left wing of horse were not so soon broken as the rest, and three regiments of them stood firm for some time. The dexterous officers of the other regiments taking the opportunity, rallied a great many of their scattered men behind them, and pieced in some troops with those regiments; but after two or three charges, which a brigade of our second line, following the prince, made upon them, they also were broken with the rest.

I remember that at the great battle of Leipsic, the right wing of the imperialists having fallen in upon the Saxons with like fury to this, bore down all before them, and beat the Saxons quite out of the field; upon which the soldiers cried, 'Victoria! Let us follow!' 'No, no,' said the old general Tilly, 'let them go, but let us beat the Swedes too, and then all's our own.' Had Prince Rupert taken this method, and instead of following the fugitives, who were dispersed so effectually, that two regiments would have secured them from rallying; I say, had he fallen in upon the foot, or wheeled to the left, and fallen in upon the rear of the enemy's right wing of horse, or returned to the assistance of the left wing of our horse, we had gained the most absolute and complete victory that could be; nor had 1000 men of the enemy's army got off. But this prince, who was full of fire, and pleased to see the rout of the enemy, pursued them quite to the town of Keynton, where indeed he killed abundance of their men, and some time also was lost in plundering the baggage; but in the meantime, the glory and advantage of the day was lost to the king; for the right wing of the parliament horse could not be so broken. Sir William Balfour made a desperate charge upon the point of the king's left; and had it not been for two regiments of dragoons, who were planted in the reserve, had routed the whole wing; for he broke through the first line, and staggered the second, who advanced to their assistance, but was so warmly received by those dragoons, who came seasonably in, and gave their first fire on horseback, that his fury was checked, and having lost a great many men, was forced to wheel about to his own men; and had the king had but three regiments of horse at hand, to have charged him, he had been routed. The rest of this wing kept their ground, and received the first fury of the enemy with great firmness; after which, advancing in their turn, they were once masters of the Earl of Essex's cannon. And here we lost another advantage; for if any foot had been at hand to support these horse, they had carried off the cannon, or turned it upon the main battle of the enemy's foot; but the foot were otherwise engaged. The horse on this side fought with great obstinacy and variety of success a great while, Sir Philip Stapylton, who commanded the guards of the Earl of Essex, being engaged with a party of our Shrewsbury cavaliers, as we called them, was once in a fair way to have been cut off by a brigade of our foot, who, being advanced to fall on upon the parliament's main body, flanked Sir Philip's horse in their way, and, facing to the left, so furiously charged him with their pikes, that he was obliged to retire in great disorder, and with the loss of a great many men and horses.

All this while the foot on both sides were desperately engaged, and coming close up to the teeth of one another with the clubbed musket and push of pike, fought with great resolution, and a terrible slaughter on both sides, giving no quarter for a great while; and they continued to do thus, till, as if they were tired, and out of wind, either party seemed willing enough to leave off, and take breath. Those which suffered most were that brigade which had charged Sir

William Stapylton's horse, who, being bravely engaged in the front with the enemy's foot, were, on a sudden, charged again in front and flank, by Sir William Balfour's horse, and disordered, after a very desperate defence. Here the king's standard was taken, the standard-bearer, Sir Edward Varney, being killed; but it was rescued again by Captain Smith, and brought to the king the same night, for which the king knighted the captain.

This brigade of foot had fought all the day, and had not been broken at last, if any horse had been at hand to support them. The field began to be now clear, both armies stood, as it were, gazing at one another, only the king, having rallied his foot, seemed inclined to renew the charge, and began to cannonade them, which they could not return, most of their cannon being nailed while they were in our possession, and all the cannoneers killed or fled, and our gunners did execution upon Sir William Balfour's troops for a good while.

My father's regiment being in the right with the prince, I saw little of the fight, but the rout of the enemy's left, and we had as full a victory there as we could desire, but spent too much time in it. We killed about 2000 men in that part of the action, and having totally dispersed them, and plundered their baggage, began to think of our fellows when it was too late to help them. We returned however victorious to the king, just as the battle was over; the king asked the prince what news? He told him he could give his majesty a good account of the enemy's horse: 'Ay, by G—d,' says a gentleman that stood by me, 'and of their carts too.' That word was spoken with such a sense of their misfortune, and made such an impression in the whole army, that it occasioned some ill blood afterwards among us; and but that the king took up the business, it had been of ill consequence; for some person who had heard the gentleman speak it, informed the prince who it was, and the prince resenting it, spoke something about it in the hearing of the party when the king was present. The gentleman, not at all surprised, told his highness openly he had said the words; and though he owned he had no disrespect for his highness, yet he could not but say, if it had not been so, the enemy's army had been better beaten. The prince replied something very disobliging; upon which the gentleman came up to the king, and kneeling, humbly besought his majesty to accept of his commission, and to give him leave to tell the prince, that, whenever his highness pleased, he was ready to give him satisfaction. The prince was exceedingly provoked, and, as he was very passionate, began to talk very oddly, and without all government of himself. The gentleman, as bold as he, but much calmer, preserved his temper, but maintained his quarrel; and the king was so concerned, that he was very much out of humour with the prince about it. However, his majesty, upon consideration, soon ended the dispute, by laying his commands on them both to speak no more of it for that day; and refusing the commission from the colonel, for he was no less, sent for them both next morning in private, and made them friends again.

But to return to our story; we came back to the king timely enough to put the Earl of Essex's men out of all humour of renewing the fight; and, as I observed before, both parties stood gazing at one another, and our cannon playing upon them, obliged Sir William Balfour's horse to wheel off in some disorder, but they returned us none again; which, as we afterwards understood, was, as I said before, for want of both powder and gunners; for the cannoneers and firemen were killed, or had quitted their train in the fight, when our horse had possession of their artillery; and as they had spiked up some of the cannon, so they had carried away fifteen carriages of powder.

Night coming on ended all discourse of more fighting, and the king drew off and marched towards the hills. I know no other token of victory which the enemy had, than their lying in the field of battle all night, which they did for no other reason than that, having lost their baggage and provisions, they had nowhere to go; and which we did not, because we had good quarters at hand.

The number of prisoners and of the slain were not very unequal; the enemy lost more men, we most of quality. Six thousand men on both sides were killed on the spot, whereof, when our rolls were examined, we missed 2500. We lost our brave general the old Earl of Lindsey, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and died of his wounds; Sir Edward Stradling, Colonel Lundsford, prisoners; and Sir Edward Varney, and a great many gentlemen of quality slain. On the other hand, we carried off Colonel Essex, Colonel Ramsey, and the Lord St. John, who also died of his wounds; we took five ammunition waggons full of powder, and brought off about 500 horse in the defeat of the left wing, with eighteen standards and colours, and lost seventeen.

The slaughter of the left wing was so great, and the flight so effectual, that several of the officers rid clear away, coasting round, and got to London, where they reported that the parliament army was entirely defeated, all lost, killed, or taken, as if none but them were left alive to carry the news. This filled them with consternation for a while; but when other messengers followed all was restored to quiet again, and the parliament cried up their victory, and sufficiently mocked God and their general with their public thanks for it. Truly, as the fight was a deliverance to them, they were in the right to give thanks for it; but as to its being a victory, neither side had much to boast of, and they less a great deal than we had.

I got no hurt in this fight; and indeed we of the right wing had but little fighting. I think I discharged my pistols but once, and my carabine twice, for we had more fatigue than fight; the enemy fled, and we had little to do but to follow, and kill those we could overtake. I spoiled a good horse, and got a better from the enemy, in his room, and came home weary enough. My father lost his horse, and, in the fall, was bruised in his thigh by another horse treading on him, which disabled him for some time, and, at his request, by his majesty's consent, I commanded the regiment in his absence.

The enemy received a recruit of 4000 men the next morning; if they had not, I believe they had gone back towards Worcester; but, encouraged by that reinforcement, they called a council of war, and had a long debate whether they could attack us again; but, notwithstanding their great victory, they durst not attempt it, though this addition of strength made them superior to us by 3000 men.

The king indeed expected, that when these troops joined them they would advance, and we were preparing to receive them at a village called Arno, where the headquarter continued three or four days; and, had they really esteemed the first day's work a victory, as they called it, they would have done it, but they thought not good

to venture, but marched away to Warwick, and from thence to Coventry. The king, to urge them to venture upon him, and come to a second battle, sits down before Banbury, and takes both town and castle, and makes two entire regiments of foot, and one troop of horse, quit the parliament service, and take up their arms for the king. This was done almost before their faces, which was a better proof of a victory on our side, than they could pretend to. From Banbury we marched to Oxford; and now all men saw the parliament had made a great mistake, for they were not always in the right any more than we, to leave Oxford without a garrison. The king caused new regular works to be drawn round it, and seven royal bastions, with ravelins and outworks, a double ditch, counterscarp, and covered way; all which, added to the advantage of its situation, made it a formidable place, and from this time it became our place of arms, and the centre of affairs on the king's side.

If the parliament had the honour of the field, the king reaped the fruits of the victory; for all this part of the country submitted to him. Essex's army made the best of their way to London, and were but in an ill condition when they came there, especially their horse.

The parliament, sensible of this, and receiving daily accounts of the progress we made, began to cool a little in their temper, abated of their first rage, and voted an address for peace; and sent to the king to let him know they were desirous to prevent the effusion of more blood, and to bring things to an accommodation, or, as they called it, a right understanding.

I was now, by the king's particular favour, summoned to the councils of war, my father continuing absent and ill; and now I begin to think of the real grounds, and, which was more, of the fatal issue of this war. I say, I now began it, for I cannot say that I ever rightly stated matters in my own mind before, though I had been enough used to blood, and to see the destruction of people, sacking of towns, and plundering the country; yet it was in Germany, and among strangers; but I found a strange, secret, and unaccountable sadness upon my spirits to see this acting in my own native country. It grieved me to the heart, even in the rout of our enemies, to see the slaughter of them; and even in the fight, to hear a man cry for quarter in English, moved me to a compassion which I had never been used to; nay, sometimes it looked to me as if some of my own men had been beaten; and when I heard a soldier cry, 'O God, I am shot!' I looked behind me to see which of my own troop was fallen. Here I saw myself at the cutting of the throats of my friends; and indeed some of my near relations. My old comrades and fellow-soldiers in Germany were some with us, some against us, as their opinions happened to differ in religion. For my part, I confess I had not much religion in me at that time; but I thought religion, rightly practised on both sides, would have made us all better friends; and, therefore, sometimes I began to think that both the bishops of our side, and the preachers on theirs, made religion rather the pretence than the cause of the war; and from those thoughts I vigorously argued it at the council of war against marching to Brentford, while the address for a treaty of peace from the parliament was in hand; for I was for taking the parliament by the handle which they had given us, and entering into a negotiation with the advantage of its being at their own request.

I thought the king had now in his hands an opportunity to make an honourable peace; for this battle of Edgehill, as much as they boasted of the victory to hearten up their friends, had sorely weakened their army, and discouraged their party too, which in effect was worse as to their army. The horse were particularly in an ill case, and the foot greatly diminished; and the remainder very sickly. But, besides this, the parliament were greatly alarmed at the progress we made afterwards; and still fearing the king's surprising them, had sent for the Earl of Essex to London, to defend them; by which the country was, as it were, deserted and abandoned, and left to be plundered; our parties overrun all places at pleasure. All this while I considered that, whatever the soldiers of fortune meant by the war, our desires were to suppress the exorbitant power of a party, to establish our king in his just and legal rights; but not with a design to destroy the constitution of government, and the being of parliament; and therefore I thought now was the time for peace, and there were a great many worthy gentlemen in the army of my mind; and, had our master had ears to hear us, the war might have had an end here.

This address for peace was received by the king at Maidenhead, whither this army was now advanced, and his majesty returned answer by Sir Peter Killegrew, that he desired nothing more, and would not be wanting on his part. Upon this the parliament named commissioners, and his majesty, excepting against Sir John Evelyn, they left him out, and sent others; and desired the king to appoint his residence near London, where the commissioners might wait upon him. Accordingly the king appointed Windsor for the place of treaty, and desired the treaty might be hastened. And thus all things looked with a favourable aspect, when one unlucky action knocked it all on the head, and filled both parties with more implacable animosities than they had before, and all hopes of peace vanished.

During this progress of the king's armies, we were always abroad with the horse, ravaging the country, and plundering the Roundheads. Prince Rupert, a most active vigilant partyman, and, I must own, fitter for such than for a general, was never lying still, and I seldom stayed behind; for our regiment being very well mounted, he would always send for us, if he had any extraordinary design in hand.

One time in particular he had a design upon Aylesbury, the capital of Buckinghamshire; indeed our view at first was rather to beat the enemy out of the town, and demolish their works, and perhaps raise some contributions on the rich country round it, than to garrison the place, and keep it; for we wanted no more garrisons, being masters of the field.

The prince had 2500 horse with him in this expedition, but no foot; the town had some foot raised in the country by Mr Hampden, and two regiments of country militia, whom we made light of, but we found they stood to their tackle better than well enough. We came very early to town, and thought they had no notice of us; but some false brother had given them the alarm, and we found them all in arms, the hedges without the town lined with musketeers, on that side in particular where they expected us, and two regiments of foot drawn up in view to support them, with some horse in the rear of all.

The prince willing, however, to do something, caused some of his horse to alight, and serve as dragoons; and having broken away into the enclosures, the horse beat the foot from behind the hedges, while the rest who were alighted charged

them in the lane which leads to the town. Here they had cast up some works, and fired from their lines very regularly, considering them as militia only, the governor encouraging them by his example; so that finding without some foot there would be no good to be done, we gave it over and drew off; and so Aylesbury escaped a scouring for that time.

I cannot deny but these flying parties of horse committed great spoil among the country people; and sometimes the prince gave a liberty to some cruelties which were not at all for the king's interest; because, it being still upon our own country, and the king's own subjects, whom, in all his declarations, he protested to be careful of, it seemed to contradict all those protestations and declarations, and served to aggravate and exasperate the common people; and the king's enemies made all the advantages of it that was possible, by crying out of twice as many extravagancies as were committed.

It is true the king, who naturally abhorred such things, could not restrain his men, no nor his generals, so absolutely as he would have done. The war, on his side, was very much *a la volontier;* many gentlemen served him at their own charge, and some paid whole regiments themselves. Sometimes also the king's affairs were straiter than ordinary, and his men were not very well paid, and this obliged him to wink at their excursions upon the country, though he did not approve of them; and yet, I must own, that in those parts of England where the war was hottest, there never was seen that ruin and depopulation, murders, ravishments, and barbarities, which I have seen even among Protestant armies abroad in Germany, and other foreign parts of the world. And if the parliament people had seen those things abroad, as I had, they would not have complained.

The most I have seen was plundering the towns for provisions, drinking up their beer, and turning our horses into their fields, or stacks of corn; and sometimes the soldiers would be a little rude with the wenches; but alas! what was this to Count Tilly's ravages in Saxony? Or what was our taking of Leicester by storm, where they cried out of our barbarities, to the sacking of New Brandenburgh, or the taking of Magdeburgh? In Leicester, of 7 or 8000 people in the town, 300 were killed; in Magdeburgh, of 25,000, scarce 2700 were left, and the whole town burnt to ashes. I myself have seen 17 or 18 villages on fire in a day, and the people driven away from their dwellings, like herds of cattle; the men murdered, the women stript, and 700 or 800 of them together, after they had suffered all the indignities and abuses of the soldiers, driven stark naked in the winter through the great towns, to seek shelter and relief from the charity of their enemies. I do not instance these greater barbarities to justify the lesser actions, which are nevertheless irregular; but I do say, that circumstances considered, this war was managed with as much humanity on both sides as could be expected, especially also considering the animosity of parties.

But to return to the prince; he had not always the same success in these enterprises, for sometimes we came short home. And I cannot omit one pleasant adventure which happened to a party of ours, in one of these excursions into Buckinghamshire. The major of our regiment was soundly beaten by a party, which, as I may say, was led by a woman; and, if I had not rescued him, I know not but he had been taken prisoner by a woman. It seems our men had besieged some fortified house about Oxfordshire, towards Tame, and the house being defended by the lady in her husband's absence, she had yielded the house upon a capitulation; one of the articles of which was to march out with all her servants, soldiers, and goods, and to be conveyed to Tame; whether she thought to have gone no further, or that she reckoned herself safe there, I know not; but my major, with two troops of horse, meets with this lady and her party, about five miles from Tame, as we were coming back from our defeated attack of Aylesbury. We reckoned ourselves in an enemy's country, and had lived a little at large, or at discretion, as it is called abroad; and these two troops, with the major, were returning to our detachment from a little village, where, at the farmer's house, they had met with some liquor, and truly some of his men were so drunk they could but just sit upon their horses. The major himself was not much better, and the whole body were but in a sorry condition to fight. Upon the road they meet this party; the lady, having no design of fighting, and being, as she thought, under the protection of the articles, sounds a parley, and desired to speak with the officer. The major, as drunk as he was, could tell her, that by the articles she was to be assured no further than Tame, and being now five miles beyond it, she was a fair enemy, and therefore demanded to render themselves prisoners. The lady seemed surprised; but being sensible she was in the wrong, offered to compound for her goods, and would have given him £300, and, I think, seven or eight horses. The major would certainly have taken it, if he had not been drunk; but he refused it, and gave threatening words to her, blustering in language which he thought proper to frighten a woman, viz. that he would cut them all to pieces, and give no quarter, and the like. The lady, who had been more used to the smell of powder than he imagined, called some of her servants to her, and, consulting with them what to do, they all unanimously encouraged her to let them fight; told her it was plain that the commander was drunk, and all that were with him were rather worse than he, and hardly able to sit their horses; and that therefore one bold charge would put them all into confusion. In a word, she consented, and, as she was a woman, they desired her to secure herself among the waggons; but she refused, and told them bravely, she would take her fate with them. In short, she boldly bade my major defiance, and that he might do his worst, since she had offered him fair and he had refused it; her mind was altered now, and she would give him nothing, and bade his officer that parleyed longer with her, begone; so the parley ended. After this she gave him fair leave to go back to his men; but before he could tell his tale to them, she was at his heels, with all her men, and gave him such a home-charge as put his men into disorder; and, being too drunk to rally, they were knocked down before they knew what to do with themselves; and in a few minutes more they took to a plain flight. But what was still worse, the men, being some of them very drunk, when they came to run for their lives, fell over one another, and tumbled over their horses, and made such work, that a troop of women might have beaten them all. In this pickle, with the enemy at his heels, I came in with him, hearing the noise; when I appeared, the pursuers retreated, and, seeing what a condition my people were in, and not knowing the strength of the enemy, I contented myself with bringing them off without pursuing the other; nor could I hear positively who this female cap-

tain was. We lost 17 or 18 of our men, and about 30 horses; but, when the particulars of the story was told us, our major was so laughed at by the whole army, and laughed at everywhere, that he was ashamed to show himself for a week or a fortnight after.

But to return to the king. His majesty, as I observed, was at Maidenhead addressed by the parliament for peace, and Windsor being appointed for the place of treaty, the van of his army lay at Colebrook. In the meantime, whether it were true, or only a pretence, but it was reported the parliament general had sent a body of his troops, with a train of artillery, to Hammersmith, in order to fall upon some part of our army, or to take some advanced post, which was to the prejudice of our men; whereupon the king ordered the army to march, and, by the favour of a thick mist, came within half a mile of Brentford before he was discovered. There were two regiments of foot, and about 600 horse in the town, of the enemy's best troops; these taking the alarm, posted themselves on the bridge at the west end of the town. The king attacked them with a select detachment of his best infantry, and they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. I must own, I never saw raw men, for they could not have been in arms above four months, act like them in my life. In short, there was no forcing these men; for, though two whole brigades of our foot, backed by our horse, made five several attacks upon them, they could not break them, and we lost a great many brave men in that action. At last, seeing the obstinacy of these men, a party of horse was ordered to go round from Osterly; and, entering the town on the north side, where, though the horse made some resistance, it was not considerable, the town was presently taken. I led my regiment through an enclosure, and came into the town nearer to the bridge than the rest, by which means I got first into the town; but I had this loss by my expedition, that the foot charged me before the body was come up, and poured in their shot very furiously. My men were but in an ill case, and would not have stood much longer, if the rest of the horse coming up the lane had not found them other employment. When the horse were thus entered, they immediately dispersed the enemy's horse, who fled away towards London, and falling in sword in hand upon the rear of the foot, who were engaged at the bridge, they were all cut in pieces, except about 200, who, scorning to ask quarter, desperately threw themselves into the river Thames, where they were most of them drowned.

The parliament and their party made a great outcry at this attempt; that it was base and treacherous while in a treaty of peace; and that the king, having amused them with hearkening to a treaty, designed to have seized upon their train of artillery first, and, after that, to have surprised both the city of London and the parliament. And I have observed since, that our historians note this action as contrary to the laws of honour and treaties; though, as there was no cessation of arms agreed on, nothing is more contrary to the laws of war than to suggest it.

That it was a very unhappy thing to the king and whole nation, as it broke off the hopes of peace, and was the occasion of bringing the Scots army in upon us, I readily acknowledge; but that there was anything dishonourable in it, I cannot allow; for though the parliament had addressed to the king for peace, and such steps were taken in it, as before; yet, as I have said, there was no proposal made on either side for a cessation of arms; and all the world must allow, that in such cases the war goes on in the field, while the peace goes on in the cabinet. And if the war goes on, admit the king had designed to surprise the city or parliament, or all of them, it had been no more than the custom of war allows, and what they would have done by him, if they could. The treaty of Westphalia, or peace of Munster, which ended the bloody wars of Germany, was a precedent for this. That treaty was actually negotiating seven years, and yet the war went on with all the vigour and rancour imaginable, even to the last; nay, the very time after the conclusion of it, but before the news could be brought to the army, did he that was afterwards king of Sweden, Carolus Gustavus, take the city of Prague by surprise, and therein an inestimable booty. Besides, all the wars of Europe are full of examples of this kind; and, therefore, I cannot see any reason to blame the king for this action as to the fairness of it. Indeed, as to the policy of it, I can say little; but the case was this, the king had a gallant army, flushed with success, and things hitherto had gone on very prosperously, both with his own army and elsewhere; he had above 35,000 men in his own army, including his garrisons left at Banbury, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Oxford, Wallingford, Abingdon, Reading, and places adjacent. On the other hand, the parliament army came back to London in but a sorry condition; for, what with their loss in their victory, as they called it, at Edgehill, their sickness, and a hasty march to London, they were very much diminished; though at London they soon recruited them again. And this prosperity of the king's affairs might encourage him to strike this blow, thinking to bring the parliament to better terms, by the apprehensions of the superior strength of the king's forces.

But, however it was, the success did not equally answer the king's expectation; the vigorous defence the troops posted at Brentford made as above, gave the Earl of Essex opportunity, with extraordinary application, to draw his forces out to Turnham-green; and the exceeding alacrity of the enemy was such, that their whole army appeared with them, making together an army of 24,000 men, drawn up in view of our forces, by eight o'clock the next morning. The city regiments were placed between the regular troops, and all together offered us battle; but we were not in a condition to accept it. The king, indeed, was sometimes of the mind to charge them, and once or twice ordered parties to advance to begin to skirmish; but, upon better advice, altered his mind, and, indeed, it was the wisest counsel to defer the fighting at that time. The parliament generals were as unfixed in their resolutions on the other side as the king: sometimes they sent out parties, and then called them back again. One strong party, of near 3000 men, marched off towards Acton, with orders to amuse us on that side, but were countermanded. Indeed, I was of the opinion we might have ventured the battle; for, though the parliament's army were more numerous, yet the city trained bands, which made up 4000 of their foot, were not much esteemed, and the king was a great deal stronger in horse than they; but the main reason that hindered the engagement was want of ammunition, which the king having duly weighed, he caused the carriages and cannon to draw off first, and then the foot, the horse continuing to face the enemy till all was clear gone, and then we drew off too, and marched to Kingston, and the next day to Reading.

Now the king saw his mistake in not continu-

ing his march for London, instead of facing about to fight the enemy at Edgehill. And all the honour we had gained in so many successful enterprises lay buried in this shameful retreat from an army of citizens' wives: for, truly, that appearance at Turnham-green was gay, but not great. There were as many lookers-on as actors; the crowds of ladies, apprentices, and mob, was so great, that, when the parties of our army advanced, and, as they thought, to charge, the coaches, horsemen, and crowd that cluttered away, to be out of harm's way, looked little better than a rout; and I was persuaded a good home charge from our horse would have sent their whole army after them. But so it was, that this crowd of an army was to triumph over us, and they did it; for all the kingdom was carefully informed how their dreadful looks had frightened us away.

Upon our retreat, the parliament resent this attack, which they call treacherous, and vote no accommodation; but they considered of it afterwards, and sent six commissioners to the king with propositions; but the change of the scene of action changed the terms of peace, and now they made terms like conquerors, petition him to desert his army, and return to the parliament, and the like. Had his majesty, at the head of his army, with the full reputation they had before, and in the ebb of their affairs, rested at Windsor, and commenced a treaty, they had certainly made more reasonable proposals; but now the scabbard seemed to be thrown away on both sides.

The rest of the winter was spent in strengthening parties and places; also in fruitless treaties of peace, messages, remonstrances, and paper war on both sides, and no action remarkable happened anywhere that I remember. Yet the king gained ground everywhere, and his forces in the north increased under the Earl of Newcastle; also my Lord Goring, then only called Colonel Goring, arrived from Holland, bringing three ships loaden with arms and ammunition, and notice that the queen was following with more. Goring brought four thousand barrels of gunpowder, and 20,000 small arms; all which came very seasonably, for the king was in great want of them, especially the powder. Upon this recruit, the Earl of Newcastle draws down to York, and being above 1000 strong, made Sir Thomas Fairfax give ground, and retreat to Hull.

Whoever lay still, Prince Rupert was always abroad, and I chose to go out with his highness as often as I had opportunity; for hitherto he was always successful. About this time the prince, being at Oxford, I gave him intelligence of a party of the enemy who lived a little at large, too much for good soldiers, about Cirencester. The prince, glad of the news, resolved to attack them; and though it was a wet season, and the ways exceeding bad, being in February, yet we marched all night in the dark, which occasioned the loss of some horses and men too, in sloughs and holes, which the darkness of the night had suffered them to fall into. We were a very strong party, being about three thousand horse and dragoons, and coming to Cirencester very early in the morning, to our great satisfaction the enemy were perfectly surprised, not having the least notice of our march, which answered our end more ways than one. However, the Earl of Stamford's regiment made some resistance; but the town having no works to defend it, saving a slight breastwork at the entrance of the road, with a turnpike, our dragoons alighted, and forcing their way over the bellies of Stamford's foot, they beat them from their defence, and followed them at their heels into the town. Stamford's regiment was entirely cut in pieces, and several others, to the number of about 800 men, and the town entered without any other resistance. We took 1200 prisoners, 3000 arms, and the county magazine, which at that time was considerable; for there was about 120 barrels of powder, and all things in proportion.

I received the first hurt I got in this war, at this action; for having followed the dragoons, and brought my regiment within the barricado which they had gained, a musket-bullet struck my horse just in the head, and that so effectually, that he fell down as dead as a stone, all at once. The fall plunged me into a puddle of water, and daubed me, and my man having brought me another horse, and cleaned me a little, I was just getting up, when another bullet struck me on my left hand, which I had just clapped on the horses mane, to lift myself into the saddle. The blow broke one of my fingers, and bruised my hand very much, and it proved a very painful hurt to me. For the present I did not much concern myself about it, but made my man tie it up close in my handkerchief, and led up my men to the market-place, where we had a very smart brush with some musketeers who were posted in the churchyard; but our dragoons soon beat them out there, and the whole town was then our own. We made no stay here, but marched back with all our booty to Oxford, for we knew the enemy were very strong at Gloucester, and that way.

Much about the same time, the Earl of Northampton, with a strong party, set upon Lichfield, and took the town, but could not take the close; but they beat a body of 4000 men coming to the relief of the town, under Sir John Gell of Derbyshire, and Sir William Brereton of Cheshire, and killing 600 of them, dispersed the rest.

Our second campaign now began to open; the king marched from Oxford to relieve Reading, which was besieged by the parliament forces; but Colonel Fielding, lieutenant-governor Sir Arthur Ashton being wounded, surrendered to Essex before the king could come up; for which he was tried by martial law, and condemned to die, but the king forbore to execute the sentence. This was the first town we had lost in the war; for still the success of the king's affairs was very encouraging. This bad news however was overbalanced by an account brought the king at the same time, by an express from York, that the queen had landed in the north, and had brought over a great magazine of arms and ammunition, besides some men. Some time after this, her majesty marching southward to meet the king, joined the army near Edgehill, where the first battle was fought. She brought the king 3000 foot, 1500 horse and dragoons, six pieces of cannon, 1500 barrels of powder, and 12,000 small arms.

During this prosperity of the king's affairs, his armies increased mightily in the western counties also. Sir William Waller indeed commanded for the parliament in those parts too, and particularly in Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, where he carried on their cause but too fast; but farther west, Sir Nicholas Flamming, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir Bevil Greenvil, had extended the king's quarters from Cornwall through Devonshire, and into Somersetshire, where they took Exeter, Barnstaple, and Biddeford; and the first of these they fortified very well, making it a place of arms for the west, and afterwards it was the residence of the queen.

At last the famous Sir William Waller, and the king's forces met, and came to a pitched battle,

where Sir William lost all his honour again. This was at Roundway-down, in Wiltshire. Waller had engaged our Cornish army at Lansdown, and in a very obstinate fight had the better of them, and made them retreat to Devizes. Sir William Hopton, however, having a good body of foot untouched, sent expresses and messengers, one in the neck of another, to the king for some horse, and the king being in great concern for that army, who were composed of the flower of the Cornish men, commanded me to march with all possible secrecy, as well as expedition, with 1200 horse and dragoons from Oxford to join them. We set out in the depth of the night, to avoid, if possible, any intelligence being given of our route, and soon joined with the Cornish army, when it was soon resolved to give battle to Waller; and, give him his due, he was as forward to fight as we. As it is easy to meet when both sides are willing to be found, Sir William Waller met us upon Roundway-down, where we had a fair field on both sides, and room enough to draw up our horse. In a word, there was little ceremony to the work; the armies joined, and we charged his horse with so much resolution, that they quickly fled, and quitted the field; for we overmatched him in horse, and this was the entire destruction of their army; for their infantry, which outnumbered ours by fifteen hundred, were now at our mercy. Some faint resistance they made, just enough to give us occasion to break into their ranks with our horse, where we gave time to our foot to defeat others that stood to their work; upon which they began to disband, and ran every way they could, but our horse having surrounded them, we made a fearful havoc of them.

We lost not above 200 men in this action; Waller lost above 4000 killed and taken, and as many dispersed that never returned to their colours. Those of foot that escaped got into Bristol; and Waller, with the poor remains of his routed regiments, got to London; so that it is plain some ran east, and some ran west, that is to say, they fled every way they could.

My going with this detachment prevented my being at the siege of Bristol, which Prince Rupert attacked much about the same time, and it surrendered in three days. The parliament questioned Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, and had him tried as a coward by a court-martial, and condemned to die, but suspended the execution also, as the king did the governor of Reading. I have often heard Prince Rupert say, they did Colonel Fiennes wrong in that affair; and that if the colonel would have summoned him, he would have demanded a passport of the parliament, and have come up and convinced the court that Colonel Fiennes had not misbehaved himself; and that he had not a sufficient garrison to defend a city of that extent; having not above 1200 men in the town, excepting some of Waller's runaways, most of whom were unfit for service, and without arms; and that the citizens in general being disaffected to him, and ready on the first occasion to open the gates to the king's forces, it was impossible for him to have kept the city; and when I had farther informed them, said the prince, of the measures I had taken for a general assault the next day, I am confident I should have convinced them that I had taken the city by storm, if he had not surrendered.

The king's affairs were now in a very good posture, and three armies in the north, west, and in the centre, counted in the musters above 70,000 men, besides small garrisons and parties abroad. Several of the lords, and more of the commons, began to fall off from the parliament, and make their peace with the king; and the affairs of the parliament began to look very ill. The city of London was their inexhaustible support and magazine, both for men, money, and all things necessary; and whenever their army was out of order, the clergy of their party, in but one Sunday or two, would preach the young citizens out of their shops, the labourers from their masters, into the army, and recruit them on a sudden; and all this was still owing to the omission I first observed, of not marching to London, when it might have been so easily effected.

We had now another, or a fairer opportunity than before, but as ill use was made of it. The king, as I have observed, was in a very good posture; he had three large armies roving at large over the kingdom. The Cornish army, victorious and numerous, had beaten Waller, secured and fortified Exeter, which the queen had made her residence, and was there delivered of a daughter, the Princess Henrietta Maria, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, and mother of the Duchess Dowager of Savoy, commonly known in the French style by the title of Madame Royal. They had secured Salisbury, Sherborn Castle, Weymouth, Winchester, and Basing-house, and commanded the whole country, except Bridgewater and Taunton, Plymouth, and Lynn; all which places they held blocked up. The king was also entirely master of all Wales, Monmouthshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and all the towns from Windsor up the Thames to Cirencester, except Reading and Henley; and of the whole Severn, except Gloucester.

The Earl of Newcastle had garrisons in every strong place in the north, from Berwick-upon-Tweed, to Boston in Lincolnshire, and Newark-upon-Trent, Hull only excepted, whither the Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas were retreated, their troops being routed and broken, Sir Thomas Fairfax, his baggage, with his lady and servants, taken prisoners, and himself hardly escaping.

And now a great council of war was held in the king's quarters, what enterprise to go upon; and it happened to be the very same day when the parliament were in a serious debate what should become of them, and whose help they should seek? And indeed they had cause for it; and had our counsels been as ready and well grounded as theirs, we had put an end to the war in a month's time.

In this council the king proposed the marching to London, to put an end to the parliament, and encourage his friends and loyal subjects in Kent, who were ready to rise for him; and showed us letters from the Earl of Newcastle, wherein he offered to join his majesty with a detachment of 4000 horse, and 8000 foot, if his majesty thought fit, to march southward, and yet leave forces sufficient to guard the north from any invasion. I confess, when I saw the scheme the king had himself drawn for this attempt, I felt an unusual satisfaction in my mind, from the hopes that we might bring this war to some tolerable end; for I professed myself on all occasions heartily weary of fighting with friends, brothers, neighbours, and acquaintance; and I made no question but this motion of the king's would effectually bring the parliament to reason.

All men seemed to like the enterprise but the Earl of Worcester, who, on particular views for securing the country behind, as he called it, proposed the taking in the town of Gloucester and Hereford first. He made a long speech of the danger of leaving Massey, an active bold fellow,

with a strong party, in the heart of all the king's quarters, ready on all occasions to sally out, and surprise the neighbouring garrisons, as he had done Sudley Castle and others; and of the ease and freedom to all those western parts, to have them fully cleared of the enemy. Interest presently backs this advice, and all those gentlemen whose estates lay that way, or whose friends lived about Worcester, Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, or the borders, and who, as they said, had heard the frequent wishes of the country to have the city of Gloucester reduced, fell in with this advice, alleging the consequence it was of for the commerce of the country, to have the navigation of the Severn free, which was only interrupted by this one town from the sea up to Shrewsbury, &c.

I opposed this, and so did several others. Prince Rupert was vehemently against it; and we both offered, with the troops of the county, to keep Gloucester blocked up during the king's march for London, so that Massey should not be able to stir.

This proposal made the Earl of Worcester's party more eager for the siege than before; for they had no mind to a blockade, which would lead the county to maintain the troops all the summer; and of all men, the prince did not please them; for he having no extraordinary character for discipline, his company was not much desired even by our friends. Thus, in an ill hour, it was resolved to sit down before Gloucester. The king had a gallant army of 28,000 men, whereof 11,000 horse, the finest body of gentlemen that ever I saw together in my life; their horses without comparison, and their equipages the finest and the best in the world, and their persons Englishmen, which, I think, is enough to say of them.

According to the resolution taken in the council of war, the army marched westward, and sat down before Gloucester in the beginning of August. There we spent a month to the least purpose that ever army did; our men received frequent affronts from the desperate sallies of an inconsiderable enemy. I cannot forbear reflecting on the misfortunes of this siege; our men were strangely dispirited in all the assaults they gave upon the place; there was something looked like disaster and mismanagement, and our men went on with an ill-will and no resolution. The king despised the place, and meaning to carry it sword in hand, made no regular approaches, and the garrison being desperate, made therefore the greater slaughter. In this work our horse, who were so numerous and so fine, had no employment. Two thousand horse had been enough for this business, and the enemy had no garrison or party within forty miles of us; so that we had nothing to do but look on with infinite regret upon the losses of our foot.

The enemy made frequent and desperate sallies, in one of which I had my share. I was posted upon a parade, or place of arms, with part of my regiment, and part of Colonel Goring's regiment of horse, in order to support a body of foot, who were ordered to storm the point of a breastwork which the enemy had raised to defend one of the avenues to the town. The foot were beat off with loss, as they always were; and Massey, the governor, not content to have beaten them from his works, sallies out with near 400 men, and, falling in upon the foot as they were rallying under the cover of our horse, we put ourselves in the best posture we could to receive them. As Massey did not expect, I suppose, to engage with any horse, he had no pikes with him, which encouraged us to treat him the more rudely; but as to desperate men danger is no danger, when he found he must clear his hands of us before he could despatch the foot, he faces up to us, fires but one volley of his small shot, and fell to battering us with the stocks of their muskets in such a manner that one would have thought they had been madmen.

We at first despised this way of clubbing us, and, charging through them, laid a great many of them upon the ground; and, in repeating our charge, trampled more of them under our horses' feet; and wheeling thus continually, beat them off from our foot, who were just upon the point of disbanding. Upon this they charged us again with their fire, and at one volley killed 33 or 34 men and horses; and had they had pikes with them, I know not what we should have done with them. But at last charging through them again, we divided them; one part of them being hemmed in between us and our own foot, were cut in pieces to a man; the rest, as I understood afterwards, retreated into the town, having lost 300 of their men.

In this last charge I received a rude blow from a stout fellow on foot, with the butt-end of his musket, which perfectly stunned me and fetched me off from my horse; and had not some near me took care of me, I had been trod to death by our own men. But the fellow being immediately killed, and my friends finding me alive, had taken me up, and carried me off some distance, where I came to myself again, after some time, but knew little of what I did or said that night. This was the reason why I say I afterwards understood the enemy retreated, for I saw no more what they did then; nor indeed was I well of this blow for all the rest of the summer, but had frequent pains in my head, dizzinesses and swimming, that gave me some fears the blow had injured the skull, but it wore off again; nor did it at all hinder my attending my charge.

This action, I think, was the only one that looked like a defeat given the enemy at this siege. We killed them near 300 men, as I have said, and lost about 60 of our troopers.

All this time, while the king was harassing and weakening the best army he ever saw together during the whole war, the parliament generals, or rather preachers, were recruiting theirs; for the preachers were better than drummers to raise volunteers, zealously exhorting the London dames to part with their husbands, and the city to send some of their trained bands to join the army for the relief of Gloucester; and now they began to advance towards us.

The king, hearing of the advance of Essex's army, who by this time was come to Aylesbury, had summoned what forces he had within call to join him; and accordingly he received 3000 foot from Somersetshire, and, having battered the town for 36 hours, and made a fair breach, resolves upon an assault, if possible to carry the town before the enemy came up. The assault was begun about seven in the evening, and the men boldly mounted the breach; but, after a very obstinate and bloody pursuit, were beaten out again by the besieged with great loss.

Being thus often repulsed, and the Earl of Essex's army approaching, the king calls a council of war, and proposed to fight Essex's army. The officers of the horse were for fighting; and without doubt we were superior to him both in number and goodness of our horse, but the foot were not in an equal condition; and the colonels of foot representing to the king the weakness of their regiments, and how their men had been baulked and disheartened at this cursed siege,

the graver counsel prevailed, and it was resolved to raise the siege, and retreat towards Bristol, till the army was recruited. Pursuant to this resolution, the 5th of September, the king, having before sent away his heavy cannon and baggage, raised the siege, and marched to Berkley Castle. The Earl of Essex came the next day to Birdlip Hills, and understanding, by messengers from Colonel Massey, that the siege was raised, sends a recruit of 2500 men into the city, and followed us himself with a great body of horse.

This body of horse showed themselves to us once in a large field fit to have entertained them in; and our scouts having assured us they were not above 4000, and had no foot with them, the king ordered a detachment of about the same number to face them. I desired his majesty to let us have two regiments of dragoons with us, which was then 800 men in a regiment, lest there might be some dragoons among the enemy, which the king granted; and accordingly we marched, and drew up in view of them. They stood their ground, having, as they supposed, some advantage of the manner they were posted in, and expected we would charge them. The king, who did us the honour to command this party, finding they would not stir, calls me to him, and ordered me, with the dragoons and my own regiment, to take a circuit round by a village to a certain lane, where in their retreat they must have passed, and which opened to a small common on the flank, with orders, if they engaged, to advance and charge them in the flank. I marched immediately; but though the country about there was almost all enclosures, yet their scouts were so vigilant that they discovered me, and gave notice to the body; upon which their whole party moved to the left, as if they intended to charge me, before the king with his body of horse could come. But the king was too vigilant to be circumvented so; and therefore his majesty perceiving this, sends away three regiments of horse to second me, and a messenger before them, to order me to halt, and expect the enemy, for that he would follow with the whole body.

But before this order reached me, I had halted for some time; for, finding myself discovered, and not judging it safe to be entirely cut off from the main body, I stopt at the village, and causing my dragoons to alight, and line a thick hedge on my left, I drew up my horse just at the entrance into the village, opening to a common. The enemy came up on the trot to charge me, but were saluted with a terrible fire from the dragoons out of the hedge, which killed them near 100 men. This being a perfect surprise to them, they halted; and just at that moment they received orders from their main body to retreat; the king at the same time appearing upon some small heights in their rear, which obliged them to think of retreating, or coming to a general battle, which was none of their design.

I had no occasion to follow them, not being in a condition to attack their whole body; but the dragoons coming out into the common, gave them another volley at a distance, which reached them effectually, for it killed about 20 of them, and wounded more; but they drew off, and never fired a shot at us, fearing to be enclosed between two parties, and so marched away to their general's quarters, leaving ten or twelve more of their fellows killed, and about 180 horses. Our men, after the country fashion, gave them a shout at parting, to let them see we knew they were afraid of us.

However, this relieving of Gloucester raised the spirits as well as the reputation of the parliament forces, and was a great defeat to us; and from this time things began to look with a melancholy aspect, for the prosperous condition of the king's affairs began to decline. The opportunities he had let slip were never to be recovered; and the parliament, in their former extremity, having voted an invitation to the Scots to march to their assistance, we had now new enemies to encounter. And indeed there began the ruin of his majesty's affairs; for the Earl of Newcastle, not able to defend himself against the Scots on his rear, the Earl of Manchester in his front, and Sir Thomas Fairfax on his flank, was everywhere routed and defeated, and his forces obliged to quit the field to the enemy.

About this time it was that we first began to hear of one Oliver Cromwell, who, like a little cloud, rose out of the east, and spread first into the north, till it shed down a flood that overwhelmed the three kingdoms.

He first was a private captain of horse, but now commanded a regiment, whom he armed *cap-a-pee a la cuirassier;* and joining with the Earl of Manchester, the first action we heard of him, that made him anything famous, was about Grantham, where, with only his own regiment, he defeated 24 troops of horse and dragoons of the king's forces: then at Gainsborough, with two regiments, his own of horse, and one of dragoons, where he defeated near 3000 of the Earl of Newcastle's men, killed Lieutenant-general Cavendish, brother to the Earl of Devonshire, who commanded them, and relieved Gainsborough; and though the whole army came in to the rescue, he made good his retreat to Lincoln with little loss; and the next week he defeated Sir John Henderson at Winsby, near Horncastle, with 16 regiments of horse and dragoons, himself having not half that number, killed the Lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and several gentlemen of quality.

Thus this firebrand of war began to blaze, and he soon grew a terror to the north; for victory attended him like a page of honour, and he was scarce ever known to be beaten during the whole war.

Now we began to reflect again on the misfortune of our master's counsels. Had we marched to London, instead of besieging Gloucester, we had finished the war with a stroke. The parliament's army was in a most despicable condition, and had never been recruited, had we not given them a month's time, which we lingered away at this fatal town of Gloucester. But it was too late to reflect. We were a disheartened army, but we were not beaten yet, nor broken; we had a large country to recruit in, and we lost no time, but raised men apace. In the meantime his majesty, after a short stay at Bristol, makes back again towards Oxford with a part of the foot, and all the horse.

At Cirencester we had a brush again with Essex. That town owed us a shrewd turn for having handled them coarsely enough before, when Prince Rupert seized the county magazine. I happened to be in the town that night with Sir Nicholas Crisp, whose regiment of horse quartered there, with Colonel Spencer and some foot; my own regiment was gone before to Oxford. About ten at night, a party of Essex's men beat up our quarters by surprise, just as we had served them before. They fell in with us just as people were going to bed, and having beaten the outguards, were gotten into the middle of the town, before our men could get on horseback. Sir Nicholas Crisp hearing the alarm, gets up,

and, with some of his clothes on and some off, comes into my chamber. 'We are all undone,' says he, 'the Roundheads are upon us.' We had but little time to consult; but being in one of the principal inns in the town, we presently ordered the gates of the inn to be shut, and sent to all the inns where our men were quartered to do the like, with orders, if they had any back-doors, or ways to get out, to come to us. By this means, however, we got so much time as to get on horseback, and so many of our men came to us by back-ways, that we had near 300 horse in the yards and places behind the house. And now we began to think of breaking out by a lane which led from the back part of the inn; but a new accident determined us another though a worse way. The enemy being entered, and our men cooped up in the yards of the inns, Colonel Spencer, the other colonel, whose regiment of horse lay also in the town, had got on horseback before us and engaged with the enemy, but being overpowered, retreated fighting, and sends to Sir Nicholas Crisp for help. Sir Nicholas moved to see the distress of his friend, turning to me, says he, 'What can we do for him?' I told him I thought it was time to help him if possible; upon which, opening the inn gates, we sallied out in very good order, about 300 horse; and several of the troops from other parts of the town joining us, we recovered Colonel Spencer, and charging home, beat back the enemy to their main body. But finding their foot drawn up in the churchyard and several detachments moving to charge us, we retreated in as good order as we could. They did not think fit to pursue us, but they took all the carriages which were under the convoy of this party, and loaden with provisions and ammunition, and above five hundred of our horse. The foot shifted away as well as they could. Thus we made off in a shattered condition towards Farringdon, and so to Oxford, and I was very glad my regiment was not there.

We had small rest at Oxford, or indeed anywhere else; for the king was marched from thence, and we followed him. I was something uneasy at my absence from my regiment, and did not know how the king might resent it, which caused me to ride after them with all expedition. But the armies were engaged that very day at Newbury, and I came in too late. I had not behaved myself so as to be suspected of a wilful shunning the action; but a colonel of a regiment ought to avoid absence from his regiment in time of fight, be the excuse never so just, as carefully as he would a surprise in his quarters. The truth is, it was an error of my own, and owing to two days' stay I made at the Bath, where I met with some ladies who were my relations: and this is far from being an excuse; for if the king had been a Gustavus Adolphus, I had certainly received a check for it.

This fight was very obstinate, and could our horse have come to action as freely as the foot, the parliament army had suffered much more; for we had here a much better body of horse than they, and we never failed beating them where the weight of the work lay upon the horse.

Here the city train-bands, of which there were two regiments, and whom we used to despise, fought very well. They lost one of their colonels and several officers in the action; and I heard our men say they behaved themselves as well as any forces the parliament had.

The parliament cried victory here too, as they always did; and, indeed, where the foot were concerned they had some advantage; but our horse defeated them evidently. The king drew up his army in battalia, in person, and faced them all the next day, inviting them to renew the fight, but they had no stomach to come on again.

It was a kind of a hedge-fight, for neither army was drawn out in the field; if it had, it would never have held from six in the morning till ten at night. But they fought for advantages; sometimes one side had the better, sometimes another. They fought twice through the town, in at one end and out at the other, and in the hedges and lanes with exceeding fury. The king lost the most men, his foot having suffered for want of the succour of their horse, who, on two several occasions, could not come at them. But the parliament foot suffered also, and two regiments were entirely cut in pieces, and the king kept the field.

Essex, the parliament general, had the pillage of the dead, and left us to bury them; for while we stood all day to our arms, having given them a fair field to fight us in, their camp rabble stript the dead bodies; and they not daring to venture a second engagement with us, marched away towards London.

The king lost in this action the Earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, the Lord Falkland, a French marquis, and some very gallant officers, and about 1200 men. The Earl of Carnarvon was brought into an inn in Newbury, where the king came to see him. He had just life enough to speak to his majesty, and died in his presence. The king was exceedingly concerned for him, and was observed to shed tears at the sight of it. We were indeed all of us troubled for the loss of so brave a gentleman; but the concern our royal master discovered moved us more than ordinary. Everybody endeavoured to have the king out of the room, but he would not stir from the bedside till he saw all hopes of life were gone.

The indefatigable industry of the king, his servants and friends, continually to supply and recruit his forces, and to harass and fatigue the enemy, was such that we should still have given a good account of the war had the Scots stood neuter. But bad news came every day out of the north. As for other places, parties were always in action; Sir William Waller and Sir Ralph Hopton beat one another by turns; and Sir Ralph had extended the king's quarters from Launceston in Cornwall to Farnham in Surrey, where he gave Sir William Waller a rub, and drove him into the castle.

But in the north the storm grew thick, the Scots advanced to the borders, and entered England, in confederacy with the parliament, against their king, for which the parliament requited them afterwards as they deserved.

Had it not been for the Scotch army, the parliament had easily been reduced to terms of peace; but after this they never made any proposals fit for the king to receive. Want of success before had made them differ among themselves; Essex and Waller could never agree; the Earl of Manchester and the Lord Willoughby differed to the highest degree; and the king's affairs went never the worse for it. But this storm in the north ruined us all; for the Scots prevailed in Yorkshire, and being joined with Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell, carried all before them; so that the king was obliged to send Prince Rupert, with a body of 4000 horse, to the assistance of the Earl of Newcastle, where that prince finished the destruction of the king's interest by the rashest and unaccountablest action in the world, of which I shall speak in its place.

Another action of the king's, though in itself

no greater a cause of offence than the calling the Scots into the nation, gave great offence in general, and even the king's own friends disliked it; and was carefully improved by his enemies to the disadvantage of the king and of his cause.

The rebels in Ireland had, ever since the bloody massacre of the Protestants, maintained a war against the English, and the Earl of Ormond was general and governor for the king. The king finding his affairs pinch him at home, sends orders to the Earl of Ormond to consent to a cessation of arms with the rebels, and to ship over certain of his regiments hither to his majesty's assistance. It is true the Irish had deserved to be very ill-treated by the English; but while the parliament pressed the king with a cruel and unnatural war at home, and called in an army out of Scotland to support their quarrel with their king, I could never be convinced that it was such a dishonourable action for the king to suspend the correction of his Irish rebels, till he was in a capacity to do it with safety to himself, or to delay any farther assistance to preserve himself at home; and the troops he recalled being his own, it was no breach of his honour to make use of them, since he now wanted them for his own security, against those who fought against him at home.

But the king was persuaded to make one step farther, and that, I confess, was unpleasing to us all; and some of his best and most faithful servants took the freedom to speak plainly to him of it; and that was, bringing some regiments of the Irish themselves over. This cast, as we thought, an odium upon our whole nation, being some of those very wretches who had dipt their hands in the innocent blood of the Protestants, and, with unheard-of butcheries, had massacred so many thousands of English in cool blood.

Abundance of gentlemen forsook the king upon this score; and, seeing they could not brook the fighting in conjunction with this wicked generation, came into the declaration of the parliament, and making composition for their estates, lived retired lives all the rest of the war, or went abroad.

But as exigencies and necessities oblige us to do things which at other times we would not do, and is, as to man, some excuse for such things; so I cannot but think the guilt and dishonour of such an action must lie, very much of it at least, at their doors who drove the king to these necessities and distresses, by calling in an army of his own subjects, whom he had not injured, but had complied with them in everything, to make war upon him without any provocation.

As to the quarrel between the king and his parliament, there may something be said on both sides; and the king saw cause himself to disown and dislike some things he had done, which the parliament objected against, such as levying money without consent of parliament, infractions on their privileges, and the like. Here, I say, was some room for an argument, at least; and concessions on both sides were needful to come to a peace; but for the Scots, all their demands had been answered, all their grievances had been redressed, they had made articles with their sovereign, and he had performed those articles; their capital enemy, Episcopacy, was abolished; they had not one thing to demand of the king which he had not granted; and, therefore, they had no more cause to take up arms against their sovereign, than they had against the Grand Seignior. But it must for ever lie against them as a brand of infamy, and as a reproach on their whole nation, that, purchased by the parliament's money, they sold their honesty, and rebelled against their king for hire; and it was not many years before, as I have said already, they were fully paid the wages of their unrighteousness, and chastised for their treachery, by the very same people whom they thus basely assisted; then they would have retrieved it, if it had not been too late.

But I could not but accuse this age of injustice and partiality, who, while they reproached the king for his cessation of arms with the Irish rebels, and not prosecuting them with the utmost severity, though he was constrained by the necessities of the war to do it, could yet, at the same time, justify the Scots taking up arms in a quarrel they had no concern in, and against their own king, with whom they had articled and capitulated, and who had so punctually complied with all their demands, that they had no claim upon him, no grievances to be redressed, no oppression to cry out of, nor could ask anything of him which he had not granted.

But as no action in the world is so vile, but the actors can cover with some specious pretence, so the Scots, now passing into England, publish a declaration to justify their assisting the parliament; to which I shall only say, in my opinion, it was no justification at all; for, admit the parliament's quarrel had been never so just, it could not be just in them to aid them, because it was against their own king too, to whom they had sworn allegiance, or at least had crowned him, and thereby had recognised his authority; for if mal-administration be, according to Prynne's doctrine, or according to their own Buchanan, a sufficient reason for subjects to take up arms against their prince, the breach of his coronation oath being supposed to dissolve the oath of allegiance, which, however, I cannot believe; yet this can never be extended to make it lawful, that because a king of England may, by mal-administration, discharge the subjects of England from their allegiance, that therefore the subjects of Scotland may take up arms against the king of Scotland, he having not infringed the compact of government as to them, and they having nothing to complain of for themselves: thus I thought their own arguments were against them, and Heaven seemed to concur with it; for although they did carry the cause for the English rebels, yet the most of them left their bones here in the quarrel.

But what signifies reason to the drum and the trumpet? The parliament had the supreme argument with those men, viz. the money; and having accordingly advanced a good round sum, upon payment of this (for the Scots would not stir a foot without it), they entered England on the 15th of January 1643, with an army of 12,000 men, under the command of old Lesley, now Earl of Leven, an old soldier of great experience, having been bred to arms from a youth, in the service of the Prince of Orange.

The Scots were no sooner entered England, but they were joined by all the friends to the parliament party in the north; and first, Colonel Grey, brother to the Lord Grey, joined them with a regiment of horse, and several out of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and so they advanced to Newcastle, which they summoned to surrender. The Earl of Newcastle, who rather saw than was able to prevent this storm, was in Newcastle, and did his best to defend it; but the Scots, increased by this time to above 20,000, lay close siege to the place, which was but meanly fortified; and having repulsed the garrison upon several

sallies, and pressing the place very close; after a siege of twelve days, or thereabouts, they enter the town sword in hand. The Earl of Newcastle got away, and afterwards gathered what forces together he could; but not strong enough to hinder the Scots from advancing to Durham, which he quitted to them, nor to hinder the conjunction of the Scots with the forces of Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell. Whereupon the Earl seeing all things thus going to wreck, he sends his horse away and retreats with his foot into York, making all necessary preparations for a vigorous defence there, in case he should be attacked, which he was pretty sure of, as indeed afterwards happened. York was in a very good posture of defence; the fortifications very regular, and exceeding strong; well furnished with provisions; and had now a garrison of 12,000 men in it. The governor under the Earl of Newcastle was Sir Thomas Glenham, a good soldier, and a gentleman brave enough.

The Scots, as I have said, having taken Durham, Tynemouth Castle, and Sunderland, and being joined by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had taken Selby, resolve, with their united strength, to besiege York; but when they came to view the city, and saw a plan of the works, and had intelligence of the strength of the garrison, they sent expresses to Manchester and Cromwell for help, who came on, and joined them with 9000, making together about 30,000 men, rather more than less.

Now had the Earl of Newcastle's repeated messengers convinced the king, that it was absolutely necessary to send some forces to his assistance, or else all would be lost in the north. Whereupon Prince Rupert was detached with orders first to go into Lancashire, and relieve Latham House, defended by the brave Countess of Derby; and then, taking all the forces he could collect in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, to march to relieve York.

The prince marched from Oxford with but three regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, making in all about 2800 men. The colonels of horse were Colonel Charles Goring, the Lord Biron, and myself; the dragoons were of Colonel Smith. In our march, we were joined by a regiment of horse from Banbury, one of dragoons from Bristol, and three regiments of horse from Chester; so that when we came into Lancashire we were about 5000 horse and dragoons. These horse we received from Chester were those who having been at the siege of Nantwich were obliged to raise the siege by Sir Thomas Fairfax; and the foot having yielded, the horse made good their retreat to Chester, being about 2000; of whom three regiments now joined us.

We received also 2000 foot from West Chester, and 2000 more out of Wales; and with this strength we entered Lancashire. We had not much time to spend and a great deal of work to do.

Bolton and Liverpool felt the first fury of our prince. At Bolton, indeed, he had some provocation; for here we were like to be beaten off. When first the prince came to the town, he sent a summons to demand the town for the king, but received no answer but from their guns, commanding the messenger to keep off at his peril. They had raised some works about the town; and having by their intelligence learned that we had no artillery, and were only a flying party, so they called us, they contemned the summons, and showed themselves upon their ramparts ready for us. The prince was resolved to humble them, if possible, and takes up his quarters close to the town. In the evening he orders me to advance with one regiment of dragoons, and my horse, to bring them off, if occasion was, and to post myself as near as possibly I could to the lines, yet so as not to be discovered; and at the same time having concluded what part of the works to fall upon, he draws up his men on two other sides, as if he would storm them there; and on a signal, I was to begin the real assault on my side, with my dragoons. I had got so near the town with my dragoons, making them creep upon their bellies a great way, that we could hear the soldiers talk on the walls, when the prince, believing one regiment would be too few, sends me word that he had ordered a regiment of foot to help, and that I should not discover myself till they were come up to me. This broke our measures; for the march of this regiment was discovered by the enemy, and they took the alarm. Upon this I sent to the prince, to desire he would put off the storm for that night, and I would answer for it the next day; but the prince was impatient, and sent orders we should fall on as soon as the foot came up to us. The foot marched out of the way, missed us, and fell in with the road that leads to another part of the town; and being not able to find us, make an attack upon the town themselves; but the defendants being ready for them, received them very warmly, and beat them off with great loss. I was at a loss now what to do; for hearing the guns, and by the noise knowing it was an assault upon the town, I was very uneasy to have my share in it; but as I had learnt under the king of Sweden punctually to adhere to the execution of orders, and my orders being to lie still till the foot came up with me, I would not stir if I had been sure to have done never so much service; but however, to satisfy myself, I sent to the prince to let him know that I continued in the same place, expecting the foot, and none being yet come, I desired farther orders. The prince was a little amazed at this; and finding there must be some mistake, came galloping away in the dark to the place, and drew off the men; which was no hard matter, for they were willing enough to give it over.

As for me, the prince ordered me to come off so privately, as not to be discovered if possible, which I effectually did; and so we were baulked for that night. The next day the prince fell on upon another quarter with three regiments of foot, but was beaten off with loss; and the like a third time. At last, the prince resolved to carry it, doubled his numbers, and renewing the attack with fresh men, the foot entered the town over their works, killing, in the first heat of the action, all that came in their way, some of the foot at the same time letting in the horse; and so the town was entirely won. There was about 600 of the enemy killed, and we lost above 400 in all, which was owing to the foolish mistakes we made. Our men got some plunder here, which the parliament made a great noise about; but it was their due, and they bought it dear enough.

Liverpool did not cost us so much, nor did we get so much by it, the people having sent their women and children, and best goods, on board the ships in the road; and as we had no boats to board them with, we could not get at them. Here, as at Bolton, the town and fort was taken by storm, and the garrison were many of them cut in pieces, which, by the way, was their own faults.

Our next step was Latham House, which the Countess of Derby had gallantly defended above 18 weeks against the parliament forces; and this

lady not only encouraged her men by her cheerful and noble maintenance of them, but by examples of her own undaunted spirit, exposing herself upon the walls in the midst of the enemy's shot, would be with her men in the greatest dangers; and she well deserved our care of her person, for the enemy were prepared to use her very rudely, if she fell into their hands.

Upon our approach the enemy drew off; and the prince not only effectually relieved this vigorous lady, but left her a good quantity of all sorts of ammunition, three great guns, 500 arms, and 200 men, commanded by a major, as her extraordinary guard.

Here the way being now opened, and our success answering our expectation, several bodies of foot came in to us from Westmoreland, and from Cumberland; and here it was that the prince found means to surprise the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was recovered for the king by the management of the mayor of the town, and some loyal gentlemen of the country, and a garrison placed there again for the king.

But our main design being the relief of York, the prince advanced that way apace, his army still increasing, and being joined by the Lord Goring from Richmondshire, with 4000 horse, which were the same the Earl of Newcastle had sent away when he threw himself into York with the infantry. We were now 18,000 effective men, whereof 10,000 horse and dragoons; so the prince, full of hopes, and his men in good heart, boldly marched directly for York.

The Scots, as much surprised at the taking of Newcastle, as at the coming of their enemy, began to inquire which way they should get home if they should be beaten; and calling a council of war, they all agreed to raise the siege. The prince, who drew with him a great train of carriages charged with provision and ammunition for the relief of the city, like a wary general, kept at a distance from the enemy, and fetching a great compass about, brings all safe into the city, and enters into York himself with all his army.

No action of this whole war had gained the prince so much honour, or the king's affairs so much advantage as this, had the prince but had the power to have restrained his courage after this, and checked his fatal eagerness for fighting. Here was a siege raised, the reputation of the enemy justly stirred, a city relieved and furnished with all things necessary, in the face of an army superior in number by near 10,000 men, and commanded by a triumvirate of generals, Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester. Had the prince but remembered the proceeding of the great Duke of Parma at the relief of Paris, he would have seen the relieving the city was his business. It was the enemy's business to fight, if possible; it was his to avoid it; for having delivered the city, and put the disgrace of raising the siege upon the enemy, he had nothing farther to do, but to have waited till he had seen what course the enemy would take, and taken his farther measures from their motion.

But the prince, a continual friend to precipitant counsels, would hear no advice; I entreated him not to put it to the hazard; I told him that he ought to consider, if he lost the day, he lost the kingdom, and took the crown off from the king's head. I put him in mind that it was impossible those three generals should continue long together; and that, if they did, they would not agree long in their counsels; which would be as well for us as their separating. It was plain Manchester and Cromwell must return to the Associated Counties, *who would not* suffer them to stay, for fear the king should attempt them; that he could subsist well enough, having York city and river at his back; but the Scots would eat up the country, make themselves odious, and dwindle away to nothing, if he would but hold them at bay a little; other general officers were of the same mind; but all I could say, or they either, to a man deal to anything but his own courage, signified nothing. He would draw out and fight, there was no persuading him to the contrary, unless a man would run the risk of being upbraided with being a coward, and afraid of the work. The enemy's army lay on a large common, called Marston Moor, doubtful what to do. Some were for fighting the prince, the Scots were against it, being uneasy at having the garrison of Newcastle at their backs. But the prince brought their councils of war to a result, for he let them know they must fight him, whether they would or no; for the prince being, as before, 18,000 men, and the Earl of Newcastle having joined him with 8000 foot out of the city, were marched in quest of the enemy; had entered the moor in view of their army, and began to draw up in order of battle; but the night coming on, the armies only viewed each other at a distance for that time. We lay all night upon our arms, and with the first of the day were in order of battle; the enemy was getting ready, but part of Manchester's men were not in the field, but lay about three miles off, and made a hasty march to come up.

The prince's army was exceedingly well managed; he himself commanded the left wing, the Earl of Newcastle the right wing, and the Lord Goring, as general of the foot, assisted by Major-General Porter and Sir Charles Lucas, led the main battle. I had prevailed with the prince, according to the method of the king of Sweden, to place some small bodies of musketeers in the intervals of his horse, in the left wing, but could not prevail upon the Earl of Newcastle to do it in the right, which he afterwards repented. In this posture we stood facing the enemy, expecting they would advance to us, which at last they did; and the prince began the day by saluting them with his artillery, which being placed very well, galled them terribly for a quarter of an hour; they could not shift their front, so they advanced the hastier to get within our great guns, and consequently out of their danger, which brought the fight sooner on.

The enemy's army was thus ordered: Sir Thomas Fairfax had the right wing, in which was the Scots horse, and the horse of his own and his father's army; Cromwell led the left wing, with his own and the Earl of Manchester's horse; and the three generals, Lesley, old Fairfax, and Manchester, led the main battle.

The prince, with our left wing, fell on first; and, with his usual fury, broke, like a clap of thunder, into the right wing of the Scots horse, led by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and, as nothing could stand in his way, he broke through and through them, and entirely routed them, pursuing them quite out of the field. Sir Thomas Fairfax, with a regiment of lances, and about five hundred of his own horse, made good the ground for some time; but our musketeers, which, as I said, were placed among our horse, were such an unlooked-for sort of an article in a fight among the horse, that those lances, which otherwise were brave fellows, were mowed down with their shot, and all was put into confusion. Sir Thomas Fairfax was wounded in the face, his brother killed, and a great slaughter was made of the Scots, to whom, I confess, we showed no favour at all.

While this was doing on our left, the Lord Goring, with the main battle, charged the enemy's foot; and particularly one brigade, commanded by Major-General Porter, being mostly pikemen, not regarding the fire of the enemy, charged with that fury in a close body of pikes, that they overturned all that came in their way, and breaking into the middle of the enemy's foot, filled all with terror and confusion, insomuch that the three generals, thinking all had been lost, fled, and quitted the field.

But matters went not so well with that always unfortunate gentleman, the Earl of Newcastle, and our right wing of horse; for Cromwell charged the Earl of Newcastle with a powerful body of horse; and though the Earl and those about him did what men could do, and behaved themselves with all possible gallantry, yet there was no withstanding Cromwell's horse; but, like Prince Rupert, they bore down all before them. And now the victory was wrung out of our hands by our own gross miscarriage; for the prince, as it was his custom, too eager in the chase of the enemy, was gone, and could not be heard of; the foot in the centre, the right wing of the horse being routed by Cromwell, was left, and without the guard of his horse; Cromwell having routed the Earl of Newcastle, and beaten him quite out of the field, and Sir Thomas Fairfax rallying his dispersed troops, they fall all together upon the foot. General Lord Goring, like himself, fought like a lion; but forsaken of his horse, was hemmed in on all sides, and overthrown; and an hour after this, the prince, returning too late to recover his friends, was obliged with the rest to quit the field to conquerors.

This was a fatal day to the king's affairs, and the risk too much for any man in his wits to run. We lost 4000 men on the spot, 3000 prisoners, among whom was Sir Charles Lucas, Major-General Porter, Major-General Tellier, and about 170 gentlemen of quality. We lost all our baggage, 25 pieces of cannon, 300 carriages, 150 barrels of powder, and 10,000 arms.

The prince got into York with the Earl of Newcastle and a great many gentlemen, and 7 or 8000 of the men, as well horse as foot.

I had but very coarse treatment in this fight; for, returning with the prince from the pursuit of the right wing, and finding all lost, I halted with some other officers to consider what to do. At first we were for making our retreat in a body, and might have done so well enough, if we had known what had happened before we saw ourselves in the middle of the enemy; for Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had got together his scattered troops, and joined by some of the left wing, knowing who we were, charged us with great fury. It was not a time to think of anything but getting away, or dying upon the spot; the prince kept on in the front, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, by this charge, cut off about three regiments of us from our body; but bending his main strength at the prince, left us, as it were, behind him in the middle of the field of battle. We took this for the only opportunity we could have to get off; and, joining together, we made across the place of battle in as good order as we could, with our carabines presented. In this posture we passed by several bodies of the enemy's foot, who stood with their pikes charged to keep us off; but they had no occasion, for we had no design to meddle with them, but to get from them. Thus we made a swift march, and thought ourselves pretty secure; but our work was not done yet, for on a sudden we saw ourselves under a necessity of fighting our way through a great body of Manchester's horse, who came galloping upon us over the moor. They had, as we suppose, been pursuing some of our broken troops which were fled before, and seeing us, they gave us a home charge. We received them as well as we could, but pushed to get through them, which at last we did with a considerable loss to them. However, we lost so many men, either killed or separated from us (for all could not follow the same way), that of our three regiments, we could not be above 400 horse together when we got quite clear, and these were mixed men, some of one troop and regiment, some of another. Not that I believe many of us were killed in the last attack, for we had plainly the better of the enemy; but our design being to get off, some shifted for themselves one way, and some another, in the best manner they could, and as their several fortunes guided them. Four hundred more of this body, as I afterwards understood, having broke through the enemy's body another way, kept together, and got into Pontefract Castle; and 300 more made northward, and to Skipton, where the prince afterwards fetched them off.

These few of us that were left together, with whom I was, being now pretty clear of pursuit, halted, and began to inquire who and what we were, and what we should do; and, on a short debate, I proposed we should make to the first garrison of the king's that we could recover, and that we should keep together, lest the country people should insult us upon the roads. With this resolution we pushed on westward for Lancashire; but our misfortunes were not yet at an end: we travelled very hard, and got to a village upon the river Wharf, near Wetherby. At Wetherby there was a bridge, but we understood that a party from Leeds had secured the town and the post, in order to stop the flying cavaliers, and that it would be very hard to get through there, though, as we understood afterwards, there were no soldiers there but a guard of the townsmen. In this pickle we consulted what course to take. To stay where we were till morning, we all concluded would not be safe. Some advised to take the stream with our horses; but the river, which is deep, and the current strong, seemed to bid us have a care what we did of that kind, especially in the night. We resolved therefore to refresh ourselves and our horses, which indeed is more than we did, and go on till we might come to a ford or bridge, where we might get over. Some guides we had, but they either were foolish or false; for after we had rid eight or nine miles, they plunged us into a river at a place they called a ford; but it was a very ill one, for most of our horses swam, and seven or eight were lost, but we saved the men. However, we got all over.

We made bold, with our first convenience, to trespass upon the country for a few horses where we could find them, to remount our men whose horses were drowned, and continued our march. But being obliged to refresh ourselves at a small village on the edge of Bramham Moor, we found the country alarmed by our taking some horses; and we were no sooner got on horseback in the morning, and entering on the moor, but we understood we were pursued by some troops of horse. There was no remedy but we must pass this moor; and though our horses were exceedingly tired, yet we pressed on upon a round trot, and recovered an enclosed country on the other side, where we halted. And here, necessity putting us upon it, we were obliged to look out for more horses, for several of our men were dismounted, and others' horses disabled by carrying

double, those who lost their horses getting up behind them; but we were supplied by our enemies against their will.

The enemy followed us over the moor, and we having a woody enclosed country about us where we were, I observed by their moving they had lost sight of us; upon which I proposed concealing ourselves till we might judge of their numbers. We did so; and lying close in a wood, they passed hastily by us without skirting or searching the wood, which was what on another occasion they would not have done. I found they were not above 150 horse, and considering that to let them go before us would be to alarm the country, and stop our design; I thought, since we might be able to deal with them, we should not meet with a better place for it, and told the rest of our officers my mind, which all our party presently (for we had not time for a long debate) agreed to. Immediately upon this I caused two men to fire their pistols in the wood, at two different places, as far asunder as I could. This I did to give them an alarm, and amuse them; for being in the lane, they would otherwise have got through before we had been ready, and I resolved to engage them there, as soon as it was possible. After this alarm, we rushed out of the wood, with about a hundred horse, and charged them on the flank in a broad lane, the wood being on their right. Our passage into the lane being narrow, gave us some difficulty in our getting out; but the surprise of the charge did our work; for the enemy, thinking we had been a mile or two before, had not the least thoughts of this onset, till they heard us in the wood, and then they who were before could not come back. We broke into the lane just in the middle of them, and by that means divided them; and facing to the left, charged the rear. First our dismounted men, which were near fifty, lined the edge of the wood, and fired with their carabines upon those which were before so warmly, that they put them into a great disorder: meanwhile, fifty more of our horse from the further part of the wood showed themselves in the lane upon their front; this put them of the foremost party into a great perplexity, and they began to face about, to fall upon us who were engaged in the rear; but their facing about in a lane where there was no room to wheel, and one who understands the manner of wheeling a troop of horse must imagine, put them into a great disorder. Our party in the head of the lane taking the advantage of this mistake of the enemy, charged in upon them, and routed them entirely. Some found means to break into the enclosures on the other side of the lane, and get away. About thirty were killed, and about twenty-five made prisoners, and forty very good horses were taken; all this while not a man of ours was lost, and not above seven or eight wounded. Those in the rear behaved themselves better; for they stood our charge with a great deal of resolution, and all we could do could not break them; but at last our men, who had fired on foot through the hedges at the other party, coming to do the like here, there was no standing it any longer. The rear of them faced about, and retreated out of the lane, and drew up in the open field to receive and rally their fellows. We killed about seventeen of them, and followed them to the end of the lane, but had no mind to have any more fighting than needs must; our condition at that time not making it proper, the towns round us being all in the enemy's hands, and the country but indifferently pleased with us; however, we stood facing them till they thought fit to march away. Thus we were supplied with horses enough to remount our men, and pursued our first design of getting into Lancashire. As for our prisoners, we let them off on foot.

But the country being by this time alarmed, and the rout of our army everywhere known, we foresaw abundance of difficulties before us; we were not strong enough to venture into any great towns, and we were too many to be concealed in small ones. Upon this we resolved to halt in a great wood, about three miles beyond the place where we had the last skirmish, and sent out scouts to discover the country, and learn what they could, either of the enemy or of our friends.

Anybody may suppose we had but indifferent quarters here, either for ourselves or for our horses; but, however, we made shift to lie here two days and one night. In the interim I took upon me, with two more, to go to Leeds to learn some news; we were disguised like country ploughmen; the clothes we got at a farmer's house, which for that particular occasion we plundered; and I cannot say no blood was shed in a manner too rash, and which I could not have done at another time; but our case was desperate, and the people too surly, and shot at us out of the window, wounded one man, and shot a horse, which we counted as great a loss to us as a man, for our safety depended upon our horses. Here we got clothes of all sorts, enough for both sexes; and thus, dressing myself up *a la paisant*, with a white cap on my head, and a fork on my shoulder, and one of my comrades in the farmer's wife's russet gown and petticoat, like a woman, the other with an old crutch like a lame man, and all mounted on such horses as we had taken the day before from the country, away we go to Leeds by three several ways, and agreed to meet upon the bridge. My pretended countrywoman acted her part to the life, though the party was a gentleman of good quality of the Earl of Worcester's family; and the cripple did as well as he; but I thought myself very awkward in my dress, which made me very shy, especially among the soldiers. We passed their sentinels and guards at Leeds unobserved, and put up our horses at several houses in the town, from whence we went up and down to make our remarks. My cripple was the fittest to go among the soldiers, because there was less danger of being pressed. There he informed himself of the matters of war, particularly that the enemy sat down again to the siege of York; that flying parties were in pursuit of the cavaliers; and there he heard that 500 horse of the Lord Manchester's men had followed a party of cavaliers over Bramham Moor; and that, entering a lane, the cavaliers, who were 1000 strong, fell upon them, and killed them all but about 50. This, though it was a lie, was very pleasant to us to hear, knowing it was our party, because of the other part of the story, which was thus, that the cavaliers had taken possession of such a wood, where they rallied all the troops of their flying army; that they had plundered the country as they came, taking all the good horses they could get; that they had plundered Goodman Thompson's house, which was the farmer I mentioned, and killed man, woman, and child; and that they were about 2000 strong.

My other friend in woman's clothes got among the good wives at an inn, where she set up her horse, and there she heard the same sad and dreadful tidings; and that this party was so strong, none of the neighbouring garrisons durst stir out; but that they had sent expresses to York for a party of horse to come to their assistance.

I walked up and down the town, but fancied

myself so ill disguised, and so easy to be known, that I cared not to talk with anybody. We met at the bridge exactly at our time, and compared our intelligence, found it answered our end of coming, and that we had nothing to do but to get back to our men; but my cripple told me he would not stir till he bought some victuals, so away he hops with his crutch, and buys four or five great pieces of bacon, as many of hung beef, and two or three loaves; and, borrowing a sack at the inn (which I suppose he never restored), he loads his horse, and, getting a large leather bottle, he filled that of aqua vitæ instead of small beer; my woman comrade did the like. I was uneasy in my mind, and took no care but to get out of the town. However, we all came off well enough; but it was well for me that I had no provisions with me, as you will hear presently. We came, as I said, into the town by several ways, and so we went out; but about three miles from the town we met again exactly where we had agreed. I, being about a quarter of a mile from the rest, I met three country fellows on horseback; one had a long pole on his shoulder, another a fork, the third no weapon at all that I saw. I gave them the road very orderly, being habited like one of their brethren; but one of them stopping short at me, and looking earnestly, calls out, 'Hark thee, friend,' says he, in a broad north-country tone, 'whar hast thou thilk horse?' I must confess I was in the utmost confusion at the question, neither being able to answer the question, nor to speak in his tone; so I made as if I did not hear him, and went on. 'Na, but ye's not gang soa,' says the boor, and comes up to me, and takes hold of the horse's bridle to stop me; at which, vexed at heart that I could not tell how to talk to him, I reached him a great knock on the pate with my fork, and fetched him off his horse, and then began to mend my pace. The other clowns, though it seems they knew not what the fellow wanted, pursued me, and finding they had better heels than I, I saw there was no remedy but to make use of my hands, and faced about. The first that came up with me was he that had no weapons, so I thought I might parley with him; and, speaking as country-like as I could, I asked him what he wanted? 'Thou'st knaw that soon,' says Yorkshire, 'and I'se but come at thee.' 'Then keep awa', man,' said I, 'or I'se brain thee.' By this time the third man came up, and the parley ended; for he gave me no words, but laid at me with his long pole, and that with such fury, that I began to be doubtful of him. I was loath to shoot the fellow, though I had pistols under my grey frock, as well for that the noise of a pistol might bring more people in, the village being in our rear, and also because I could not imagine what the fellow meant, or would have; but at last, finding he would be too many for me with that long weapon, and a hardy strong fellow, I threw myself off my horse, and, running in with him, stabbed my fork into his horse; the horse, being wounded, staggered awhile, and then fell down, and the booby had not the sense to get down in time, but fell with him; upon which, giving him a knock or two with my fork, I secured him. The other, by this time, had furnished himself with a great stick out of a hedge, and, before I was disengaged from the last fellow, gave me two such blows, that if the last had not missed my head, and hit me on the shoulder, I had ended the fight and my life together. It was time to look about me now, for this was a madman; I defended myself with my fork, but it would not do; at last, in short, I was forced to pistol him, and get on horseback again, and, with all the speed I could make, get away to the wood to our men.

If my two fellow spies had not been behind, I had never known what was the meaning of this quarrel of the three countrymen, but my cripple had all the particulars; for he being behind us, as I have already observed, when he came up to the first fellow, who began the fray, he found him beginning to come to himself. So he gets off, and pretends to help him, and sets him upon his breach, and, being a very merry fellow, talked to him, 'Well, and what's the matter now?' says he to him. 'Ah, wae's me,' says the fellow, 'I'se killed!' 'Not quite, mon,' says the cripple. 'O that's a fause thief,' says he, and thus they parleyed. My cripple got him on his feet, and gave him a dram of his aqua vitæ bottle, and made much of him, in order to know what was the occasion of the quarrel. Our disguised woman pitied the fellow too, and together they set him up again upon his horse, and then he told them that that fellow was got upon one of his brother's horses who lived at Wetherby; they said the cavaliers stole him, but it was like such rogues; no mischief could be done in the country, but it was the poor cavaliers must bear the blame, and the like; and thus they jogged on till they came to the place where the other two lay. The first fellow they assisted as they had done the other, and gave him a dram out of the leather bottle; but the last fellow was past their care; so they came away. For when they understood that it was my horse they claimed, they began to be afraid that their own horses might be known too, and then they had been betrayed in a worse pickle than I, and must have been forced to have done some mischief or other to have got away.

I had sent out two troopers to fetch them off, if there was any occasion; but their stay was not long, and the two troopers saw them at a distance coming towards us, so they returned.

I had enough of going for a spy, and my companions had enough of staying in the wood; for other intelligences agreed with ours, and all concurred in this, that it was time to be going. However, this use we made of it, that while the country thought us so strong we were in the less danger of being attacked, though in the more of being observed; but all this while we heard nothing of our friends till the next day. We then heard Prince Rupert, with about 1000 horse, was at Skipton, and from thence marched away to Westmoreland.

We concluded now we had two or three days' time good; for, since messengers were sent to York for a party to suppress us, we must have at least two days' march of them, and therefore all concluded we were to make the best of our way. Early in the morning, therefore, we decamped from those dull quarters; and as we marched through a village, we found the people very civil to us, and the woman cried out, 'God bless them, it is a pity the Roundheads should make such work with such brave men,' and the like. Finding we were among our friends, we resolved to halt a little and refresh ourselves; and, indeed, the people were very kind to us, gave us victuals and drink, and took care of our horses. It happened to be my lot to stop at a house where the good woman took a great deal of pains to provide for us; but I observed the good man walked about with a cap upon his head, and very much out of order. I took no great notice of it, being very sleepy, and having asked my landlady to let me have a bed, I lay down and slept heartily: when I waked, I found my landlord on another bed, groaning very heavily.

When I came down stairs, I found my cripple talking with my landlady; he was now out of his disguise, but we called him cripple still; and the other, who put on the woman's clothes, we called Goody Thompson. As soon as he saw me, he called me out. 'Do you know,' says he, 'the man of the house you are quartered in?' 'No, not I,' says I. 'No, so I believe, nor they you,' says he. 'If they did, the good wife would not have made you a posset, and fetched a white loaf for you.' 'What do you mean?' says I. 'Have you seen the man?' says he. 'Seen him,' says I, 'yes, and heard him too. The man is sick, and groans so heavily,' says I, 'that I could not lie upon the bed any longer for him.' 'Why, this is the poor man,' says he, 'that you knocked down with your fork yesterday, and I have had all the story out yonder at the next door.' I confess it grieved me to have been forced to treat one so roughly who was one of our friends; but to make some amends, we contrived to give the poor man his brother's horse; and my cripple told him a formal story, that he believed the horse was taken away from the fellow by some of our men; and, if he knew him again, if it was his friend's horse, he should have him. The man came down upon the news, and I caused six or seven horses, which were taken at the same time, to be shown him. He immediately chose the right; so I gave him the horse, and we pretended a great deal of sorrow for the man's hurt; and that we had not knocked the fellow on the head as well as took away the horse. The man was so overjoyed at the revenge he thought was taken on the fellow, that we heard him groan no more. We ventured to stay all day at this town, and the next night, and got guides to lead us to Blackstone-Edge, a ridge of mountains which parts this side of Yorkshire from Lancashire. Early in the morning we marched, and kept our scouts very carefully out every way, who brought us no news for this day. We kept on all night, and made our horses do penance for that little rest they had, and the next morning we passed the hills, and got into Lancashire, to a town called Littleborough, and from thence to Rochdale, a little market town. And now we thought ourselves safe as to the pursuit of enemies from the side of York; our design was to get to Bolton, but all the county was full of the enemy in flying parties, and how to get to Bolton we knew not. At last we resolved to send a messenger to Bolton; but he came back and told us he had, with lurking and hiding, tried all the ways that he thought possible, but to no purpose; for he could not get into the town. We sent another, and he never returned; and some time after we understood he was taken by the enemy. At last one got into the town, but brought us word they were tired out with constant alarms, had been straitly blocked up, and every day expected a siege, and therefore advised us either to go northward, where Prince Rupert and the Lord Goring ranged at liberty, or to get over Warrington Bridge, and so secure our retreat to Chester. This double direction divided our opinions; I was for getting into Chester, both to recruit myself with horses and with money, both which I wanted, and to get refreshment, which we all wanted; but the major part of our men were for the north. First, they said, there was their general, and it was their duty to the cause, and the king's interest obliged us to go where we could do best service; and there were their friends, and every man might hear some news of his own regiment, for we belonged to several regiments; besides, all the towns to the left of us were possessed by Sir *William Brereton*; Warrington and Northwich garrisoned by the enemy, and a strong party at Manchester; so that it was very likely we should be beaten and dispersed before we could get to Chester. These reasons, and especially the last, determined us for the north, and we had resolved to march the next morning, when other intelligence brought us to more speedy resolutions. We kept our scouts continually abroad, to bring us intelligence of the enemy, whom we expected on our backs, and also to keep an eye upon the country; for, as we lived upon them something at large, they were ready enough to do us any ill turn, as it lay in their power.

The first messenger that came to us was from our friends at Bolton, to inform us that they were preparing at Manchester to attack us. One of our parties had been as far as Stockport, on the edge of Cheshire, and was pursued by a party of the enemy, but got off by the help of the night. Thus all things looking black to the south, we had resolved to march northward in the morning, when one of our scouts from the side of Manchester assured us Sir Thomas Middleton, with some of the parliament forces, and the country troops, making above 1200 men, were on their march to attack us, and would certainly beat up our quarters that night. Upon this advice we resolved to be gone; and getting all things in readiness, we began to march about two hours before night; and having gotten a trusty fellow for a guide, a fellow that we found was a friend to our side, he put a project into my head, which saved us all for that time, and that was, to give out in the village that we were marched back to Yorkshire, resolving to get into Pontefract Castle; and accordingly he leads us out of the town the same way we came in; and taking a boy with him, he sends the boy back just at night, and bade him say he saw us go up the hills at Blackstone-Edge; and it happened very well; for this party were so sure of us, that they had placed 400 men on the road to the northward, to intercept our retreat that way, and had left no way for us, as they thought to get away, but back again.

About ten o'clock at night they assaulted our quarters, but found we were gone; and being informed which way, they followed upon the spur, and travelling all night, being moonlight, they found themselves the next day about fifteen miles east, just out of our way; for we had, by the help of our guide, turned short at the foot of the hills, and through blind, untrodden paths, and with difficulty enough, by noon the next day, had reached almost twenty-five miles north, near a town called Clithero. Here we halted in the open field, and sent out our people to see how things were in the country. This part of the country, almost unpassable, and walled round with hills, was indifferent quiet; and we got some refreshment for ourselves, but very little horse meat, and so went on; but we had not marched far before we found ourselves discovered; and the 400 horse sent to lie in wait for us as before, having understood which way we went, followed us hard; and, by letters to some of their friends at Preston, we found we were beset again. Our guide began now to be out of his knowledge; and our scouts brought us word the enemy's horse was posted before us; and we knew they were in our rear. In this exigence we resolved to divide our small body, and so amusing them, at least one might get off, if the other miscarried. I took about 80 horse with me, among which were all that I had of my own regiment, amounting to above thirty-two, and took the hills towards Yorkshire. Here we met with such unpassable hills, vast moors, rocks, and stony ways,

as lamed all our horses, and tired our men; and sometimes I was ready to think we should never be able to get over them, till our horses failing, and jack-boots being but indifferent things to travel in, we might be starved before we should find any road or towns, for guide we had none, but a boy who knew but little, and would cry when we asked him any questions. I believe neither men nor horses ever passed in some places where we went, and for twenty hours we saw not a town nor a house, excepting sometimes from the top of the mountains, at a vast distance. I am persuaded we might have encamped here, if we had had provisions, till the war had been over, and have met with no disturbance; and I have often wondered since, how we got into such horrible places, as much as how we got out. That which was worse to us than all the rest was, that we knew not where we were going, nor what part of the country we should come into, when we came out of those desolate crags. At last, after a terrible fatigue, we began to see the western parts of Yorkshire, some few villages, and the country at a distance looked a little like England; for I thought before it looked like old Brennus hill, which the Grisons call the grandfather of the Alps. We got some relief in the villages, which indeed some of us had so much need of, that they were hardly able to sit their horses, and others were forced to help them off, they were so faint. I never felt so much of the power of hunger in my life, for having not eaten in thirty hours, I was as ravenous as a hound; and if I had had a piece of horseflesh, I believe I should not have had patience to have stayed dressing it, but have fallen upon it raw, and have eaten it as greedily as a Tartar.

However, I eat very cautiously, having often seen the danger of men's eating heartily after long fasting. Our next care was to inquire our way. Halifax, they told us, was on our right; there we durst not think of going; Skipton was before us, and there we knew not how it was; for a body of 3000 horse, sent out by the enemy in pursuit of Prince Rupert, had been there but two days before, and the country people could not tell us whether they were gone or no; and Manchester's horse, which were sent out after our party, were then at Halifax, in quest of us, and afterwards marched into Cheshire. In this distress we would have hired a guide, but none of the country people would go with us; for the Roundheads would hang them, they said, when they came there. Upon this I called a fellow to me, 'Hark ye, friend,' says I, 'dost thee know the way so as to bring us into Westmoreland, and not keep the great road from York?' 'Ay marry,' says he, 'I ken the ways weel enou.' 'And you would go and guide us,' said I, 'but that you are afraid the Roundheads will hang you?' 'Indeed would I,' says the fellow. 'Why then,' says I, 'thou badst as good be hanged by a Roundhead as a cavalier; for, if thou wilt not go, I'll hang thee just now.' 'Na, and ye serve me sea,' says the fellow, 'I'se ene gang with ye; for I care not for hanging; and ye'll get me a good horse, I'se gang and be one of ye, for I'll nere come heame more.' This pleased us still better, and we mounted the fellow, for three of our men died that night with the extreme fatigue of the last service.

Next morning, when our new trooper was mounted and clothed, we hardly knew him; and this fellow led us by such ways, such wildernesses, and yet with such prudence, keeping the hills to the left, that we might have the villages to refresh ourselves, that without him, we had certainly either perished in those mountains, or fallen into the enemy's hands. We passed the great road from York so critically as to time, that from one of the hills he showed us a party of the enemy's horse, who were then marching into Westmoreland. We lay still that day, finding we were not discovered by them; and our guide proved the best scout that we could have had; for he would go out ten miles at a time, and bring us in all the news of the country. Here he brought us word, that York was surrendered upon articles, and that Newcastle, which had been surprised by the king's party, was besieged by another army of Scots, advanced to help their brethren.

Along the edges of those vast mountains we passed, with the help of our guide, till we came into the forest of Swale; and finding ourselves perfectly concealed here, for no soldier had ever been here all the war, nor perhaps would not, if it had lasted seven years, we thought we wanted a few days' rest, at least for our horses; so we resolved to halt, and while we did so, we made some disguises, and sent out some spies into the country; but as here were no great towns, nor no post road, we got very little intelligence. We rested four days, and then marched again; and indeed, having no great stock of money about us, and not very free of that we had, four days was enough for those poor places to be able to maintain us.

We thought ourselves pretty secure now; but our chief care was, how to get over those terrible mountains; for, having passed the great road that leads from York to Lancaster, the crags, the farther northward we looked, looked still the worse, and our business was all on the other side. Our guide told us he would bring us out if we would have patience, which we were obliged to, and kept on this slow march till he brought us to Stanhope, in the county of Durham, where some of Goring's horse, and two regiments of foot, had their quarters. This was nineteen days from the battle of Marston Moor. The prince, who was then at Kendal, in Westmoreland, and who had given me over as lost, when he had news of our arrival, sent an express to me to meet him at Appleby. I went thither accordingly, and gave him an account of our journey; and there I heard the short history of the other part of our men, whom we parted from in Lancashire. They made the best of their way north. They had two resolute gentlemen who commanded; and being so closely pursued by the enemy that they found themselves under the necessity of fighting, they halted, and faced about, expecting the charge. The boldness of the action made the officer who led the enemy's horse (which it seems were the county horse only) afraid of them; which they perceiving, taking the advantage of his fears, bravely advance, and charge them; and though they were above 200 horse, they routed them, killed about thirty or forty, got some horses and some money, and pushed on their march night and day; but coming near Lancaster, they were so waylaid and pursued that they agreed to separate, and shift every man for himself. Many of them fell into the enemy's hands; some were killed attempting to pass through the river Lune, some went back again, six or seven got to Bolton, and about 18 got safe to Prince Rupert.

The prince was in a better condition hereabouts than I expected; he and my Lord Goring, with the help of Sir Marmaduke Langdale and the gentlemen of Cumberland, had gotten a body of 4000 horse, and about 6000 foot. They had re-

taken Newcastle, Tinmouth, Durham, Stockton, and several towns of consequence from the Scots, and might have cut them out work enough still, if that base people, resolved to engage their whole interest to ruin their sovereign, had not sent a second army of 10,000 men under the Earl of Calender, to help their first. These came and laid siege to Newcastle, but found more vigorous resistance now than they had done before.

There were in the town Sir John Morley, the Lord Crawford, Lord Rea and Maxwell, Scots, and old soldiers, who were resolved their countrymen should buy the town very dear, if they had it; and had it not been for our disaster at Marston Moor, they had never had it; for Calender, finding he was not able to carry the town, sends to General Leven to come from the siege of York to help him.

Meantime the prince forms a very good army, and the Lord Goring, with 10,000 men, shows himself on the borders of Scotland, to try if that might not cause the Scots to recall their forces; and I am persuaded, had he entered Scotland, the parliament of Scotland had recalled the Earl of Calender, for they had but 5000 men left in arms to send against him; but they were loath to venture.

However, this effect it had, that it called the Scots northward again, and found them work there for the rest of the summer, to reduce the several towns in the bishopric of Durham.

I found with the prince the poor remains of my regiment, which, when joined with those that had been with me, could not all make up three troops, and but two captains, three lieutenants, and one cornet; the rest were dispersed, killed, or taken prisoners.

However, with those, which we still called a regiment, I joined the prince, and after having done all we could on that side, the Scots being returned from York, the prince returned through Lancashire to Chester.

The enemy often appeared and alarmed us, and once fell on one of our parties, and killed us about a hundred men; but we were too many for them to pretend to fight us, so we came to Bolton, beat the troops of the enemy near Warrington, where I got a cut with a halberd in my face, and arrived at Chester the beginning of August.

The parliament, upon their great success in the north, thinking the king's forces quite broken, had sent their general, Essex, into the west, where the king's army was commanded by Prince Maurice, Prince Rupert's elder brother, but not very strong; and the king being, as they supposed, by the absence of Prince Rupert, weakened so much as that he might be checked by Sir William Waller, who, with 4500 foot and 1500 horse, was at that time about Winchester, having lately beaten Sir Ralph Hopton: upon all these considerations the Earl of Essex marches westward.

The forces in the west being too weak to oppose him, everything gave way to him, and all people expected he would besiege Exeter, where the queen was newly lying-in, and sent a trumpet to desire he would forbear the city, while she could be removed; which he did, and passed on westward, took Tiverton, Biddeford, Barnstaple, Launceston, relieved Plymouth, drove Sir Richard Grenvil up into Cornwall, and followed him thither, but left Prince Maurice behind him, with 4000 men, about Barnstaple and Exeter. The king, in the meantime, marches from Oxford into Worcester, with Waller at his heels; at Edgehill his majesty turns upon Waller, and gave him a brush, to put him in mind of the place; the king goes on to Worcester, sends 300 horse to relieve Durley Castle, besieged by the Earl of Denbigh, and sending part of his forces to Bristol, returns to Oxford.

His majesty had now firmly resolved to march into the west, not having yet any account of our misfortunes in the north. Waller and Middleton waylay the king at Cropedy Bridge. The king assaults Middleton at the bridge; Waller's men were posted with some cannon to guard a pass; Middleton's men put a regiment of the king's foot to the rout, and pursued them. Waller's men, willing to come in for the plunder, a thing their general had often used them to, quit their post at the pass, and their great guns, to have part in the victory. The king coming in seasonably to the relief of his men, routs Middleton, and at the same time sends a party round, who clapt in between Sir William Waller's men and their great guns, and secured the pass and the cannon too.

The king took three colonels, besides other officers, and about 300 men prisoners, with eight great guns, 19 carriages of ammunition, and killed about 200 men.

Waller lost his reputation in this fight, and was exceedingly slighted ever after, even by his own party; but especially by such as were of General Essex's party, between whom and Waller there had been jealousies and misunderstandings for some time.

The king, about 8000 strong, marched on to Bristol, where Sir William Hopton joined him; and from thence he follows Essex into Cornwall. Essex still following Grenvil, the king comes to Exeter, and joining with Prince Maurice, resolves to pursue Essex; and now the Earl of Essex began to see his mistake, being cooped up between two seas, the king's army in his rear, the country his enemy, and Sir Richard Grenvil in his van.

The king, who always took the best measures when he was left to his own counsel, wisely refuses to engage, though superior in number, and much stronger in horse. Essex often drew out to fight, but the king fortifies, takes the passes and bridges, plants cannon, and secures the country to keep off provisions, and continually strengthens their quarters, but would not fight.

Now Essex sends away to the parliament for help, and they write to Waller, and Middleton, and Manchester to follow, and come up with the king in his rear; but some were too far off, and could not, as Manchester and Fairfax; others made no haste, as having no mind to it, as Waller and Middleton; and if they had, it had been too late.

At last the Earl of Essex finding nothing to be done, and unwilling to fall into the king's hands, takes shipping, and leaves his army to shift for themselves. The horse, under Sir William Balfour, the best horse officer, and, without comparison, the bravest in all the parliament army, advanced in small parties, as if to skirmish, but falling in with the whole body, being 3500 horse, broke through, and got off. Though this was a loss to the king's victory, yet the foot were now in a condition so much the worse. Brave old Skippon proposed to fight through with the foot and die, as he called it, like Englishmen, with sword in hand; but the rest of the officers shook their heads at it, for, being well paid, they had at present no occasion for dying.

Seeing it thus, they agreed to treat, and the king grants them conditions, upon laying down their arms, to march off free. This was too much: had his majesty but obliged them, upon

oath, not to serve again for a certain time, he had done his business; but this was not thought of; so they passed free, only disarmed, the soldiers not being allowed so much as their swords.

The king gained by this treaty forty pieces of cannon, all of brass, 300 barrels of gunpowder, 9000 arms, 8000 swords, match and bullet in proportion, 200 waggons, 150 colours and standards, all the bag and baggage of the army, and about 1000 of the men 'listed in his army. This was a complete victory without bloodshed; and had the king but secured the men from serving but for six months, it had most effectually answered the battle of Marston Moor.

As it was, it infused new life into all his majesty's forces and friends, and retrieved his affairs very much; but especially it encouraged us in the north, who were more sensible of the blow received at Marston Moor, and of the destruction the Scots were bringing upon us all.

While I was at Chester, we had some small skirmishes with Sir William Brereton. One morning in particular Sir William drew up, and faced us; and one of our colonels of horse observing the enemy to be not, as he thought, above 200, desires leave of Prince Rupert to attack them with a like number, and accordingly he sallied out with 200 horse. I stood drawn up without the city with 800 more, ready to bring him off, if he should be put to the worst, which happened accordingly; for, not having discovered neither the country nor the enemy as he ought, Sir William Brereton drew him into an ambuscade; so that before he came up with Sir William's forces, near enough to charge, he finds about 300 horse in his rear. Though he was surprised at this, yet, being a man of a ready courage, he boldly faces about with 150 of his men, leaving the other fifty to face Sir William. With this small party he desperately charges the 300 horse in his rear, and putting them into disorder, breaks through them; and had there been no greater force, he had cut them all in pieces. Flushed with this success, and loath to desert the fifty men he had left behind, he faces about again, and charges through them again, and with these two charges entirely routs them. Sir William Brereton finding himself a little disappointed, advances, and falls upon the fifty men just as the colonel came up to them. They fought him with a great deal of bravery; but the colonel being unfortunately killed in the first charge, the men gave way, and came flying all in confusion, with the enemy at their heels. As soon as I saw this, I advanced, according to my orders; and the enemy, as soon as I appeared, gave over the pursuit. This gentleman, as I remember, was Colonel Marrow; we fetched off his body, and retreated into Chester.

The next morning the prince drew out of the city with about 1200 horse and 2000 foot, and attacked Sir William Brereton in his quarters. The fight was very sharp for the time, and near 700 men on both sides were killed; but Sir William would not put it to a general engagement, so the prince drew off, contenting himself to have insulted him in his quarters.

We now had received orders from the king to join him; but I, representing to the prince the condition of my regiment, which was now 100 men, and that being within 25 miles of my father's house, I might soon recruit it, my father having got some men together already, I desired leave to lie at Shrewsbury for a month to make up my men. Accordingly, having obtained his leave, I marched to Wrexham, where in two days' time I got twenty men, and so on to Shrewsbury. I had not been here above ten days, but I received an express to come away with what recruits I had got together, Prince Rupert having positive orders to meet the king by a certain day. I had not mounted 100 men, though I had listed above 200, when these orders came; but leaving my father to complete them for me, I marched with those I had, and came to Oxford.

The king, after the rout of the parliament forces in the west, was marched back, took Barnstaple, Plympton, Launceston, Tiverton, and several other places, and left Plymouth besieged by Sir Richard Grenvil; met with Sir William Waller at Shaftesbury, and again at Andover, and boxed him at both places, and marched for Newbury. Here the king sent for Prince Rupert to meet him, who, with 3000 horse, made long marches to join him; but the parliament having joined their three armies together, Manchester from the north, Waller, and Essex, the men being clothed and armed, from the west, they attacked the king, and obliged him to fight the day before the prince came up.

The king had so posted himself as that he could not be obliged to fight but with advantage; the parliament's forces being superior in number, and therefore, when they attacked him, he galled them with his cannon; and declining to come to a general battle, stood upon the defensive, expecting Prince Rupert with the horse.

The parliament's forces had some advantage over our foot, and took the Earl of Cleveland prisoner; but the king, whose foot were not above one to two, drew his men under the cannon of Dennington Castle, and having secured his artillery and baggage, made a retreat with his foot in very good order, having not lost in all the fight above 300 men, and the parliament as many. We lost five pieces of cannon, and took two, having repulsed the Earl of Manchester's men on the north side of the town, with considerable loss.

The king having lodged his train of artillery and baggage in Dennington Castle, marched the next day for Oxford; there we joined him with 3000 horse and 2000 foot. Encouraged with this reinforcement, the king appears upon the hills on the north-west of Newbury, and faces the parliament army. The parliament having too many generals as well as soldiers, they could not agree whether they should fight or no. This was no great token of the victory they boasted of; for they were now twice our number in the whole, and their foot three for one. The king stood in battalia all day, and finding the parliament forces had no stomach to engage him, he drew away his cannon and baggage out of Dennington Castle in view of their whole army, and marched away to Oxford.

This was such a false step of the parliament's generals, that all the people cried shame of them: the parliament appointed a committee to inquire into it. Cromwell accused Manchester, and he Waller; and so they laid the fault upon one another. Waller would have been glad to have charged it upon Essex; but, as it happened, he was not in the army, having been taken ill some days before. But as it generally is when a mistake is made, the actors fall out among themselves, so it was here. No doubt it was as false a step as that of Cornwall, to let the king fetch away his baggage and cannon in the face of three armies, and never fire a shot at them.

The king had not above 8000 foot in his army, and they above 25,000. It is true the king had 8000 horse, a fine body, and much superior to

theirs; but the foot might, with the greatest ease in the world, have prevented the removing the cannon, and in three days' time have taken the castle, with all that was in it.

These differences produced their self-denying ordinance, and the putting by most of their old generals, as Essex, Waller, Manchester, and the like; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, a terrible man in the field, though the mildest man out of it, was voted to have the command of all their forces, and Lambert to take the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops in the north, old Skipton being major-general.

This winter was spent, on the enemy's side, in modelling, as they called it, their army; and on our side, in recruiting ours, and some petty excursions. Amongst the many addresses, I observed one from Sussex or Surrey, complaining of the rudeness of their soldiers, and particularly of the ravishing of women and the murdering of men; from which I only observed, that there were disorders among them as well as among us, only with this difference, that they, for reasons I mentioned before, were under circumstances to prevent it better than the king. But I must do the king's memory that justice, that he used all possible methods, by punishment of soldiers, charging, and sometimes entreating the gentlemen not to suffer such disorders and such violences in their men; but it was to no purpose for his majesty to attempt it, while his officers, generals, and great men winked at it; for the licentiousness of the soldier is supposed to be approved by the officer when it is not corrected.

The rudeness of the parliament soldiers began from the divisions among their officers; for in many places the soldiers grew so out of all discipline, and so insufferably rude, that they in particular refused to march when Sir William Waller went to Weymouth. This had turned to good account for us had these cursed Scots been out of our way; but they were the staff of the party, and now they were daily solicited to march southward, which was a very great affliction to the king and all his friends.

One booty the king got at this time, which was a very seasonable assistance to his affairs, viz. a great merchant ship richly laden at London, and bound to the East Indies, was, by the seamen, brought into Bristol, and delivered up to the king. Some merchants in Bristol offered the king £40,000 for her, which his majesty ordered should be accepted, reserving only thirty great guns for his own use.

The treaty at Uxbridge now was begun, and we that had been well beaten in the war heartily wished the king would come to a peace; but we all foresaw the clergy would ruin it all. The commons were for presbytery, and would never agree the bishops should be restored. The king was willinger to comply with anything than this, and we foresaw it would be so; from whence we used to say among ourselves, that the clergy was resolved, if there should be no bishop, there should be no king.

This treaty at Uxbridge was a perfect war between the men of the gown; ours was between those of the sword; and I cannot but take notice how the lawyers, statesmen, and the clergy of every side, bestirred themselves rather to hinder than promote the peace.

There had been a treaty at Oxford some time before, where the parliament, insisting that the king should pass a bill to abolish episcopacy, quit the militia, abandon several of his faithful servants to be exempted from pardon, and making several other most extravagant demands, nothing was done, but the treaty broke off, both parties being rather farther exasperated than inclined to hearken to conditions.

However, soon after the success in the west, his majesty, to let them see that victory had not puffed him up so as to make him reject the peace, sends a message to the parliament to put them in mind of messages of like nature which they had slighted; and to let them know that, notwithstanding he had beaten their forces, he was yet willing to hearken to a reasonable proposal for putting an end to the war.

The parliament pretended the king in his message did not treat with them as a legal parliament, and so made hesitations; but after long debates and delays, they agreed to draw up propositions for peace to be sent to the king. As this message was sent to the houses about August, I think they made it the middle of November before they brought the propositions for peace; and when they brought them, they had no power to make either upon a treaty, or so much as preliminaries for a treaty, only to deliver the letter, and receive an answer.

However, such were the circumstances of affairs at this time, that the king was uneasy to see himself thus treated, and take no notice of it. The king returned an answer to the propositions, and proposed a treaty by commissioners, which the parliament appointed.

Three months more were spent in naming commissioners. There was much time spent in this treaty, but little done: the commissioners debated chiefly the article of religion, and of the militia; in the latter they were very likely to agree; in the former both sides seemed too positive. The king would by no means abandon episcopacy, nor the parliament presbytery; for both, in their opinion, were *jure divino*.

The commissioners finding this point hardest to adjust, went from it to that of the militia; but the time spinning out, the king's commissioners demanded longer time for the treaty; the other sent up for instructions, but the house refused to lengthen out the time.

This was thought an insolence upon the king, and gave all good people a detestation of such haughty behaviour: and thus the hopes of peace vanished; both sides prepared for war with as much eagerness as before.

The parliament was employed at this time in what they called modelling their army; that is to say, that now the Independent party beginning to prevail, and, as they outdid all the others in their resolution of carrying on the war to all extremities, so they were both the more vigorous and more politic party in carrying it on.

Indeed the war was after this carried on with greater animosity than ever, and the generals pushed forward with a vigour, that as it had something in it unusual, so it told us plainly from this time, whatever they did before, they now pushed at the ruin even of the monarchy itself.

All this while also the war went on; and though the parliament had no settled army, yet their regiments and troops were always in action, and the sword was at work in every part of the kingdom.

Among an infinite number of party skirmishings and fights this winter, one happened which nearly concerned me, which was the surprise of the town and castle of Shrewsbury. Colonel Mitton, with about 1200 horse and foot, having intelligence with some people in the town, on a Sunday morning early broke into the town, and took it, castle and all. The loss for the quality,

more than the number, was very great to the king's affairs. They took there 15 pieces of cannon, Prince Maurice's magazine of arms and ammunition, Prince Rupert's baggage, above 50 persons of quality and officers: there was not above eight or ten men killed on both sides; for the town was surprised, not stormed. I had a particular loss in this action; for all the men and horses my father had got together for the recruiting my regiment were here lost and dispersed; and, which was the worst, my father happening to be then in the town, was taken prisoner, and carried to Beeston Castle, in Cheshire.

I was quartered all this winter at Banbury, and went little abroad; nor had we any action till the latter end of February, when I was ordered to march to Leicester with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in order, as we thought, to raise a body of men in that county and Staffordshire, to join the king.

We lay at Daventry one night, and continuing our march to pass the river above Northampton, that town being possessed by the enemy, we understood a party of Northampton forces were abroad, and intended to attack us. Accordingly, in the afternoon, our scouts brought us word the enemy were quartered in some villages on the road to Coventry. Our commander thinking it much better to set upon them in their quarters, than to wait for them in the field, resolves to attack them early in the morning, before they were aware of it. We refreshed ourselves in the field for that day, and getting into a great wood near the enemy, we stayed there all night, till almost break of day, without being discovered.

In the morning, very early, we heard the enemy's trumpets sound to horse. This roused us to look abroad; and sending out a scout, he brought us word a party of the enemy was at hand. We were vexed to be so disappointed; but finding their party small enough to be dealt with, Sir Marmaduke ordered me to charge them with 300 horse and 200 dragoons, while he at the same time entered the town. Accordingly I lay still till they came to the very skirt of the wood where I was posted, when I saluted them with a volley from my dragoons out of the wood, and immediately showed myself with my horse on their front, ready to charge them; they appeared not to be surprised, and received our charge with great resolution; and being above 400 men, they pushed me vigorously in their turn, putting my men into some disorder. In this extremity, I sent to order my dragoons to charge them in the flank, which they did with great bravery, and the other still maintained the fight with desperate resolution. There was no want of courage in our men on both sides; but our dragoons had the advantage, and at last routed them, and drove them back to the village. Here Sir Marmaduke Langdale had his hands full too; for my firing had alarmed the towns adjacent, that when he came into the town, he found them all in arms; and, contrary to his expectations, two regiments of foot, with about 300 horse more. As Sir Marmaduke had no foot, only horse and dragoons, this was a surprise to him; but he caused his dragoons to enter the town, and charge the foot, while his horse secured the avenues of the town.

The dragoons bravely attacked the foot, and Sir Marmaduke falling in with his horse, the fight was obstinate and very bloody, when the horse that I had routed came flying into the street of the village, and my men at their heels. Immediately I left the pursuit, and fell in with all my force to the assistance of my friends; and, after an obstinate resistance, we routed the whole party. We killed about 700 men, took 350, 27 officers, 100 arms, all their baggage, and 200 horses, and continued our march to Harborough, where we halted to refresh ourselves.

Between Harborough and Leicester we met with a party of 800 dragoons of the parliament forces. They found themselves too few to attack us, and therefore, to avoid us, they had gotten into a small wood; but perceiving themselves discovered, they came boldly out, and placed themselves at the entrance into a lane, lining both sides of the hedges with their shot. We immediately attacked them, beat them from their hedges, beat them into the wood, and out of the wood again, and forced them at last to a downright run away, on foot, among the enclosures where we could not follow them, killed about 100 of them, and took 250 prisoners, with all their horses, and came that night to Leicester. When we came to Leicester, and had taken up our quarters, Sir Marmaduke Langdale sent for me to sup with him, and told me that he had a secret commission in his pocket, which his majesty had commanded him not to open until he came to Leicester; that now he had sent for me to open it together, that we might know what it was we were to do, and to consider how to do it; so, pulling out his sealed orders, we found we were to get what force we could together, and a certain number of carriages with ammunition, which the governor of Leicester was to deliver us, and a certain quantity of provision, especially corn and salt, and to relieve Newark. This town had been long besieged; the fortifications of the place, together with its situation, had rendered it the strongest place in England; and as it was the greatest pass in England, so it was of vast consequence to the king's affairs. There was in it a garrison of brave old rugged boys, fellows that, like Count Tilly's Germans, had iron faces, and they had defended themselves with extraordinary bravery a great while, but were reduced to an exceeding strait for want of provisions.

Accordingly, we received the ammunition and provision, and away we went for Newark. About Melton-Mowbray, Colonel Roseter set upon us with above 3000 men; we were about the same number, having 2500 horse and 800 dragoons. We had some foot, but they were still at Harborough, and were ordered to come after us.

Roseter, like a brave officer, as he was, charged us with great fury, and rather outdid us in number, while we defended ourselves with all the eagerness we could, and withal gave him to understand we were not so soon to be beaten as he expected. While the fight continued doubtful, especially on our side, our people, who had charge of the carriages and provisions, began to enclose our flanks with them, as if we had been marching; which, though it was done without orders, had two very good effects, and which did us extraordinary service. First, it secured us from being charged in the flank, which Roseter had twice attempted; and secondly, it secured our carriages from being plundered, which had spoiled our whole expedition. Being thus enclosed, we fought with great security; and though Roseter made three desperate charges upon us, he could never break us. Our men received him with so much courage, and kept their order so well, that the enemy, finding it impossible to force us, gave it over, and left us to pursue our orders. We did not offer chase to them, but contented enough to have repulsed

and beaten them off, and our business being to relieve Newark, we proceeded.

If we are to reckon by the enemy's usual method, we got the victory, because we kept the field, and had the pillage of their dead; but otherwise, neither side had any great cause to boast. We lost about 150 men, and near as many hurt; they left 170 on the spot, and carried off some. How many they had wounded we could not tell; we got 70 or 80 horses, which helped to remount some of our men that had lost theirs in the fight. We had, however, this disadvantage, that we were to march on immediately after this service; the enemy only to retire to their quarters, which was but hard by. This was an injury to our wounded men, whom we were after obliged to leave at Belvoir Castle, and from thence we advanced to Newark.

Our business at Newark was to relieve the place, and this we resolved to do, whatever it cost, though, at the same time, we resolved not to fight, unless we were forced to it. The town was rather blocked up than besieged; the garrison was strong, but ill provided; we had sent them word of our coming, and our orders to relieve them, and they proposed some measures for our doing it. The chief strength of the enemy lay on the other side of the river; but they having also some notice of our design, had sent over forces to strengthen their leaguer on this side. The garrison had often surprised them by sallies, and indeed had chiefly subsisted for some time by what they brought in in this manner.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was our general for the expedition, was for a general attempt to raise the siege; but I had persuaded him off that, first, because if we should be beaten, as might be probable, we then lost the town. Sir Marmaduke briskly replied, 'A soldier ought never to suppose he shall be beaten.' 'But, sir,' says I, 'you'll get more honour by relieving the town, than by beating them: one will be a credit to your conduct, as the other will be to your courage; and if you think you can beat them, you may do it afterwards, and then, if you are mistaken, the town is nevertheless secured, and half your victory gained.'

He was prevailed with to adhere to this advice, and accordingly we appeared before the town about two hours before night. The horse drew up before the enemy's works; the enemy drew up within their works, and seeing no foot, expected when our dragoons would dismount and attack them. They were in the right to let us attack them, because of the advantage of their batteries and works, if that had been our design; but, as we intended only to amuse them, this caution of theirs effected our design; for, while we thus faced them with our horse, two regiments of foot, which came up to us but the night before, and was all the infantry we had, with the waggons of provisions, and 500 dragoons, taking a compass clean round the town, posted themselves on the lower side of the town by the river. Upon a signal the garrison agreed on before, they sallied out at this very juncture, with all the men they could spare, and dividing themselves in two parties, while one party moved to the left to meet our relief, the other party fell on upon part of that body which faced us. We kept in motion, and upon this signal advanced to their works, and our dragoons fired upon them; and the horse wheeling and countermarching often, kept them continually expecting to be attacked. By this means the enemy were kept employed, and our foot, with the waggons, appearing on that quarter where they were least expected, easily defeated the advanced guards, and forced that post, where entering the leaguer, the other part of the garrison, who had sallied that way, came up to them, received the waggons, and the dragoons entered with them into the town. That party, which we faced on the other side of the works, knew nothing of what was done till all was over; the garrison retreated in good order, and we drew off, having finished what we came for without fighting.

Thus we plentifully stored the town with all things wanting, and with an addition of 500 dragoons to their garrison; after which we marched away without fighting a stroke. Our next orders were to relieve Pontefract Castle, another garrison of the king's, which had been besieged ever since a few days after the fight at Marston Moor, by the Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and other generals in their turn.

By the way we were joined with 800 horse out of Derbyshire, and some foot, so many as made us about 4500 men in all.

Colonel Forbes, a Scotchman, commanded at the siege, in the absence of the Lord Fairfax; the colonel had sent to my lord for more troops, and his lordship was gathering his forces to come up to him; but he was pleased to come too late. We came up with the enemy's leaguer about the break of day, and having been discovered by their scouts, they, with more courage than discretion, drew out to meet us. We saw no reason to avoid them, being stronger in horse than they; and though we had but a few foot, we had 1000 dragoons, which helped us out. We had placed our horse and foot throughout in one line, with two reserves of horse, and between every division of horse a division of foot, only that, on the extremes of our wings, there were two parties of horse on each point by themselves, and the dragoons in the centre on foot. Their foot charged us home, and stood with push of pike a great while; but their horse charging our horse and musketeers, and being closed on the flanks with those two extended troops on our wings, they were presently disordered, and fled out of the field. The foot thus deserted, were charged on every side, and broken. They retreated still fighting, and in good order, for a while; but the garrison sallying upon them at the same time, and being followed close by our horse, they were scattered, entirely routed, and most of them killed. The Lord Fairfax was come with his horse as far as Ferrybridge, but the fight was over; and all he could do was to rally those that fled, and save some of their carriages, which else had fallen into our hands. We drew up our little army in order of battle the next day, expecting the Lord Fairfax would have charged us; but his lordship was so far from any such thoughts, that he placed a party of dragoons, with orders to fortify the pass at Ferrybridge, to prevent our falling upon him in his retreat, which he needed not have done; for having raised the siege of Pontefract, our business was done, we had nothing to say to him, unless we had been strong enough to stay.

We lost not above 30 men in this action, and the enemy 300, with about 150 prisoners, one piece of cannon, all their ammunition, 1000 arms, and most of their baggage; and Colonel Lambert was once taken prisoner, being wounded, but got off again.

We brought no relief for the garrison, but the opportunity to furnish themselves out of the country, which they did very plentifully. The ammunition taken from the enemy was given to them, which they wanted, and was their due, for they had seized it in the sally they made, before the enemy was quite defeated.

I cannot omit taking notice, on all occasions, how exceeding serviceable this method was of posting musketeers in the intervals, among the horse, in all this war. I persuaded our generals to it, as much as possible, and I never knew a body of horse beaten that did so; yet I had great difficulty to prevail upon our people to believe it, though it was taught me by the greatest general in the world, viz. the king of Sweden. Prince Rupert did it at the battle of Marston Moor; and had the Earl of Newcastle not been obstinate against it in his right wing, as I observed before, the day had not been lost. In discoursing this with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, I had related several examples of the serviceableness of these small bodies of firemen, and with great difficulty brought him to agree, telling him I would be answerable for the success; but after the fight he told me plainly he saw the advantage of it, and would never fight otherwise again, if he had any foot to place. So, having relieved these two places, we hastened, by long marches, through Derbyshire, to join Prince Rupert on the edge of Shropshire and Cheshire. We found Colonel Roseter had followed us at a distance, ever since the business at Melton-Mowbray, but never cared to attack us, and we found he did the like still. Our general would fain have been doing with him again, but we found him too shy. Once we laid a trap for him at Dove Bridge, between Derby and Burton-upon-Trent, the body being marched two days before; 300 dragoons were left to guard the bridge, as if we were afraid he should fall upon us. Upon this we marched, as I said, on to Burton, and the next day, fetching a compass round, came to a village near Titbury Castle, whose name I forgot, where we lay still, expecting our dragoons would be attacked.

Accordingly the colonel, strengthened with some troops of horse from Yorkshire, comes up to the bridge, and finding some dragoons posted, advances to charge them. The dragoons immediately get a horseback, and run for it, as they were ordered; but the old lad was not to be caught so, for he halts immediately at the bridge, and would not come over till he had sent three or four flying parties abroad, to discover the country. One of these parties fell into our hands, and received but coarse entertainment. Finding the plot would not take, we appeared, and drew up in view of the bridge, but he would not stir; so we continued our march into Cheshire, where we joined Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, making together a fine body, being above 8000 horse and dragoons.

This was the best and most successful expedition I was in during this war. It was well concerted, and executed with as much expedition and conduct as could be desired, and the success was answerable to it; and indeed, considering the season of the year (for we set out from Oxford the latter end of February), the ways bad, and the season wet, it was a terrible march of above 200 miles, in continual action, and continually dodged and observed by a vigilant enemy, and at a time when the north was overrun by their armies, and the Scots wanting employment for their forces; yet, in less than twenty-three days, we marched 200 miles, fought the enemy in open field four times, relieved one garrison besieged, and raised the siege of another, and joined our friends at last in safety.

The enemy was in great pain for Sir William Brereton and his forces, and expresses rid night and day to the Scots in the north, and to the parties in Lancashire, to come to his help. The prince, who used to be rather too forward to fight, than otherwise, could not be persuaded to make use of this opportunity, but loitered, if I may be allowed to say so, till the Scots, with a brigade of horse and 2000 foot, had joined him; and then it was not thought proper to engage them.

I took this opportunity to go to Shrewsbury to visit my father, who was a prisoner of war there, getting a pass from the enemy's governor. They allowed him the liberty of the town, and sometimes to go to his own house upon his parole, so that his confinement was not very much to his personal injury; but this, together with the charges he had been at in raising the regiment, and above £20,000 in money and plate, which at several times he had lent, or given rather, to the king, had reduced our family to very ill circumstances, and now they talked of cutting down his woods.

I had a great deal of discourse with my father on this affair; and finding him extremely concerned, I offered to go to the king, and desire his leave to go to London, and treat about his composition, or to render myself a prisoner in his stead, while he went up himself. In this difficulty I treated with the governor of the town, who very civilly offered me his pass to go for London, which I accepted; and waiting on Prince Rupert, who was then at Worcester, I acquainted him with my design. The prince was unwilling I should go to London, but told me he had some prisoners of the parliament's friends in Cumberland, and he would get an exchange for my father. I told him if he would give me his word for it I knew I might depend upon it, otherwise there was so many of the king's party in their hands, that his majesty was tired with solicitations for exchanges; for we never had a prisoner but there was ten offers of exchange for him. The prince told me I should depend upon him; and he was as good as his word quickly after.

While the prince lay at Worcester he made an incursion into Herefordshire, and having made some of the gentlemen prisoners, brought them to Worcester; and though it was an action which had not been usual, they being persons not in arms, yet the like being my father's case, who was really not in commission, nor in any military service, having resigned his regiment three years before to me, the prince insisted on exchanging them for such as the parliament had in custody in like circumstances. The gentlemen seeing no remedy, solicited their own case at the parliament, and got it passed in their behalf; and by this means my father got his liberty; and, by the assistance of the Earl of Denbigh, got leave to come to London to make a composition, as a delinquent, for his estate. This they charged at £7000; but by the assistance of the same noble person, he got off for £4000. Some members of the committee moved very kindly, that my father should oblige me to quit the king's service; but that, as a thing which might be out of his power, was not insisted on.

The modelling the parliament army took them up all this winter, and we were in great hopes the division which appeared amongst them might have weakened their party; but when they voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be general, I confess I was convinced the king's affairs were lost and desperate. Sir Thomas, abating the zeal of his party, and the mistaken opinion of his cause, was the fittest man amongst them to undertake the charge. He was a complete general, strict in his discipline, wary in conduct, fearless in action, unwearied in the fatigue of the

war, and withal, of a modest, noble, generous disposition. We all apprehended danger from him, and heartily wished him of our own side; and the king was so sensible, though he would not discover it, that, when an account was brought him of the choice they had made, he replied, he was sorry for it; he had rather it had been anybody than he.

The first attempts of this new general and new army were at Oxford, which, by the neighbourhood of a numerous garrison in Abingdon, began to be very much straitened for provisions; and the new forces under Cromwell and Skippon, one lieutenant-general, the other major-general to Fairfax, approaching with a design to block it up, the king left the place, supposing his absence would draw them away, as it soon did.

The king resolving to leave Oxford, marches from thence with all his forces, the garrison excepted, with design to have gone to Bristol, but the plague was in Bristol, which altered the measures, and changed the course of the king's designs, so he marched for Worcester, about the beginning of June 1645. The foot, with a train of forty pieces of cannon, marching into Worcester, the horse stayed behind some time in Gloucestershire.

The first action our army did, was to raise the siege of Chester. Sir William Brereton had besieged it, or rather blocked it up, and when his majesty came to Worcester, he sent Prince Rupert with 4000 horse and dragoons, with orders to join some foot out of Wales, to raise the siege; but Sir William thought fit to withdraw, and not stay for them, and the town was freed without fighting. The governor took care in this interval to furnish himself with all things necessary for another siege; and as for ammunition and other necessaries, he was in no want.

I was sent with a party into Staffordshire, with design to intercept a convoy of stores coming from London for the use of Sir William Brereton; but they having some notice of the design, stopt, and went out of the road to Burton-upon-Trent, and so I missed them; but that we might not come back quite empty, we attacked Hawkesly House, and took it, where we got good booty, and brought 80 prisoners back to Worcester. From Worcester the king advanced into Shropshire, and took his headquarters at Bridgenorth. This was a very happy march of the king's, and had his majesty proceeded, he had certainly cleared the north once more of his enemies, for the country was generally for him. At his advancing so far as Bridgenorth, Sir William Brereton fled up into Lancashire; the Scots brigades who were with him retreated into the north, while yet the king was above forty miles from them, and all things lay open for conquest. The new generals, Fairfax and Cromwell, lay about Oxford, preparing as if they would besiege it, and gave the king's army so much leisure, that his majesty might have been at Newcastle before they could have been half way to him. But Heaven, when the ruin of a person or party is determined, always so infatuates their counsels, as to make them instrumental to it themselves.

The king let slip this great opportunity, as some thought, intending to break into the associated counties of Northampton, Cambridge, and Norfolk, where we had some interests forming. What the design was, we knew not, but the king turns eastward, and marches into Leicestershire, and having treated the country but very indifferently, as having deserved no better of us, laid siege to Leicester.

This was but a short siege; for the king resolving not to lose time, fell on with his great guns, and having beaten down their works, our foot entered, after a vigorous resistance, and took the town by storm. There was some blood shed here, the town being taken by assault; but it was their own faults, for, after the town was taken, the soldiers and townsmen obstinately fought us in the market-place; insomuch that the horse was called to enter the town to clear the streets. But this was not all, I was commanded to advance with these horse, being three regiments, and to enter the town; the foot, who were engaged in the streets, crying out, 'Horse, horse.' Immediately I advanced to the gate, for we were drawn up about musket-shot from the works, to have supported our foot, in case of a sally. Having seized the gate, I placed a guard of horse there, with orders to let nobody pass in or out, and dividing my troops, rode up by two ways towards the market-place. The garrison defending themselves in the market-place, and in the churchyard, with great obstinacy, killed us a great many men; but as soon as our horse appeared, they demanded quarter, which our foot refused them in the first heat, as is frequent in all nations, in like cases; till at last they threw down their arms, and yielded at discretion; and then I can testify to the world that fair quarter was given them. I am the more particular in this relation, having been an eye-witness of the action, because the king was reproached in all the public libels, with which those times abounded, for having put a great many to death, and hanged the committee of the parliament, and some Scots, in cold blood, which was a notorious forgery; and as I am sure there was no such thing done, so I must acknowledge I never saw any inclination in his majesty to cruelty, or to act anything which was not practised by the general laws of war, and by men of honour in all nations.

But the matter of fact, in respect to the garrison, was as I have related; and, if they had thrown down their arms sooner, they had had mercy sooner; but it was not for a conquering army, entered a town by storm, to offer conditions of quarter in the streets.

Another circumstance was, that a great many of the inhabitants, both men and women, were killed, which is most true; and the case was thus: the inhabitants, to show their over-forward zeal to defend the town, fought in the breach; nay, the very women, to the honour of the Leicester ladies, if they like it, officiously did their parts; and after the town was taken, and when, if they had had any brains in their zeal, they would have kept their houses, and been quiet, they fired upon our men out of their windows, and from the tops of their houses, and threw tiles upon their heads; and I had several of my men wounded so, and seven or eight killed. This exasperated us to the last degree; and finding one house better manned than ordinary, and many shot fired at us out of the windows, I caused my men to attack it, resolved to make them an example for the rest; which they did, and breaking open the doors, they killed all they found there, without distinction; and I appeal to the world if they were to blame. If the parliament committee, or the Scots deputies, were here, they ought to have been quiet, since the town was taken; but they begin with us, and, I think, brought it upon themselves. This is the whole case, so far as came within my knowledge, for which his majesty was so much abused.

We took here Colonel Gray and Captain Hacker,

and about 300 prisoners, and about 300 more were killed. This was the last day of May 1645.

His majesty having given over Oxford for lost, continued here some days, viewed the town, ordered the fortifications to be augmented, and prepares to make it the seat of war. But the parliament, roused at this appearance of the king's army, orders their general to raise the siege of Oxford, where the garrison had, in a sally, ruined some of their works, and killed them 150 men, taking several prisoners, and carrying them with them into the city; and orders him to march towards Leicester to observe the king.

The king had now a small, but gallant army, all brave tried soldiers, and seemed eager to engage the new-modelled army; and his majesty, hearing that Sir Thomas Fairfax, having raised the siege of Oxford, advanced towards him, fairly saves him the trouble of a long march, and meets him half way.

The army lay at Daventry, and Fairfax at Towcester, about eight miles off. Here the king sends away 600 horse, with 3000 head of cattle, to relieve his people in Oxford; the cattle he might have spared better than the men. The king, having thus victualled Oxford, changes his resolution of fighting Fairfax, to whom Cromwell was now joined with 4000 men, or was within a day's march, and marches northward. This was unhappy counsel, because late given: had we marched northward at first, we had done it; but thus it was. Now we marched with a triumphing enemy at our heels, and at Naseby their advanced parties attacked our rear. The king, upon this, alters his resolution again, and resolves to fight, and at midnight calls us up at Harborough to come to a council of war. Fate and the king's opinion determined the council of war; and it was resolved to fight. Accordingly the van, in which was Prince Rupert's brigade of horse, of which my regiment was a part, countermarched early in the morning.

By five o'clock in the morning, the whole army, in order of battle, began to descry the enemy from the rising grounds, about a mile from Naseby, and moved towards them. They were drawn up on a little ascent in a large common fallow field, in one line, extending from one side of the field to the other, the field something more than a mile over; our army in the same order, in one line, with the reserves.

The king led the main battle of foot, Prince Rupert the right wing of the horse, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. Of the enemy, Fairfax and Skippon led the body, Cromwell and Roseter the right, and Ireton the left. The numbers of both armies so equal, as not to differ 500 men, save that the king had most horse by about 1000, and Fairfax most foot by about 500. The number was in each army about 18,000 men.

The armies coming close up, the wings engaged first. The prince, with his right wing, charged with his wonted fury, and drove all the parliament's wing of horse, one division excepted, clear out of the field; Ireton, who commanded this wing, give him his due, rallied often, and fought like a lion; but our wing bore down all before them, and pursued them with a terrible execution.

Ireton, seeing one division of his horse left, repaired to them, and, keeping his ground, fell foul of a brigade of our foot, who coming up to the head of the line, he like a madman charges them with his horse: but they with their pikes tore him to pieces; so that this division was entirely ruined. Ireton himself, thrust through the thigh with a pike, wounded in the face with a halberd, was unhorsed and taken prisoner.

Cromwell, who commanded the parliament's right wing, charged Sir Marmaduke Langdale with extraordinary fury; but he, an old tried soldier, stood firm, and received the charge with equal gallantry, exchanging all their shot, carabines, and pistols, and then fell on sword in hand. Roseter and Whaley had the better on the point of the wing, and routed two divisions of horse, pushed them behind reserves, where they rallied, and charged again, but were at last defeated; the rest of the horse now charged in the flank, retreated fighting, and were pushed behind the reserves of foot.

While this was doing, the foot engaged with equal fierceness, and for two hours there was a terrible fire. The king's foot, backed with gallant officers, and full of rage at the rout of their horse, bore down the enemy's brigade led by Skippon. The old man, wounded, bleeding, retreats to their reserves. All the foot, except the general's brigade, were thus driven into the reserves, where their officers rallied them, and brought them on to a fresh charge; and here the horse, having driven our horse above a quarter of a mile from the foot, face about, and fall in on the rear of the foot.

Had our right wing done thus, the day had been secured; but Prince Rupert, according to his custom, following the flying enemy, never concerned himself with the safety of those behind; and yet he returned sooner than he had done in like cases too. At our return we found all in confusion, our foot broken, all but one brigade, which, though charged in the front, flank, and rear, could not be broken, till Sir Thomas Fairfax himself came up to the charge with fresh men, and then they were rather cut in pieces than beaten; for they stood with their pikes charged every way to the last extremity.

In this condition, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, we saw the king rallying his horse, and preparing to renew the fight; and our wing of horse coming up to him, gave him opportunity to draw up a large body of horse, so large, that all the enemy's horse facing us stood still and looked on, but did not think fit to charge us, till their foot, who had entirely broken our main battle, were put into order again, and brought up to us.

The officers about the king advised his majesty rather to draw off; for, since our foot were lost, it would be too much odds to expose the horse to the fury of their whole army, and would be but sacrificing his best troops, without any hopes of success.

The king, though with great regret at the loss of his foot, yet seeing there was no other hope, took his advice, and retreated in good order to Harborough, and from thence to Leicester.

This was the occasion of the enemy having so great a number of prisoners; for the horse, being thus gone off, the foot had no means to make their retreat, and were obliged to yield themselves. Commissary-General Ireton, being taken by a captain of foot, makes the captain his prisoner, to save his life, and gives him his liberty for his courtesy before.

Cromwell and Roseter, with all the enemy's horse, followed us as far as Leicester, and killed all that they could lay hold on straggling from the body, but durst not attempt to charge us in a body. The king expecting the enemy would come to Leicester, removes to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where we had some time to recollect ourselves.

This was the most fatal action of the whole war; not so much for the loss of our cannon, ammunition, and baggage, of which the enemy boasted so much, but as it was impossible for the

king ever to retrieve it. The foot, the best that he was ever master of, could never be supplied; his army in the west was exposed to certain ruin; the north overrun with the Scots; in short, the case grew desperate, and the king was once upon the point of bidding us all disband, and shift for ourselves.

We lost in this fight not above 2000 slain, and the parliament near as many, but the prisoners were a great number; the whole body of foot being, as I have said, dispersed, there were 4500 prisoners, besides 400 officers, 2000 horses, 12 pieces of cannon, 40 barrels of powder, all the king's baggage, coaches, most of his servants, and his secretary, with his cabinet of letters, of which the parliament made great improvement, and, basely enough, caused his private letters between his majesty and the queen, her majesty's letters to the king, and a great deal of such stuff, to be printed.

After this fatal blow, being retreated, as I have said, to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire, the king ordered us to divide; his majesty, with a body of horse, about 3000, went to Lichfield, and through Cheshire into North Wales, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about 2500, went to Newark.

The king remained in Wales for several months; and though the length of the war had almost drained that country of men, yet the king raised a great many men there, recruited his horse regiments, and got together six or seven regiments of foot, which seemed to look like the beginning of a new army.

I had frequent discourses with his majesty in this low ebb of his affairs, and he would often wish he had not exposed his army at Naseby. I took the freedom once to make a proposition to his majesty, which, if it had taken effect, I verily believe would have given a new turn to his affairs; and that was, at once to slight all his garrisons in the kingdom, and give private orders to all the soldiers, in every place, to join in bodies, and meet at two general rendezvous, which I would have appointed to be, one at Bristol, and one at West-Chester. I demonstrated how easily all the forces might reach these two places; and both being strong and wealthy places, and both sea-ports, he would have a free communication by sea, with Ireland, and with his friends abroad; and having Wales entirely his own, he might yet have an opportunity to make good terms for himself, or else have another fair field with the enemy.

Upon a fair calculation of his troops in several garrisons and small bodies dispersed about, I convinced the king, by his own accounts, that he might have two complete armies, each of 25,000 foot, 8000 horse, and 2000 dragoons; that the Lord Goring and the Lord Hopton might ship all their forces, and come by sea in two tides, and be with him in a shorter time than the enemy could follow.

With two such bodies he might face the enemy, and make a day of it; but now his men were only sacrificed, and eaten up by piecemeal in a party war, and spent their lives and estates to do him no service. That if the parliament garrisoned the towns and castles he should quit, they would lessen their army, and not dare to see him in the field; and if they did not, but left them open, then it would be no loss to him, but he might possess them as often as he pleased.

This advice I pressed with such arguments, that the king was once going to despatch orders for the doing it; but to be irresolute in council is always the companion of a declining fortune; the king was doubtful, and could not resolve till *it was too late.*

And yet, though the king's forces were very low, his majesty was resolved to make one adventure more, and it was a strange one; for, with but a handful of men, he made a desperate march, almost 250 miles, in the middle of the whole kingdom, compassed about with armies and parties innumerable, traversed the heart of his enemy's country, entered their Associated Counties, where no army had ever yet come, and, in spite of all their victorious troops facing and following him, alarmed even London itself, and returned safe to Oxford.

His majesty continued in Wales from the battle at Naseby till the 5th or 6th of August, and till he had an account from all parts of the progress of his enemies, and the posture of his own affairs.

Here we found that the enemy, being hard pressed in Somersetshire by the Lord Goring, and Lord Hopton's forces, who had taken Bridgewater, and distressed Taunton, which was now at the point of surrender, they had ordered Fairfax and Cromwell, and the whole army to march westward, to relieve the town; which they did, and Goring's troops were worsted, and himself wounded at the fight at Langport.

The Scots, who were always the dead weight upon the king's affairs, having no more work to do in the north, were, at the parliament's desire, advanced southward, and then ordered away towards South Wales, and were set down to the siege of Hereford. Here this famous Scotch army spent several months in a fruitless siege, ill provided of ammunition, and worse with money; and having sat near three months before the town, and done little but eat up the country round them; upon the repeated accounts of the progress of the Marquis of Montrose in that kingdom, and pressing instances of their countrymen, they resolved to raise their siege, and go home to relieve their friends.

The king, who was willing to be rid of the Scots upon good terms; and therefore to hasten them, and lest they should pretend to push on the siege to take the town first, gives it out that he was resolved with all his forces to go into Scotland and join Montrose; and so having secured Scotland, to renew the war from thence.

And accordingly his majesty marches northwards with a body of 4000 horse; and had the king really done this, and with that body of horse marched away (for he had the start of all his enemies, by above a fortnight's march), he had then had the fairest opportunity for a general turn of all his affairs, that he ever had in all the latter part of this war; for Montrose, a gallant daring soldier, who from the least shadow of force in the farthest corner of his country, had, rolling like a snowball, spread all over Scotland, was come into the south parts, and had summoned Edinburgh, frightened away their statesmen, beaten their soldiers at Dundee and other places, and letters and messengers in the heels of one another repeated their cries to their brethren in England, to lay before them the sad condition of the country, and to hasten the army to their relief. The Scots lords of the enemy's party fled to Berwick, and the Chancellor of Scotland goes himself to General Lesly, to press him for help.

In this extremity of affairs Scotland lay when we marched out of Wales. The Scots at the siege of Hereford hearing the king was gone northward with his horse, concluded he was gone directly for Scotland, and immediately send Lesly with 4000 horse and foot to follow, but did not yet raise the siege.

But the king, still irresolute, turns away to the eastward, and comes to Lichfield, where he

showed his resentments at Colonel Hastings, for his easy surrender of Leicester.

In this march the enemy took heart; we had troops of horse on every side upon us, like hounds started at a fresh stag. Lesly, with the Scots, and a strong body followed in our rear, Major-General Pointz, Sir John Gell, Colonel Roseter, and others, in our way; they pretended to be 10,000 horse, and yet never durst face us. The Scots made one attempt upon a troop which stayed a little behind, and took some prisoners; but when a regiment of our horse faced them, they retired. At a village near Lichfield, another party of about 1000 horse attacked my regiment; we were on the left of the army, and at a little too far a distance; I happened to be with the king at that time, and my lieutenant-colonel with him, so that the major had charge of the regiment. He made a very handsome defence, but sent messengers for speedy relief; we were on a march, and therefore all ready, and the king orders me a regiment of dragoons and 300 horse, and the body halted to bring us off, not knowing how strong the enemy might be. When I came to the place, I found my major hard laid to, but fighting like a lion; the enemy had broke in upon him in two places, and had routed one troop, cutting them off from the body, and had made them all prisoners. Upon this I fell in with the 300 horse, and cleared my major from a party who charged him in the flank; the dragoons immediately alighting, one party of them comes up on my wing, and saluting the enemy with their muskets, put them to a stand; the other party of dragoons wheeling to the left, endeavouring to get behind them. The enemy perceiving they should be overpowered, retreated in as good order as they could, but left us most of our prisoners, and about 30 of their own. We lost about 15 of our men, and the enemy about 40, chiefly by the fire of our dragoons in their retreat.

In this posture we continued our march; and though the king halted at Lichfield, which was a dangerous article, having so many of the enemy's troops upon his hands, and this time gave them opportunity to get into a body; yet the Scots, with their General Lesly, resolving for the north, the rest of the troops were not able to face us, till, having ravaged the enemy's country through Staffordshire, Warwick, Leicester, and Nottinghamshire, we came to the leaguer before Newark.

The king was once more in the mind to have gone into Scotland, and called a council of war to that purpose; but then it was resolved by all hands that it would be too late to attempt it; for the Scots and Major-General Pointz were before us, and several strong bodies of horse in our rear; and there was no venturing now, unless any advantage presented to rout one of those parties which attended us.

Upon these, and like considerations, we resolved for Newark. On our approach, the forces which blocked up that town drew off, being too weak to oppose us; for the king was now above 5000 horse and dragoons, besides 300 horse and dragoons he took with him from Newark.

We halted at Newark to assist the garrison, or give them time rather to furnish themselves from the country with what they wanted, which they were very diligent in doing; for in two days' time they filled a large island which lies under the town, between the two branches of the Trent, with sheep, oxen, cows, and horses, an incredible number; and our affairs being now something desperate, we were not very nice in our usage of the country; for really, if it was not with a resolution both to punish the enemy and enrich ourselves, no man can give any rational account why this desperate journey was undertaken.

It is certain the Newarkers, in the respite they gained by our coming, got above £50,000 from the country round them, in corn, cattle, money, and other plunder.

From hence we broke into Lincolnshire, and the king lay at Belvoir Castle, and from Belvoir Castle to Stamford. The swiftness of our march was a terrible surprise to the enemy; for our van being at a village on the great road called Stilton, the country people fled into the Isle of Ely, and every way, as if all was lost. Indeed our dragoons treated the country very coarsely; and all our men in general made themselves rich. Between Stilton and Huntingdon we had a small bustle with some of the associated troops of horse, but they were soon routed, and fled to Huntingdon, where they gave such an account of us to their fellows, that they did not think fit to stay for us, but left their foot to defend themselves as well as they could.

While this was doing in the van, a party from Burleigh House, near Stamford, the seat of the Earl of Exeter, pursued four troops of our horse, who straggling towards Peterborough, and committing some disorders there, were surprised before they could get into a posture of fighting; and encumbered, as I suppose, with their plunder, they were entirely routed, lost most of their horses, and were forced to come away on foot; but finding themselves in this condition, they got into a body in the enclosures, and in that posture, turning dragoons, they lined the hedges, and fired upon the enemy with their carabines. This way of fighting, though not very pleasant to troopers, put the enemy's horse to some stand, and encouraged our men to venture into a village, where the enemy had secured 40 of their horse; and boldly charging the guard, they beat them off, and recovering those horses, the rest made their retreat good to Wansford Bridge; but we lost near 100 horses, and about twelve of our men taken prisoners.

The next day the king took Huntingdon; the foot which were left in the town, as I observed by their horse, had posted themselves at the foot of the bridge, and fortified the pass with such things as the haste and shortness of the time would allow; and in this posture they seemed resolute to defend themselves. I confess, had they in time planted a good force here, they might have put a full stop to our little army; for the river is large and deep, the country on the left marshy, full of drains and ditches, and unfit for horse, and we must have either turned back, or took the right hand into Bedfordshire; but here not being above 400 foot, and they forsaken of their horse, the resistance they made was to no other purpose than to give us occasion to knock them in the head, and plunder the town.

However, they defended the bridge, as I have said, and opposed our passage. I was this day in the van, and our forlorn having entered Huntingdon, without any great resistance till they came to the bridge, finding it barricaded they sent me word. I caused the troops to halt, and rode up to the forlorn, to view the countenance of the enemy, and found by the posture they had put themselves in that they resolved to sell us the passage as dear as they could.

I sent to the king for some dragoons, and gave him account of what I observed of the enemy, and that I judged them to be 1000 men; for I could not particularly see their numbers. Accordingly, the king ordered 500 dragoons to attack the bridge, commanded by a major; the enemy

had 200 musketeers placed on the bridge, their barricade served them for a breastwork on the front, and the low walls on the bridge served to secure their flanks; two bodies of their foot were placed on the opposite banks of the river, and a reserve stood on the highway on the rear. The number of their men could not have been better ordered, and they wanted not courage answerable to the conduct of the party. They were commanded by one Bennet, a resolute officer, who stood in the front of his men on the bridge with a pike in his hand.

Before we began to fall on, the king ordered to view the river, to see if it was nowhere passable, or any boat to be had; but the river being not fordable, and the boats all secured on the other side, the attack was resolved on, and the dragoons fell on with extraordinary bravery. The foot defended themselves obstinately, and beat off our dragoons twice; and though Bennet was killed upon the spot, and after him his lieutenant, yet their officers relieving them with fresh men, they would certainly have beat us all off, had not a venturous fellow, one of our dragoons, thrown himself into the river, swam over, and, in the midst of a shower of musket bullets, cut the rope which tied a great flat-bottomed boat, and brought her over. With the help of this boat I got over 100 troopers first, and then their horses, and then 200 more without their horses; and with this party fell in with one of the small bodies of foot that were posted on that side, and having routed them, and, after them, the reserve which stood in the road, I made up to the other party; they stood their ground, and having rallied the runaways of both the other parties, charged me with their pikes, and brought me to a retreat; but by this time the king had sent over 300 men more, and they coming up to me, the foot retreated. Those on the bridge finding how it was, and having no supplies sent them as before, fainted and fled; and the dragoons rushing forward, most of them were killed; about 150 of the enemy were killed, of which all the officers at the bridge, the rest run away.

The town suffered for it; for our men left them little of anything they could carry. Here we halted, and raised contributions, took money of the country, and of the open towns, to exempt them from plunder. Twice we faced the town of Cambridge, and several of our officers advised his majesty to storm it; but having no foot, and but 1200 dragoons, wiser heads diverted him from it; and leaving Cambridge on the left, we marched to Woburn, in Bedfordshire, and our parties raised money over all the county, quite into Hertfordshire, within five miles of St. Albans.

The swiftness of our march, and uncertainty which way we intended, prevented all possible preparation to oppose us, and we met with no party able to make head against us. From Woburn the king went through Buckingham to Oxford; some of our men straggling in the villages for plunder, were often picked up by the enemy; but in all this long march, we did not lose 200 men, got an incredible booty, and brought 6 waggons loaden with money, besides 2000 horses, and 3000 head of cattle into Oxford.

From Oxford his majesty moves again into Gloucestershire, having left about 1500 of his horse at Oxford, to scour the country and raise contributions, which they did as far as Reading.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was returned from taking Bridgewater, and was sat down before Bristol, in which Prince Rupert commanded, with a *strong garrison*, 2500 foot and 1000 horse. We had not force enough to attempt anything there, but the Scots, who lay still before Hereford, were afraid of us, having before parted with all their horse under Lieutenant-General Lesly, and lay ill stored with provisions; and, if we came on their backs, were in a fair way to be starved, or made to buy their provisions at the price of their blood.

His majesty was sensible of this, and had we had but ten regiments of foot, would certainly have fought the Scots; but we had no foot, or so few as not worth while to march them. However, the king marched to Worcester; and the Scots apprehending they should be blocked up, immediately raised the siege, pretending it was to go to help their brethren in Scotland, and away they marched northwards.

We picked up some of their stragglers; but they were so poor, had been so ill paid, and so harassed at the siege, that they had neither money nor clothes; and the poor soldiers fed upon apples and roots, and eat the very green corn as it grew in the fields, which reduced them to a very sorry condition of health, for they died like people infected with the plague.

It was now debated whether we should yet march for Scotland, but two things prevented. 1. The plague was broke out there, and multitudes died of it, which made the king backward, and the men more backward. 2. The Marquis of Montrose having routed a whole brigade of Lesly's best horse, and carried all before him, wrote to his majesty that he did not now want assistance, but was in hopes in a few days to send a body of foot into England, to his majesty's assistance. This over confidence of his was his ruin; for, on the contrary, had he earnestly pressed the king to have marched, and fallen in with his horse, the king had done it, and been absolutely master of Scotland in a fortnight's time; but Montrose was too confident, and defied them all, till at last they got their forces together, and Lesly, with his horse out of England, and worsted him in two or three encounters, and then never left him till they drove him out of Scotland.

While his majesty stayed at Worcester, several messengers came to him from Cheshire for relief, being exceedingly straitened by the forces of the parliament: in order to which, the king marched; but Shrewsbury being in the enemy's hands, he was obliged to go round by Ludlow, where he was joined by some foot out of Wales. I took this opportunity to ask his majesty's leave to go by Shrewsbury to my father's, and taking only two servants, I left the army two days before they marched.

This was the most unsoldier-like action that ever I was guilty of, to go out of the army to pay a visit, when a time of action was just at hand; and though I protest I had not the least intimation, no, not from my own thoughts, that the army would engage, at least before they came to Chester, before which I intended to meet them; yet it looked so ill, so like an excuse, or a sham of cowardice, or disaffection to the cause, and to my master's interest, or something I know not what, that I could not bear to think of it, nor never had the heart to see the king's face after it.

From Ludlow the king marched to relieve Chester. Pointz, who commanded the parliament's forces, follows the king, with design to join with the forces before Chester, under Colonel Jones, before the king could come up. To that end, Pointz passes through Shrewsbury the day that the king marched from Ludlow; yet the

king's forces got the start of him, and forced him to engage. Had the king engaged him but three hours sooner, and consequently farther off from Chester, he had ruined him; for Pointz's men, not able to stand the shock of the king's horse, gave ground, and would in half an hour more have been beaten out of the field; but Colonel Jones, with a strong party from the camp, which was within two miles, comes up in the heat of the action, falls on in the king's rear, and turned the scale of the day. The body was, after an obstinate fight, defeated, and a great many gentlemen of quality killed and taken prisoners. The Earl of Lichfield was of the number of the former, and 67 officers of the latter, with 1000 others.

The king, with about 500 horse, got into Chester, and from thence into Wales, whither all that could get away made up to him as fast as they could, but in a bad condition.

This was the last stroke they struck; the rest of the war was nothing but taking all his garrisons from him, one by one, till they finished the war with the captivating his person, and then, for want of other business, fell to fighting with one another.

I was quite disconsolate at the news of this last action, and the more because I was not there. My regiment was wholly dispersed. My lieutenant-colonel, a gentleman of a good family, and a near relation to my mother, was prisoner, my major and three captains killed, and most of the rest prisoners.

The king, hopeless of any considerable party in Wales, Bristol being surrendered, sends for Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who came to him. With them, and the Lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and a great train of gentlemen, his majesty marches to Newark again, leaves a thousand horse with Sir William Vaughan, to attempt the relief of Chester, in doing whereof he was routed the second time by Jones and his men, and entirely dispersed.

The chief strength the king had in these parts was Newark, and the parliament were very earnest with the Scots to march southward, and to lay siege to Newark; and while the parliament pressed them to it, and they sat still, and delayed it, several heats began, and some ill blood between them, which afterwards broke out into open war. The English reproached the Scots with pretending to help them, and really hindering their affairs. The Scots returned, that they came to fight for them, and are left to be starved, and can neither get money nor clothes. At last they came to this, the Scots will come to the siege, if the parliament will send them money, but not before. However, as people sooner agree in doing ill than in doing well, they came to terms, and the Scots came with their whole army to the siege of Newark.

The king, foreseeing the siege, calls his friends about him, tells them he sees his circumstances are such that they can help him but little, nor he protect them, and advises them to separate. The Lord Digby, with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with a strong body of horse, attempt to get into Scotland to join with Montrose, who was still in the Highlands, though reduced to a low ebb; but these gentlemen are fallen upon on every side and routed, and at last being totally broken and dispersed, they fly to the Earl of Derby's protection in the Isle of Man.

Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, Colonel Gerard, and above 400 gentlemen, all officers of horse, lay their commissions down, and seizing upon Wooton House for a retreat, make proposals to the parliament to leave the kingdom, upon their parole not to return again in arms against the parliament, which was accepted, though afterwards the princes declined it. I sent my man post to the prince to be included in this treaty, and for leave for all that would accept of like conditions; but they had given in the list of their names, and could not alter it.

This was a sad time; the poor remains of the king's fortunes went everywhere to wreck. Every garrison of the enemy was full of the cavalier prisoners, and every garrison the king had was beset with enemies, either blocked up or besieged. Goring and the Lord Hopton were the only remainder of the king's forces which kept in a body, and Fairfax was pushing them with all imaginable vigour, with his whole army, about Exeter, and other parts of Devonshire and Cornwall.

In this condition the king left Newark in the night, and got to Oxford. The king had in Oxford 8000 men; and in the towns of Banbury, Farrington, Dunnington Castle, and such places, as might have been brought together in twenty-four hours, 15 or 20,000 men, with which, if he had then resolved to have quitted the place, and collected the forces in Worcester, Hereford, Lichfield, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and all the small castles and garrisons he had thereabouts, he might have had near 40,000 men, might have beaten the Scots from Newark, Colonel Jones from Chester, and all before Fairfax, who was in the west, could be able to come to their relief; and this his majesty's friends in North Wales had concerted. And in order to it, Sir Jacob Ashby gathered what forces he could in our parts, and attempted to join the king at Oxford, and to have proposed it to him; but Sir Jacob was entirely routed at Stow-on-the-Wold, and taken prisoner, and of 3000 men not above 600 came to Oxford.

All the king's garrisons dropt one by one. Hereford, which had stood out against the whole army of the Scots, was surprised by six men and a lieutenant, dressed up for country labourers, and a constable pressed to work, who cut the guards in pieces, and let in a party of the enemy.

Chester was reduced by famine, all the attempts the king made to relieve it being frustrated.

Sir Thomas Fairfax routed the Lord Hopton at Torrington, and drove him to such extremities that he was forced up into the farthest corner of Cornwall. The Lord Hopton had a gallant body of horse with him of nine brigades, but no foot; Fairfax, a great army.

Heartless, and tired out with continual ill news and ill success, I had frequent meetings with some gentlemen, who had escaped from the rout of Sir William Vaughan, and we agreed upon a meeting at Worcester of all the friends we could get, to see if we could raise a body fit to do any service, or, if not, to consider what was to be done. At this meeting we had almost as many opinions as people; our strength appeared too weak to make any attempt, the game was too far gone in our parts to be retrieved. All we could make up did not amount to above 800 horse.

It was unanimously agreed not to go into the parliament as long as our royal master did not give up the cause; but in all places and by all possible methods, to do him all the service we could. Some proposed one thing, some another; at last we proposed getting vessels to carry us to the Isle of Man, to the Earl of Derby, as Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Lord Digby and others had done. I did not foresee any service it would be to the king's affairs; but I started a proposal,

that, marching to Pembroke in a body, we should there seize upon all the vessels we could, and embarking ourselves, horses, and what foot we could get, cross the Severn sea, and land in Cornwall to the assistance of Prince Charles, who was in the army of the Lord Hopton, and where only there seemed to be any possibility of a chance for the remaining part of our cause.

This proposal was not without its difficulties, as how to get to the sea-side, and when there, what assurance of shipping. The enemy, under Major-General Langhorn, had overrun Wales, and it would be next to impossible to effect it.

We could never carry our proposal with the whole assembly; but, however, about 200 of us resolved to attempt it, and the meeting being broke up without coming to any conclusion, we had a private meeting among ourselves to effect it.

We despatched private messengers to Swansea and Pembroke, and other places; but they all discouraged us from the attempt that way, and advised us to go higher towards North Wales, where the king's interest had more friends, and the parliament no forces. Upon this we met and resolved; and having sent several messengers that way, one of my men provided us two small vessels in a little creek near Harleigh Castle, in Merionethshire. We marched away with what expedition we could, and embarked in the two vessels accordingly. It was the worst voyage sure that ever man went; for, first, we had no manner of accommodation for so many people; hay for our horses we got none, or very little, but good store of oats, which served us for our own bread as well as provender for the horses.

In this condition we put off to sea, and had a fair wind all the first night, but early in the morning a sudden storm drove us within two or three leagues of Ireland. In this pickle, sea-sick, our horses rolling about upon one another, and ourselves stifled for want of room, no cabins nor beds, very cold weather, and very indifferent diet, we wished ourselves ashore again a thousand times; and yet we were not willing to go on shore in Ireland, if we could help it; for the rebels having possession of every place, that was just having our throats cut at once. Having rolled about at the mercy of the winds all day, the storm ceasing in the evening, we had fair weather again, but wind enough, which being large, in two days and a night we came upon the coast of Cornwall, and, to our no small comfort, landed the next day at St. Ives, in the county of Cornwall.

We rested ourselves here, and sent an express to the Lord Hopton, who was then in Devonshire, of our arrival, and desired him to assign us quarters, and send us his farther orders. His lordship expresed a very great satisfaction at our arrival, and left it to our own conduct to join him as we saw convenient.

We were marching to join him, when news came that Fairfax had given him an entire defeat at Torrington. This was but the old story over again; we had been used to ill news a great while, and it was the less surprise to us.

Upon this news we halted at Bodmin, till we should hear farther; and it was not long before we saw a confirmation of the news before our eyes; for the Lord Hopton, with the remainder of his horse, which he had brought off at Torrington in a very shattered condition, retreated to Launceston, the first town in Cornwall, and hearing that Fairfax pursued him, came on to Bodmin. Hither he summoned all the troops which he had left, which, when he had got together, were a fine body indeed of 5000 horse, but few foot but what were at Pendennis, Barnstaple, and other garrisons; these were commanded by the Lord Hopton; the Lord Goring had taken shipping for France, to get relief, a few days before.

Here a grand council of war was called, and several things were proposed; but, as it always is in distress, people are most irresolute, so it was here. Some were for breaking through by force, our number being superior to the enemy's horse. To fight them with their foot would be desperation, and ridiculous; and to retreat would but be to coop up themselves in a narrow place, where, at last, they must be forced to fight upon disadvantage, or yield at mercy. Others opposed this as a desperate action, and without probability of success; and all were of different opinions. I confess, when I saw how things were, I saw it was a lost game, and I was for the opinion of breaking through and doing it now, while the country was open and large, and not being forced to it when it must be with more disadvantage; but nothing was resolved on, and so we retreated before the enemy. Some small skirmishes there happened near Bodmin, but none that were very considerable.

It was the 1st of March when we quitted Bodmin, and quartered at large at Columb, St. Denis, and Truro, and the enemy took his quarters at Bodmin, posting his horse at the passes from Padstow on the north, to Warbridge, Lestithel, and Foy, spreading so from sea to sea, that now breaking through was impossible. There was no more room for counsel; for, unless we had ships to carry us off, we had nothing to do but when we were fallen upon, to defend ourselves, and sell victory as dear as we could to the enemies.

The Prince of Wales, seeing the distress we were in, and loath to fall into the enemy's hands, ships himself on board some vessel at Falmouth, with about 400 lords and gentlemen; and, as I had no command here to oblige my attendance, I was once going to make one; but my comrades, whom I had been the principal occasion of bringing hither, began to take it ill, that I would leave them, and so I resolved we would take our fate together.

While thus we had nothing before us but a soldier's death, a fair field and a strong enemy, and people began to look one upon another; the soldiers asked how their officers looked, and the officers asked how their soldiers looked, and every day we expected to be our last, when, unexpectedly, the enemy's general sent a trumpet to Truro to my Lord Hopton, with a very handsome gentlemanlike offer.

That since the general could not be ignorant of his present condition, and that the place he was in could not afford him subsistence or defence, and especially considering that the state of our affairs was such that, if we should escape from thence, we could not remove to our advantage, he had thought good to let us know that, if we would deliver up our horses and arms, he would, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, or the putting any unsoldierly extremities upon us, allow such honourable and safe conditions, as were rather better than our present circumstances could demand, and such as should discharge him to all the world, as a gentleman, as a soldier, and as a Christian.

After this followed the conditions he would give us, which were as follow: viz. That all the soldiery, as well English as foreigners, should have liberty to go beyond the seas, or to their

own dwellings, as they pleased; and to such as shall choose to live at home, protection for their liberty, and from all violence, and plundering of soldiers, and to give them bag and baggage, and all their goods, except horses and arms.

That for officers in commissions, and gentlemen of quality, he would allow them horses for themselves and one servant, or more, suitable to their quality, and such arms as are suitable to gentlemen of such quality travelling in times of peace; and such officers as would go beyond sea, should take with them their full arms and number of horses as are allowed in the army to such officers.

That all the troopers shall receive, on the delivery of their horses, 20s. a man to carry them home; and the general's pass and recommendation to any gentleman who desires to go to the parliament to settle the composition for their estates.

Lastly, a very honourable mention of the general, and offer of their mediation to the parliament, to treat him as a man of honour, and one who has been tender of the country, and behaved himself with all the moderation and candour that could be expected from an enemy.

Upon the unexpected receipt of this message, a council of war was called, and the letter read; no man offered to speak a word; the general moved it, but every one was loath to begin.

At last, an old colonel starts up, and asked the general what he thought might occasion the writing this letter? The general told him, he could not tell; but he could tell he was sure of one thing, that he knew what was not the occasion of it, viz. that is, not any want of force in their army to oblige us to other terms. Then a doubt was started, whether the king and parliament were not in any treaty, which this agreement might be prejudicial to.

This occasioned a letter to my Lord Fairfax, wherein our general returning the civilities, and neither accepting nor refusing his proposal, put it upon his honour, whether there was not some agreement or concession between his majesty and the parliament, in order to a general peace, which this treaty might be prejudicial to, or thereby be prejudicial to us.

The Lord Fairfax ingenuously declared, he had heard the king had made some concessions, and he heartily wished he would make such as would settle the kingdom in peace, that Englishmen might not wound and destroy one another; but that he declared he knew of no treaty commenced, nor anything passed, which could give us the least shadow of hope for any advantage in not accepting his conditions. At last, telling us that though he did not insult over our circumstances, yet, if we thought fit, upon any such supposition, to refuse his offers, he was not to seek in his measures.

And it appeared so, for he immediately advanced his forlorns, and dispossessed us of two advanced quarters, and thereby straitened us yet more.

We had now nothing to say, but treat, and our general was so sensible of our condition, that he returned the trumpet with a safe conduct for commissioners at twelve o'clock that night; upon which a cessation of arms was agreed on, we quitting Truro to the Lord Fairfax, and he left St. Albans to us to keep our headquarters.

The conditions were soon agreed on; we disbanded nine full brigades of horse, and all the conditions were observed with the most honour and care by the enemy that ever I saw in my life.

Nor can I omit to make very honourable mention of this noble gentleman, though I did not like his cause; but I never saw a man of a more pleasant, calm, courteous, downright honest behaviour in my life; and for his courage and personal bravery in the field, that we had felt enough of. No man in the world had more fire and fury in him while in action, or more temper and softness out of it. In short, and I cannot do him greater honour, he came exceedingly near the character of my foreign hero Gustavus Adolphus, and in my account, is, of all the soldiers in Europe, the fittest to be reckoned in the second place of honour to him.

I had particular occasion to see much of his temper in all this action, being one of the hostages given by our general for the performance of the conditions, in which circumstance the general did me several times the honour to send to me to dine with him, and was exceedingly pleased to discourse with me about the passages of the wars in Germany, which I had served in; he having been, at the same time, in the Low Countries, in the service of Prince Maurice; but I observed, if at any time my civilities extended to commendations of his own actions, and especially to comparing him to Gustavus Adolphus, he would blush like a woman, and be uneasy, declining the discourse, and in this he was still more like him.

Let no man scruple my honourable mention of this noble enemy, since no man can suspect me of favouring the cause he embarked in, which I served as heartily against as any man in the army; but I cannot conceal extraordinary merit for its being placed in an enemy.

This was the end of our making war; for now we were all under parole never to bear arms against the parliament; and though some of us did not keep our word, yet I think a soldier's parole ought to be the most sacred in such case, that a soldier may be the easier trusted at all times upon his word.

For my part, I went home fully contented, since I could do my royal master no better service, that I had come off no worse.

The enemy going now on in a full current of success, and the king reduced to the last extremity, and Fairfax, by long marches, being come back within five miles of Oxford, his majesty, loath to be cooped up in a town which could on no account hold long out, quits the town in a disguise, leaving Sir Thomas Glenham governor, and being only attended with Mr. Ashburnham and one more, rides away to Newark, and there fatally committed himself to the honour and fidelity of the Scots, under General Leven.

There had been some little bickering between the parliament and the Scots commissioners concerning the propositions which the Scots were for a treaty with the king upon, and the parliament refused it. The parliament, upon all proposals of peace, had formerly invited the king to come and throw himself upon the honour, fidelity, and affection of his parliament; and now the king from Oxford offering to come up to London, on the protection of the parliament for the safety of his person, they refused him, and the Scots differed from them in it, and were for a personal treaty.

This, in our opinion, was the reason which prompted the king to throw himself upon the fidelity of the Scots, who really, by their infidelity, had been the ruin of all his affairs, and now, by their perfidious breach of honour and faith with him, will be virtually and mediately the ruin of his person.

The Scots were, as all the nation besides them was, surprised at the king's coming among them; the parliament began very high with him, and sent an order to General Leven to send the king to Warwick Castle; but he was not so hasty to part with so rich a prize. As soon as the king came to the general, he signs an order to Colonel Bellasis, the governor of Newark, to surrender it; and immediately the Scots decamp homewards, carrying the king in the camp with them; and, marching on, a house was ordered to be provided for the king at Newcastle.

And now the parliament saw their error in refusing his majesty a personal treaty, which, if they had accepted (their army was not yet taught the way of huffing their masters), the kingdom might have been settled in peace. Upon this the parliament send to General Leven to have his majesty not to be sent, which was their first language, but be suffered to come to London to treat with his parliament; before it was, Let the king be sent to Warwick Castle; now it is, To let his majesty come to London to treat with his people.

But neither one or the other would do with the Scots; but we, who knew the Scots best, knew that there was one thing would do with them if the other would not, and that was money; and therefore our hearts ached for the king.

The Scots, as I said, had retreated to Newcastle with the king, and there they quartered their whole army at large upon the country; the parliament voted they had no farther occasion for the Scots, and desired them to go home about their business. I do not say it was in these words, but in whatsoever good words their messages might be expressed, this and nothing less was the English of it. The Scots reply, by setting forth their losses, damages, and dues, the substance of which was, 'Pay us our money, and we will be gone, or else we won't stir.' The parliament call for an account of their demands, which the Scots give in, amounting to a million; but according to their custom, and especially finding that the army under Fairfax inclined gradually that way, fall down to £500,000, and at last to four; but all the while this is transacting, a separate treaty is carried on at London with the commissioners of Scotland, and afterwards at Edinburgh, by which it is given them to understand, that whereas, upon payment of the money, the Scots army is to march out of England, and to give up all the towns and garrisons which they hold in this kingdom, so they are to take it for granted that it is the meaning of the treaty, that they shall leave the king in the hands of the English parliament.

To make this go down the better, the Scotch parliament, upon his majesty's desire to go with their army into Scotland, send him for answer that it cannot be for the safety of his majesty or of the state to come into Scotland, not having taken the covenant; and this was carried in their parliament but by two voices.

The Scots having refused his coming into Scotland, as was concerted between the two houses, and their army being to march out of England, the delivering up the king became a consequence of the thing unavoidable and of necessity.

His majesty, thus deserted of those into whose hands he had thrown himself, took his leave of the Scots general at Newcastle, telling him only, in few words, this sad truth, that he was bought and sold. The parliament commissioners received him at Newcastle from the Scots, and brought him to Holmby House in Northamptonshire; from whence, upon the quarrels and feuds of parties, he was fetched by a party of horse, commanded by one Cornet Joyce, from the army, upon their mutinous rendezvous at Triplow-heath; and, after this, suffering many violences and varieties of circumstances among the army, was carried to Hampton Court, from whence his majesty very readily made his escape; but not having notice enough to provide effectual means for his more effectual deliverance, was obliged to deliver himself to Colonel Hammond in the Isle of Wight. Here, after some very indifferent usage, the parliament pursued a farther treaty with him, and all points were agreed but two: the entire abolishing episcopacy, which the king declared to be against his conscience and his coronation oath; and the sale of the church lands, which, he declared, being most of them gifts to God and the church by persons deceased, his majesty thought could not be alienated without the highest sacrilege; and if taken from the uses to which they were appointed by the wills of the donors, ought to be restored back to the heirs and families of the persons who bequeathed them.

And these two articles so stuck with his majesty, that he ventured his fortune and royal family, and his own life for them. However, at last the king condescended so far in these, that the parliament voted his majesty's concessions to be sufficient to settle and establish the peace of the nation.

This vote discovered the bottom of all the counsels which then prevailed; for the army, who knew, if peace were once settled, they should be undone, took the alarm at this, and, clubbing together in committees and councils, at last brought themselves to a degree of hardness above all that ever this nation saw; for, calling into question the proceedings of their masters who employed them, they immediately fall to work upon the parliament, remove Colonel Hammond, who had the charge of the king, and used him honourably, place a new guard upon him, dismiss the commissioners, and put a stop to the treaty; and, following their blow, march to London, place regiments of foot at the parliament house door, and as the members came up, seize upon all those whom they had down in a list as promoters of the settlement and treaty, and would not suffer them to sit. But the rest, who being of their own stamp, are permitted to go on, carry on the designs of the army, revive their votes of non-addresses to the king, and then, upon the army's petition, to bring all delinquents to justice, the mask was thrown off; by the word *all* is declared to be meant the king, as well as every man else they pleased. It is too sad a story, and too much a matter of grief to me, and to all good men, to renew the blackness of those days, when law and justice was under the feet of power; the army ruled the parliament, the private officers their generals, the common soldiers their officers, and confusion was in every part of the government. In this hurry they sacrificed their king, and shed the blood of the English nobility without mercy.

The history of the times will supply the particulars which I omit, being willing to confine myself to my own accounts and observations; I was now no more an actor, but a melancholy observer of the misfortunes of the times. I had given my parole not to take up arms against the parliament, and I saw nothing to invite me to engage on their side. I saw a world of confusion in all their councils, and I always expected that in a chain of distractions, as it generally falls out, the last link would be destruction; and though I pretended to no prophecy, yet the pro-

gress of affairs have brought it to pass, and I have seen Providence, who suffered, for the correction of this nation, the sword to govern and devour us, has at last brought destruction by the sword upon the head of most of the party who first drew it.

If, together with the brief account of what concern I had in the active part of the war, I leave behind me some of my own remarks and observations, it may be pertinent enough to my design and not unuseful to posterity.

1. I observed, by the sequel of things, that it may be some excuse to the first parliament, who began this war, to say that they manifested their designs were not aimed at the monarchy, nor their quarrel at the person of the king; because, when they had him in their power, though against his will, they would have restored both his person and dignity as a king, only loading it with such clogs of the people's power as they at first pretended to, viz. the militia, and power of naming the great officers at court, and the like; which powers, it was never denied, had been stretched too far in the beginning of this king's reign, and several things done illegally which his majesty had been sensible of, and was willing to rectify; but they having obtained the power by victory, resolved so to secure themselves, as that, whenever they laid down their arms, the king should not be able to do the like again; and thus far they were not to be so much blamed, and we did not, on our own part, blame them, when they had obtained the power, for parting with it on good terms.

But when I have thus far advocated for the enemies, I must be very free to state the crimes of this bloody war, by the events of it. It is manifest there were among them, from the beginning, a party who aimed at the very root of the government, and at the very thing which they brought to pass, viz. the deposing and murdering of their sovereign; and as the devil is always master where mischief is the work, this party prevailed, turned the other out of doors, and overturned all that little honesty that might be in the first beginning of this unhappy strife.

The consequence of this was, the Presbyterians saw their error when it was too late, and then would gladly have joined the royal party, to have suppressed this new leaven which had infected the lump; and this is very remarkable, that most of the first champions of this war, who bore the brunt of it when the king was powerful and prosperous, and when there was nothing to be got by it but blows, first or last, were so ill-used by this Independent powerful party, who tripped up the heels of all their honesty, that they were either forced by ill-treatment to take up arms on our side, or suppressed and reduced by them. In this the justice of Providence seemed very conspicuous, that these having pushed all things by violence against the king, and by arms and force brought him to their will, were at once both robbed of the end, their church government, and punished for drawing their swords against their masters, by their own servants drawing the sword against them; and God, in his due time, punished the others too; and, what was yet farther strange, the punishment of this crime of making war against their king, singled out those very men, both in the army and in the parliament, who were the greatest champions of the Presbyterian cause in the council and in the field. Some minutes too of circumstances I cannot forbear observing, though they are not very material, as to the fatality and revolutions of days and times.

A Roman Catholic gentleman of Lancashire, a very religious man in his way, who had kept a calculate of times, and had observed mightily the fatality of times, places, and actions, being at my father's house, was discoursing once upon the just judgment of God in dating his providences, so as to signify to us his displeasure at particular circumstances; and, among an infinite number of collections he had made, these were some which I took particular notice of, and from whence I began to observe the like.

1. That King Edward the VIth died the very same day of the same month in which he caused the altar to be taken down, and the image of the blessed Virgin, in the cathedral of St. Paul's.

2. That Cranmer was burnt at Oxford the same day and month that he gave King Henry the VIIIth advice to divorce his queen Catherine.

3. That Queen Elizabeth died the same day and month that she resolved, in her privy council, to behead the Queen of Scots.

4. That King James died the same day that he published his book against Bellarmine.

5. That King Charles's long parliament, which ruined him, began the very same day and month which that parliament began that, at the request of his predecessor, robbed the Roman Church of all her revenues, and suppressed abbeys and monasteries.

How just his calculations were, or how true the matter of fact, I cannot tell, but it put me upon the same in several actions and successes of this war.

And I found a great many circumstances, as to time or action, which befell both his majesty and his parties first.

Then others which befell the parliament and Presbyterian faction which raised the war.

Then the Independent tyranny which succeeded and supplanted the first party.

Then the Scots who acted on both sides.

Lastly, The restoration and re-establishment of the loyalty and religion of our ancestors.

1. For King Charles the First; it is observable that the charge against the Earl of Strafford, a thing which his majesty blamed himself for all the days of his life, and at the moment of his last suffering, was first read in the Lords' House on the 30th of January, the same day of the month six years that the king himself was brought to the block.

2. That the king was carried away prisoner from Newark by the Scots, May 10th, the same day six years that, against his conscience and promise, he passed the bill of attainder against the loyal noble Earl of Strafford.

3. The same day seven years that the king entered the House of Commons for the five members, which all his friends blamed him for, the same day the rump voted bringing his majesty to trial, after they had set by the lords for not agreeing to it, which was the 3d of January 1648.

4. The 12th of May 1646, being the surrender of Newark, the parliament held a day of thanksgiving and rejoicing, for the reduction of the king and his party, and finishing the war, which was the same day five years that the Earl of Strafford was beheaded.

5. The battle of Naseby, which ruined the king's affairs, and where his secretary and his office was taken, was the 14th of June, the same day and month the first commission was given out by his majesty to raise forces.

6. The queen voted a traitor by the parliament the 3d of May, the same day and month she carried the jewels into France.

7. The same day the king defeated Essex in the west, his son King Charles II. was defeated at Worcester.

8. Archbishop Laud's house at Lambeth assaulted by the mob, the same day of the same month that he advised the king to make war upon the Scots.

9. Impeached the 15th of December 1640, the same day twelvemonth that he ordered the Common Prayer Book of Scotland to be printed, in order to be imposed upon the Scots; from which all our troubles began.

But many more, and more strange, are the critical junctures of affairs in the case of the enemy, or at least more observed by me.

1. Sir John Hotham, who repulsed his majesty, and refused him admittance into Hull before the war, was seized at Hull by the same parliament for whom he had done it, the same 10th day of August two years that he drew the first blood in that war.

2. Hampden, of Buckinghamshire, killed the same day one year that the mob petition from Bucks was presented to the king about him, as one of the five members.

3. Young Captain Hotham executed the 1st of January, the same day that he assisted Sir Thomas Fairfax in the first skirmish with the king's forces at Bramham Moor.

4. The same day and month, being the 6th of August 1641, that the parliament voted to raise an army against the king, the same day and month, *anno* 1648, the parliament were assaulted and turned out of doors by that very army, and none left to sit but who the soldiers pleased, which were therefore called the Rump.

5. The Earl of Holland deserted the king, who had made him general of the horse, and went over to the parliament; and the 9th of March 1641, carried the commons' reproaching declaration to the king; and afterwards, taking up arms for the king against the parliament, was beheaded by them the 9th of March 1648, just seven years after.

6. The Earl of Holland was sent to by the king to come to his assistance, and refused, the 11th of July 1641, and that very day seven years after was taken by the parliament at St. Needs.

7. Colonel Massey defended Gloucester against the king, and beat him off the 5th of September 1643; was taken after by Cromwell's men fighting for the king, on the 5th of September 1651, two or three days after the fight at Worcester.

8. Richard Cromwell resigning because he could not help it, the parliament voted a free commonwealth, without a single person or House of Lords. This was the 25th of May 1658; the 25th of May 1660, the king landed at Dover, and restored the government of a single person and House of Lords.

9. Lambert was proclaimed a traitor by the parliament, April the 20th, being the same day he proposed to Oliver Cromwell to take upon him the title of king.

10. Monk being taken prisoner at Nantwich by Sir Thomas Fairfax, revolted to the parliament; the same day nineteen years he declared for the king, and thereby restored the royal authority.

11. The parliament voted to approve of Sir John Hotham's repulsing the king at Hull, the 28th of April 1642; the 28th of April 1660, the parliament first debated in the house the restoring the king to the crown.

12. The agitators of the army formed themselves into a cabal, and held their first meeting to seize upon the king's person, and take him into their custody from Holmby, the 28th of April 1647; the same day, 1660, the parliament voted the agitators to be taken into custody, and committed as many of them as could be found.

13. The parliament voted the queen a traitor for assisting her husband, the king, May the 3d, 1643; her son, King Charles II., was presented with the votes of parliament to restore him, and the present of £50,000 the 3d of May 1660.

14. The same day the parliament passed the act for recognition of Oliver Cromwell, October 13th, 1654. Lambert broke up the parliament, and set up the army, 1659, October the 13th.

Some other observations I have made, which, as not so pertinent, I forbear to publish; among which I have noted the fatality of some days to parties, as,

The 2d of September, the fight at Dunbar; the fight at Worcester; the oath against a single person passed; Oliver's first parliament called: for the enemy.

The 2d of September, Essex defeated in Cornwall; Oliver died; city works demolished: for the king.

The 29th of May, Prince Charles born; Leicester taken by storm; King Charles II. restored: ditto.

Fatality of circumstances in this unhappy war, as,

1. The English parliament call in the Scots to invade their king, and are invaded themselves by the same Scots, in defence of the king, whose case, and the design of the parliament, the Scots had mistaken.

2. The Scots, who unjustly assisted the parliament to conquer their lawful sovereign, contrary to their oath of allegiance, and without any pretence on the king's part, are afterwards absolutely conquered and subdued by the same parliament they assisted.

3. The parliament, who raised an army to depose their king, deposed by the very army they had raised.

4. The army broke three parliaments, and are at last broke by a free parliament, and all they had done by the military power, undone at once by the civil.

5. Abundance of the chief men, who, by their fiery spirits, involved the nation in a civil war, and took up arms against their prince, first or last, met with ruin or disgrace from their own party.

1. Sir John Hotham and his son, who struck the first stroke, both beheaded or hanged by the parliament.

2. Major-General Massey three times taken prisoner by them, and once wounded at Worcester.

3. Major-General Langhorn. 4. Colonel Poyer. And, 5, Colonel Powell, changed sides, and, at last taken, could obtain no other favour than to draw lots for their lives; Colonel Poyer drew the dead lot, and was shot to death.

6. Earl of Holland, who, when the house voted who should be reprieved, Lord Goring, who had been their worst enemy, or the Earl of Holland, who, excepting one offence, had been their constant servant, voted Goring to be spared, and the earl to die.

7. The Earl of Essex their first general.

8. Sir William Waller.

9. Lieutenant-General Ludlow.

10. The Earl of Manchester.

All disgusted and voted out of the army, though they had stood the first shock of the war, to make way for the new model of the army, and introduce a party.

In all these confusions I have observed two great errors, one of the king, and one of his friends.

Of the king, that, when he was in their custody, and at their mercy, he did not comply with their propositions of peace, before their army, for want of employment, fell into heats and mutinies; that he did not at first grant the Scots their own conditions, which, if he had done, he had gone into Scotland; and then, if the English would have fought the Scots for him, he had a reserve of his loyal friends, who would have had room to have fallen in with the Scots to his assistance, who were after dispersed and destroyed in small parties attempting to serve him.

While his majesty remained at Newcastle, the queen wrote to him, persuading him to make peace upon any terms; and, in politics, her majesty's advice was certainly the best; for, however low he was brought by a peace, it must have been better than the condition he was then in.

The error I mention of the king's friends was this, that, after they saw all was lost, they could not be content to sit still, and reserve themselves for better fortunes, and wait the happy time when the divisions of the enemy would bring them to certain ruin; but must hasten their own miseries by frequent fruitless risings, in the face of a victorious enemy, in small parties; and I always found these effects from it.

1. The enemy, who were always together by the ears, when they were let alone, were united and reconciled when we gave them any interruption; as, particularly, in the case of the first assault the army made upon them, when Colonel Pride, with his regiment, garbled the house, as they called it; at that time, a fair opportunity offered, but it was omitted till it was too late. That insult upon the house had been attempted the year before, but was hindered by the little insurrections of the royal party, and the sooner they had fallen out the better.

2. These risings being desperate, with vast disadvantages, and always suppressed, ruined all our friends; the remnants of the cavaliers were lessened, the stoutest and most daring were cut off, and the king's interest exceedingly weakened, there not being less than thirty thousand of his best friends cut off in the several attempts made at Maidstone, Colchester, Lancashire, Pembroke, Pontefract, Kingston, Preston, Warrington, Worcester, and other places. Had these men all reserved their fortunes to a conjunction with the Scots, at either of the invasions they made into this kingdom, and acted with the conduct and courage they were known masters of, perhaps neither of those Scots armies had been defeated.

But the impatience of our friends ruined all; for my part, I had as good a mind to put my hand to the ruin of the enemy as any of them; but I never saw any tolerable appearance of a force able to match the enemy, and I had no mind to be beaten and then hanged. Had we let them alone, they would have fallen into so many parties and factions, and so effectually have torn one another to pieces, that whichsoever party had come to us, we should, with them, have been too hard for all the rest.

This was plain by the course of things afterwards, when the Independent army had ruffled the Presbyterian parliament, the soldiery of that party made no scruple to join us, and would have restored the king with all their hearts; and many of them did join us at last.

And the consequence, though late, ended so, for they fell out so many times, army and parliament, parliament and army, and alternately pulled one another down so often, till at last the Presbyterians, who began the war, ended it; and, to be rid of their enemies, rather than for any love to the monarchy, restored King Charles the Second, and brought him in on the very day that they themselves had formerly resolved the ruin of his father's government, being the 29th of May, the same day twenty years that the private cabal in London concluded their secret league with the Scots, to embroil his father, King Charles the First.

LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF DUNCAN CAMPBEL

The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell, a gentlem who, though deaf and dumb, writes down any stranger's name at first sig with their future contingencies of fortune. Now living in Exeter Court, ov against the Savoy, in the Strand. London: Printed for E. Curll. 172

'Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam atque doctam; neque tam immu tamque barbaram, quæ non significari futura et a quibusdam intelligi prædicique po censeat.' CICERO DE DIVINATIONE, lib. I.

[OF Mr. Duncan Campbell, Mr. Wilson says, 'Steele introduces him to the *Tatler* as a du fortune-teller, who imposed upon the vulgar by pretending to tell fortunes by the sem sight. Whether he was actually deaf and dumb, or only feigned so, for the purpo notoriety, was a matter of doubt; but be this as it may, he practised many years upon t credulity of the public, and with so much success, as to amass a fortune by his profess The celebrity to which he attained is thus noticed by the *Spectator*, No. 560. "Every o has heard of the famous conjuror, who, according to the opinion of the vulgar, has stu himself dumb; for which reason, as it is believed, he delivers out his oracles in writing. that as it will, the blind Teresias was not more famous in Greece than this dumb artist h been for some years last past in the cities of London and Westminster." So remarkab character was not likely to escape the observation of Defoe, who rightly considered that would be a popular subject for his pen. So great was the demand for the work, that second edition appeared in the same year (1720).']

TO THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN.

I AM not unacquainted that, ever since this book was first promised by way of advertisem to the world, it was greedily coveted by a great many persons of airy tempers, for the sa reason that it has been condemned by those of a more formal class, who thought it w calculated partly to introduce a great many new and diverting curiosities in the way superstition, and partly to divulge the secret intrigues and amours of one part of the sex, give the other part room to make favourite scandal the subject of their discourse; and so make one half of the fair species very merry, over the blushes and the mortifications of t other half. But when they come to read the following sheets, they will find their expe tions disappointed, but I hope I may say too, very agreeably disappointed. They w find a much more elegant entertainment than they expected. Instead of making th a bill of fare out of patchwork romances of polluting scandal, the good old gentlem who wrote the Adventures of my Life, has made it his business to treat them w a great variety of entertaining passages, which always terminate in morals that tend

the edification of all readers, of whatsoever sex, age, or profession. Instead of seducing young, innocent, unwary minds into the vicious delight which is too often taken in reading the gay and bewitching chimeras of the cabalists, and in perusing the enticing fables of new-invented tricks of superstition, my ancient friend, the writer, strikes at the very root of these superstitions, and shows them how they may be satisfied in their several curiosities, by having recourse to me, who by the talent of the second-sight, which he so beautifully represents, how nature is so kind frequently to implant in the minds of men born in the same climate with myself, can tell you those things naturally, which when you try to learn yourselves, you either run the hazard of being imposed upon in your pockets by cheats, gipsies, and common fortune-tellers, or else of being imposed upon in a still worse way, in your most lasting welfare, by having recourse to conjurors or enchanters that deal in black arts, and involve all their consulters in one general partnership of their execrable guilt; or, lastly, of imposing worst of all upon your own selves, by getting into an itch of practising and trying the little tricks of female superstition, which are often more officiously handed down by the tradition of credulous nurses and old women, from one generation to another, than the first principles of Christian doctrine, which it is their duty to instil early into little children. But I hope when this book comes to be pretty generally read among you ladies, as by your generous and numerous subscriptions I have good reason to expect, that it will afford a perfect remedy and a thorough cure to that distemper, which first took its rise from too great a growth of curiosity, and too large a stock of credulity nursed prejudicially up with you in your more tender and infant years.

Whatever young maid hereafter has an innocent but longing desire to know who shall be her husband, and what time she shall be married, will, I hope, when she has read the following sheets of a man that can set her right in the knowledge of those points, purely by possessing the gift of the second-sight, sooner have recourse innocently to such a man than use unlawful means to acquire it, such as running to conjurors to have his figure shown in their enchanted glasses, or using any of those traditional superstitions, by which they may dream of their husbands, or cause visionary shapes of them to appear on such and such festival nights of the year; all which practices are not ordinarily wicked and impious, but downright diabolical. I hope that the next 29th of June, which is St. John Baptist's day, I shall not see the several pasture fields adjacent to this metropolis, especially that behind Montague House, thronged, as they were the last year, with well-dressed young ladies crawling busily up and down upon their knees, as if they were a parcel of weeders, when all the business is to hunt superstitiously after a coal under the root of a plantain, to put under their heads that night, that they may dream who should be their husbands. In order to shame them out of this silly but guilty practice, I do intend to have some spies out on that day, that shall discover who they are, and what they have been about; and I here give notice to the public, that this ill-acted comedy, if it be acted at all this year, must begin according to the rule of their superstition, on that day precisely at the hour of twelve. And so much for the pretty weeders. But as you, ladies, have had several magical traditions delivered to you, which, if you put in exercise and practice, will be greatly prejudicial to your honour and your virtue, let me interpose my counsels, which will conduct you innocuously to the same end which some ladies have laboured to arrive at by these impieties. Give me leave first to tell you, that though what you aim at may be arrived to by these means, yet these means make that a miserable fortune which would have been a good one; because, in order to know human things beforehand, you use preternatural mediums, which destroy the goodness of the courses which nature herself was taking for you, and annex to them diabolical influences, which commonly carry along with them fatalities in this world as well as the next. You will, therefore, give me your pardon likewise, ladies, if I relate some other of these practices, which bare relation of itself, after what I have said before, seems to me sufficient to explode them.

Another of the nurse's prescriptions is this. Upon a St. Agnes' night, the 21st day of January, take a row of pins and pull out every one, one after another, saying a *Pater Noster*, or Our Father, sticking a pin in your sleeve, and you will dream of her you shall marry. Ben Jonson, in one of his masks, makes some mention of this:

And on Sweet Agnes' night
Please you with the promis'd sight,
Some of husbands, some of lovers,
Which an empty dream discovers.

Now what can be more infinitely profane than to use the prayer our Lord instituted in such a way!

There is another prescription, which is as follows: You must lie in another county, and knit the left garter about the right-legged stocking, let the other garter and stocking alone, and as you rehearse these following verses, at every comma, knit a knot:—

This knot I knit,
To know the thing I know not yet,
That I may see
The man that shall my husband be;
How he goes, and what he wears,
And what he does all days and years.

Accordingly in your dream you will see him: if a musician, with a lute or other instrument; if a scholar, with a book, etc. Now I appeal to you, ladies, what a ridiculous prescription is this? But yet as slight a thing as it is, it may be of great importance if it be brought about, because then it must be construed to be done by preternatural means, and then these words are nothing less than an application to the devil.

Mr. Aubrey, of the Royal Society, says, a gentlewoman that he knew, confessed in his hearing that she used this method, and dreamt of her husband whom she had never seen. About two or three years after, as she was one Sunday at church, up pops a young Oxonian in the pulpit; she cries out presently to her sister, This is the very face of the man I saw in my dream. Sir William Somes' lady did the like.

Another way is to charm the moon thus; (as the old nurses give out); at the first appearance of the moon, after New Year's Day, (some say any other new moon is as good), go out in the evening, and stand over the spars of a gate or stile, looking on the moon (here remark that in Yorkshire they kneel on a ground-fast stone) and say,

All hail to the moon, all hail to thee,
I prithee, good moon, reveal to me
This night who my husband shall be.

You must presently after go to bed. The aforesaid Mr. Aubrey knew two gentlewomen that did thus when they were young maids, and they had dreams of those that married them.

But a great many of the wittiest part of your sex laugh at these common superstitions; but then they are apt to run into worse: they give themselves up to the reading of the cabalistical systems of sylphs, and gnomes, and mandrakes, which are very wicked and delusive imaginations.

I would not have you imagine, ladies, that I impute these things as infirmities and frailties peculiar to your sex. No; men, and great men too, and scholars, and even statesmen, and princes themselves, have been tainted with superstitions, and where they infect the minds of such great personages, they make the deeper impression, according to the stronger and more manly ideas they have of them. Their greater degree of strength in the intellect only subjects them to greater weaknesses; such was even the great Paracelsus, the wonder and miracle of learning in the age wherein he lived, and such were all his followers, scholars, statesmen, divines, and princes, that are talismanists.

These talismans that Paracelsus pretends to owe to the excogitation and invention of honest art, seem to me to be of a very diabolical nature, and to owe their rise to being dedicated by the author to the heathen gods. Thus the cabalists pretending to a vast penetration into arts and sciences, (though all their thoughts are chimeras and extravagancies, unless they be helped by preternatural means), say they have found out the several methods appropriated to the several planets. They have appropriated gold to the sun on the Sunday, silver to the moon on the Monday, iron to Mars on the Tuesday, quicksilver to Mercury on

the Wednesday, tin to Jupiter on the Thursday, copper or brass to Venus on the Friday, and lead to Saturn on the Saturday. The methods they take in forming these talismans are two long to dwell upon here. But the properties which they pretend belong to them are, that the first talisman or seal of the sun will make a man beloved by all princes and potentates, and cause him to abound with all the riches his heart can wish. The second preserves travellers from danger, and is favourable to merchants, tradesmen, and workmen. The third carries destruction to any place where it is put; and it is said that a certain great minister of state ordered one of these to be carried into England in the times of the revolution of government caused by Oliver Cromwell. The fourth they pretend cures fevers and other diseases; and if it be put under the bolster, it makes the proprietor have true dreams, in which he sees all he desires to know. The fifth, according to them, renders a man lucky and fortunate in all his businesses and undertakings. It dissipates melancholy, drives away all importunate cares, and banishes panic fears from the mind. The sixth, by being put into the liquor which any one drinks, reconciles mortal enemies, makes them intimate friends: it gains the love of all women, and renders the proprietor very dexterous in the art of music. The seventh makes women be easily brought to bed without pain; and if a horseman carries it in his left boot, himself and his horse become invulnerable.

This, Paracelsus and his learned followers say, is owing to the influence of the stars; but I cannot help arguing these acts of diabolical impiety. But as these arts are rarely known among the middling part of mankind, I shall neither open their mysteries, nor inveigh against them any farther.

The persons who are most to be avoided are your ordinary fortune-telling women and men about this town, whose houses ought to be avoided as a plague or a pestilence, either because they are cheats and impostors, or because they deal with black arts, none of them that I know having any prêtensions to the gift of a second-sight. Among many, a few of the most notorious that I can call to mind now, are as follow. The first and chiefest of these mischievous fortune-tellers is a woman that does not live far from the Old Bailey. And truly the justice hall in that place is the properest place for her to appear at, where, if she was tried for pretending to give charms written upon paper with odd scrawls, which she calls figures, she would be probably convicted, and very justly condemned, and doomed to have her last journey from the Old Bailey to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn. The other is a fellow that lives in Moorfields, in which place those who go to consult him ought to live all their lifetimes, at the famous palaces of the senseless men: he is the successor of the famous Dr. Trotter, whose widow he married; and from being a tailor and patching men's garments, he now cuts flourishes with his shears upon parchment, considers the heavens as a garment, and from the spangles thereupon he calculates nativities, and sets up for a very profound astrologer. The third is an ignorant fellow that caws out strange predictions in Crow-alley, of whose croaking noise I shall here take no notice, he having been sufficiently mauled in the most ingenious Spectators. These, and such counterfeits as these, I would desire all gentlemen and ladies to avoid. The only two really learned men that I ever knew in the art of astrology, were my good friends Dr. Williams and Mr. Gadbury; and I thought it necessary to pay this esteem to their names, let the world judge of them what it will. I will here say no more, nor hinder you any longer, gentlemen and ladies, from the diversion which my good old friend, who is now departed this life, has prepared for you in his book, which a young gentleman of my acquaintance revised, and only subscribe myself,—Yours, etc.,

DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

THE INTRODUCTION.

OF all the writings delivered in a historical manner to the world, none certainly were ever held in greater esteem than those which give us the lives of distinguished private men at full length; and, as I may say, to the life. Such curious fragments of biography are the rarities which great men seek after with eager industry, and when found, prize them as the chief jewels and ornaments that enrich their libraries, and deservedly; for they are the beauties of the greatest

men's lives handed down by way of example or instruction to posterity, and commonly handed down likewise by the greatest men. Since, therefore, persons distinguished for merit in one kind or other are the constant subjects of such discourses, and the most elegant writers of each age have been usually the only authors who choose upon such subjects to employ their pens, and since persons of the highest rank and dignity, and genii of the most refined and delicate relish, are frequently curious enough to be the readers of them, and to esteem them the most valuable pieces in a whole collection of learned works, it is a wonder to me that when any man's life has something in it peculiarly great and remarkable in its kind, it should not move some more skilful writer than myself to give the public a taste of it, because it must be at least vastly entertaining, if it be not, which is next to impossible, immensely instructive and profitable withal.

If ever the life of any man under the sun was remarkable, this Mr. Duncan Campbell's, which I am going to treat upon, is so to a very eminent degree.

It affords such variety of incidents, and is accompanied with such diversity of circumstances, that it includes within it what must yield entire satisfaction to the most learned, and admiration to persons of a moderate understanding. The prince and the peasant will have their several ends of worthy delight in reading it; and Mr. Campbell's life is of that extent, that it concerns and collects, as I may say, within itself every station of life in the universe. Besides, there is a demand in almost every page that relates any new act of his, for the finest and closest disquisitions that learning can make upon human nature, to account how those acts could be done by him. For he daily practised, and still practises, those things naturally, which puts art to the rack to find out how nature can so operate on him; and his fleshly body, by these operations, is a living practical system, or body of new philosophy, which exceeds even all those that have hitherto been compounded by the labour and art of many ages.

If one that had speculated deep into abstruse matters, and made it his study not only to know how to assign natural reasons for some strange new acts that looked like miracles by being peculiar to the individual genius of some particular admired man, but, carrying his inquiry to a much greater height, had speculated likewise what might possibly be achieved by human genius in the full perfection of nature, and had laid it down as a thesis by strong arguments, that such things might be compassed by a human genius, if in its true degree of perfection, as are the hourly operations of the person's life I am writing, he would have been counted a wild romantic enthusiast, instead of a natural philosopher. Some of the wisest would be infidels to so new and so refined a scheme of thinking, and demand experiment, or cry it was all against reason, and would not allow the least tittle to be true without it. Yet the man that had found out so great a mystery as to tell us what might be done by human genius, as it is here actually done, would have been a great man within himself; but wanting further experimental proof, could lay no claim to the belief of others, or consequently to their esteem. But how great, then, is the man who makes it constantly his practice actually to do what would not otherwise have been thought to be of such a nature as might ever be acquired by mortal capacity, though in its full *complement* of all possible perfection? He is not only great within himself, he is great to the world; his experiments force our belief, and the amazing singularity of those experiments provokes both our wonder and esteem.

If any learned man should have advanced this proposition, that mere human art could give to the deaf man what should be equal to his hearing, and to the dumb man an equivalent for his want of speech, so that he could converse as freely almost as other hearing or talking persons; that he might, though born deaf, be by art taught how to read, write, and understand any language, as well as students that have their hearing, would not the world, and many even of the learned part of it, say that nothing could be more extravagantly wild, more mad and frantic? The learned Dr. Wallis, geometry professor of Oxford, did first of all lay down this proposition, and was counted by many to have overshot the point of learning, and to have been the author of a whimsical thesis. And I should not have wondered if, after a man's having asserted this might be done, before it was actually done, some blind devout people in those days had accused him of heresy, and of attributing to men a power of working miracles. The notion of the antipodes was by the most learned men of the age in which St. Augustin lived, and by the great St. Austin himself, treated in no milder a manner; yet if the ability of teaching the deaf and the dumb a language proved a truth in experience afterwards, ought not those to turn their contempt into admiration, ought not those very people to vote him into the Royal Society for laying down the proposition, who before it proved true in fact, would have been very forward to have sent him to Bedlam? The first instance of this accomplishment in a deaf person was proved before King Charles II. by this same Dr. Wallis, who was a fellow of the Royal Society, and one of the most ingenious of that society.

But, notwithstanding this, should I come afterwards and say, that there is now living a deaf and dumb man, and born so, who could by dint of his own genius teach all others deaf and dumb to read, write, and converse with the talking and hearing part of mankind, some would, I warrant, very religiously conclude that I was about to introduce some strange new miracle-monger and impostor into the world, with a design of setting up some new sect of antichristianism, as formidable as that of Brachmans. Should I proceed still further, and say, that this same person, as deaf and dumb, might be able also to show a presaging power, or kind of prophetical genius (if I may be allowed to use the expression), by telling any strange persons he never saw before in his life their names in writing, and by telling them the past actions of their lives, and predicting to them determined truths of future contingencies, notwithstanding what divines say, that 'in futuris contingentibus non datur determinata veritas,' would not they conclude that I was going to usher in a new Mohammed? Since, therefore, there does exist such a man in London, who actually is deaf and dumb, and was born so, who does write and read, and converse as well as anybody, who teaches others deaf and dumb to write, and read, and converse with anybody, who likewise can, by a presaging gift, set down in writing the name of any stranger at first sight, tell him his past actions, and predict his future occurrences in fortune, and since he has practised this talent as a profession with great success for a long series of years upon innumerable persons in every state and vocation in life, from the poorest to the waiting-woman, and from the lady mayoress to

the milliner and sempstress, will it not be wonderfully entertaining to give the world a perfect history of this so singular a man's life? And while we are relating the pleasant adventures with such prodigious variety, can anything be more agreeably instructive in a new way than to intersperse the reasons, and account for the manner how nature, having a mind to be remarkable, performs by him acts so mysterious?

I have premised this introduction, compounded of the merry and the serious, with the hopes of engaging many curious people of all sorts to my readers, even from the airy nice peruser of novels and romances, neatly bound and finely gilt, to the grave philosopher, that is daily thumbing over the musty and tattered pieces of more solid antiquity. I have all the wonders to tell that such a merry kind of a prophet has told, to entertain the fancies of the first gay tribe, by which means I may entice them into some solid knowledge and judgment of human nature; and I have several solid disquisitions of learning to make, accounting for the manner of these mysterious operations, never touched upon before, in due form and order by the hands of the ancient or modern sages, that I may bribe the judgment of this last grave class, so far as to endure the intermixing entertainment with their severer studies.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Campbell's Descent, Family, Birth, &c.

Of the goodness and antiquity of the name and family of this gentleman, nobody can ever make any question. He is a Campbell, lineally descended from the house of Argyll, and bears a distant relation to the present duke of that name in Scotland, and who is now constituted a duke of England, by the style and title of Duke of Greenwich.

It happens frequently that the birth of extraordinary persons is so long disputed by different people, each claiming him for their own, that the real place where he first took breath grows at last dubious. And thus it fares with the person who is the subject of the following sheets; as, therefore, it is my proposal to have a strict regard to historical faith, so I am obliged to tell the reader that I can with no certainty give an account of him till after he was three years old; from which age I knew him, even to this day. I will answer for the truths which I impart to the public during that time, and as for his birth and the circumstances of it, and how the first three years of his life passed, I can only deliver them the same account I have received from others, and leave them to their own judgments whether it ought to be deemed real or fabulous.

The father of our Mr. Duncan Campbell (as these relate the story) was from his infancy of a very curious, inquisitive nature, and of an enterprising genius, and if he heard of anything surprising to be seen, the difficulty in practice was enough to recommend to him the attempting to get a sight of it at any rate or any hazard. It is certain, that during some civil broils and troubles in Scotland, the grandfather of our Mr. Campbell was driven with his wife and family, by the fate of war, into the isle of Shetland, where he lived many years; and during his residence there, Mr. Archibald Campbell, the father of our Duncan Campbell, was born.

Shetland lies north-east from Orkney, between 60 and 61 degrees of latitude. The largest isle of Shetland, by the natives called the Mainland, is sixty miles in length from south-west to the north-east, and from sixteen, to one mile, in breadth.

The people who live in the smaller isles have abundance of eggs and fowl, which contributes to maintain their families during the summer.

The ordinary folks are mostly very nimble and active in climbing the rocks in quest of those eggs and fowl. This exercise is far more diverting than hunting and hawking among us, and would certainly for the pleasure of it be followed by people of greater distinction, was it not attended with very great dangers, sufficient to turn sport into sorrow, and which have often proved fatal to those who too eagerly pursue their game. Mr. Archibald Campbell, however, delighted extremely in this way of fowling, and used to condescend to mix with the common people for company, because none of the youths of his rank and condition were venturesome enough to go along with him.

The most remarkable experiment of this sort, is at the isle called the Noss of Brassah. The Noss standing at sixteen fathoms distance from the side of the opposite main; the higher and lower rocks have two stakes fastened in each of them, and to these there are ropes tied; upon the ropes there is an engine hung which they call a cradle, and in this a man makes his way over from the greater to the smaller rocks, where he makes a considerable purchase of eggs and fowl; but his return being by an ascent, makes it the more dangerous, though those on the great rock have a rope tied to the cradle, by which they draw it and the man safe over for the most part. Over this rock Mr. Archibald Campbell and five others were in that manner let down by cradles and ropes; but before they could be all drawn back again, it grew dark, and their associates not daring to be benighted, were forced to withdraw, and Mr. Campbell was the unfortunate person left behind, having wandered too far, and not minded how the day declined, being intent on his game. He passed that night, you may easily guess, without much sleep, and with great anxiety of heart. The night, too, as he lay in the open air, was, to add to his misfortunes, as boisterous and tempestuous as his own mind; but in the end the tempest proved very happy for him. The reader is to understand that the Hamburghers, Bremeners, and Hollanders, carry on a great fish trade there. Accordingly, a Holland vessel, that was just coming in the sound of Brassah, was by this tempest driven into a creek of the rock, which nature had made into a harbour, and they were providentially saved from the bottom of the sea by a rock, from which, humanly speaking, they could expect nothing but destruction, and being sent to the bottom of that sea. As never could a man be taken hold of with so sudden and surprising a disaster, so nobody could meet with a more sudden and surprising relief than Mr. Campbell found when he saw a ship so near. He made to the vessel, and begged the Hollanders to take him in; they asked him what he would give them, or, said the barbarous sailors, we will even leave you where you are. He told them his disaster, but they asked money, and nothing else would move them. As he knew them a self-interested people, he bethought himself, that if he should tell them of the plenty of fowls and eggs they would get there, he might not only be taken in a passenger, but made a partner in the money arising from the stock; it succeeded accordingly. When he proposed it, the whole crew were all at work, and, in four

hours, pretty well stored the vessel, and then, returning on board, set sail for Holland. They offered Mr. Campbell to put him in at his own island; but having a mind to see Holland, and being a partner, to learn their way of merchandise, which he thought he might turn to his countrymen's advantage, he told them he would go the voyage out with them, and see the country of those who were his deliverers; a necessary way of speech, when one has a design to soothe barbarians, who, but for interest, would have left him unredeemed, and, for aught they knew, a perpetual sole inhabitant of a dreadful rock, encompassed round with precipices, some three hundred fathoms high. Not so the islanders, (who are wrongly called a savage set of mortals); no, they came in quest of him after so bitter a night, not doubting to find him, but fearing to find him in a lamentable condition; they hunted and ransacked every little hole and corner in the rock, but all in vain. In one place they saw a great slaughter of fowls, enough to serve forty families for a week; and then they guessed, though they had not the ill fortune to meet the eagles frequently noted to hover about those isles, that they might have devoured part of him on some precipice of the rock, and dropped the remnant into the sea. Night came upon them, and they were afraid of falling into the same disaster they went to relieve Mr. Campbell from. They returned each to their proper basket, and were drawn up safe by their respective friends, who were amazed that one basket was drawn up empty which was let down for Mr. Campbell, and that there was not the least intelligence to be had concerning him, but the supposititious story of his having been devoured by eagles. The story was told at home; and, with the lamentation of the whole family, and all his friends, he was looked upon to be murdered or dead.

Return we now to Mr. Archibald Campbell, still alive, and on board the Holland vessel; secure, as he thought within himself that, from the delivery he lately had by the gift of Providence, he was not intended to be liable to any more misfortunes and dangers of life, in the compass of so small a voyage. But his lot was placed otherwise in the book of fate, than he too fondly imagined; his time of happiness was dated some pages lower down, and more rubs and difficulties were to be encountered with, before his stars intended to lead him to the port of felicity. Just as he arrived within sight of Amsterdam, a terrible storm arose, and, in danger of their lives, for many hours they weathered out the tempest; and a calm promising fair afresh, they made to the coast of Zealand; but a new hurricane prevented the ship from coming there also; and after having lost their masts and rigging, they were driven into Lapland. There they went ashore in order to careen and repair their ship, and take in provisions. While the ship was repairing by the Dutch, our islander made merry with the inhabitants, being the most inclined to their superstitious customs; he there became acquainted with a very beautiful woman, who fell in love with him, and after a very short space of time he married her. About the time when the ship departed, his wife, who was very rich, was big with child of a son, namely, Mr. Duncan Campbell. He wrote a letter by the master of the vessel to his parents in Shetland, concerning the various adventures he had met with, which was delivered the June following, about the time of fishing, to his parents, and several persons had copies thereof, and, for aught I know, some retain them to this very day; sure I am that many remember the particulars of this surprising affair, who are now living in that island.

The letter being very remarkable and singular in all its circumstances, I shall present it to the reader word for word, as it was given into my hands, together with some others which he wrote afterwards, in all which I am assured by very credible persons, and undoubted authorities, there are not the least alterations, but what the version of it from the then Scotch manner of expression into a more modern English dress made absolutely necessary.

My dearest Father,—The same odd variety of accident, which put it out of my power to be personally present with you for so long a time, put it likewise out of my power to write to you. At last fortune has so ordered it, that I can send a letter to you before I can come myself, and it is written expressly to tell you the adventures I have met with, which have detained me this tedious space of time from my dear father, and because the same captain of a ship that brings you this, might as easily have brought your son to speak for himself. I shall in the next place lay before you the necessity there is for my stay a little longer among the strange natives of the country where I now inhabit, and where I am, in a manner, become naturalized.

You have, no doubt of it, been informed by my companions, some of whom I hope got safe back again, if not all, that I was lost, where many a brave man has perished before me, by going over the high precipices of the mountain Brassah, in a basket, sliding down by a rope. I must suppose I have given you the anguish of a father for a son, who you thought had lost his life by such a foolhardy attempt, and I implore your pardon with all the power of filial contrition, penitence, and duty. You have always shewed me such singular marks of paternal affection, that I know your receipt of this letter will fill your heart with joy, and cause you to sign me an absolution and free pardon for all the errors I have committed, and think the sufferings I have undergone for my rashness and indiscretion a sufficient atonement for my crime of making you, by my undutifulness, a partner of my sorrows. To free you the more from this uneasiness, I know I need only tell you that every grief of mine is gone excepting one, which is, that I must still lose the pleasure of seeing you a little longer. There was never surely a more bitter night than that which must by me be for ever remembered, when I was lost in the mountain of Brassah, where I must, for aught I know, have lived for ever a wild single inhabitant, but that the storm which made the night so uneasy to me, rendered the first approach of daylight beyond measure delightful. The first providential glimpse of the morning gave me a view of a ship driven by the tempest into a creek of the rock, that was by nature formed like a harbour; a miraculous security of deliverance, as I thought, both for the ship's crew and myself. I made all the haste I could, you may be sure, to them, and I found them to be Dutchmen that were come for fish; but in lieu of fish I instructed them to load it with eggs and fowl, which we compassed very happily in a short space of time, and I was to be a sharer with the captain in the lading, and bargained to go for Holland, to see the sale and nature of the traffic; but when we were at sea, after much bad weather, we made towards Zealand, but we were driven upon the coast of Finland by a new storm, and thence into Lapland, where I now am, and from whence I send you this letter.

I could not come into a place so properly named for my reception; as I had been undutiful to you, and fortune seemed to make me an exile, or a banished man, by way of punishment for the vices of my youth; so Lapland (which is a word originally derived from the Finland word *lappi*, that is, exiles, and from the Swedish word *lap*, signifying banished, from which two kingdoms most of our inhabitants were banished hither, for not embracing the Christian religion,) was certainly the properest country in the world to receive me.

When first I entered this country, I thought I was got into quite another world; the men are all of them pigmies to our tall, brawny Highlanders; they are, generally speaking, not above three cubits high, insomuch that though the whole country of Lapland is immensely large, and I have heard it reckoned by the inhabitants to be above a hundred German leagues in length, and fourscore and ten in breadth, yet I was the tallest man there, and looked upon as a giant. The district in which I live now, is called Uma Lapmark. You must understand, sir, that when I landed at North Cape, in Kimi Lapmark, another district of Lapland, there was at that time a most beautiful lady come to see a sick relation of her father's, who was prefect, or governor of Uma Lapmark, which is a post of great distinction. This lady, by being frequently in the company of French merchants, who traffic now and then in that province of Uma Lapmark, understood French, and having heard of a man six foot and a half high, desired to see me, and when I came, she happened mightily to like my person; and she talked French, which when I answered, she made great signs of joy, that she could communicate her sentiments to me, and she told me who she was, how rich, and that not one in the company besides could understand a syllable we said, and so I might speak my mind freely to her. She told me the customs of the country, that it was divided into cantons, like our shires, and those cantons into rekars, or certain grounds allotted to families, that are just like our clans. As she was beyond measure beautiful, she was extremely good humoured (a thing rarely to be met among Lapland women), of a better stature than her countrywomen, and very rich, and of good birth. I thought it would be a prodigious turn of fortune, for a man in my circumstances, if I could make any progress in her heart, which she seemed a little to open to me, in such a manner, for the beginning, as if such a successful event, if managed with prudence, might not be despaired of. Souls that are generous are apt to love, and compassion is the best introducer of love into a generous bosom, and that was the best stock I had to go upon in my courtship: I told her of all my calamities, my dangers, and my escapes; the goodness of my birth, as being allied to one of the greatest nobles in our island; and still she would ask me to tell it her over again, though every time I told it, just at such and such passages, she was forced to drop the tears from her eyes. In fine, I grew more in love with her, more out of a sense of gratitude now, than by the power of her charms before; the matter in a few days went so far, that she owned to me I had her heart. As to marriage, I did not then know the custom of the nation; I thought that if it proved only dangerous to me, I loved her so well that I intended to marry her, though the law was to pronounce me dead for it; but I did not know whether it might not be perilous for her too to engage in such a state with me, and I resolved in that case rather to be singly unhappy, than to involve her in distress, and make her the fair companion of my woes. I would not tell her so, for fear she should out of love hide from me those dangers, and therefore, using a kind sort of dissimulation, I conjured her to tell me the laws and customs of marriages in that country to a tittle, and that nothing should hinder us from happiness. She told me exactly, as I find since. 'Our marriage,' said she, 'will be very hard to compass; provided we follow the strict rule of the country. For our women here are bound not to see the man who makes their addresses to them in some time. His way of courtship is to come to the parents; and his nearest friends and relations must make her father presents, and supplicate him like a king, to grant him his daughter. The courtship often lasts two or three years, and sometimes has not its effect at last; but if it has, the woman is dragged by her father and brother to church, as unwilling to go to be married, which is looked upon as a greater part of modesty in her, according to the greater disinclination she shows. My father and brother,' said she, 'will both be against it; you have no relations in this country to move your suit, I cannot be so hypocritical as to be dragged unwillingly to him I own I desire for my lawful husband, and therefore, as I have an inclination to you, and I dare own I have, I will not follow those methods which I disapprove. I have talked with several Swedes, and several polite Frenchmen, about their manner of espousals, and I am told, that when souls are naturally united by affection, the couple so mutually and reciprocally loving, though they had rather have their parents' leave if likely to be got, yet, unwilling to be disappointed, only go to the next minister's and marry for better for worse. This way I approve of, for where two persons naturally love each other, the rest is nothing but a modest restraint to their wishes; and since it is only custom, my own reason teaches me there is no error committed, nor any harm done in breaking through it upon so commendable an occasion. I have,' added she, 'a thousand rein-deer belonging to me, beyond my father's power of taking away, and a third share in a rekar or clan, that is ten leagues in compass, in the byar or canton of Uma Lapmark. This is at my own disposal, and it is all your own, if you please to accept of it with me. Our women are very coy when they are courted, though they have never so much an inclination to their suitor; but good reason, and the commerce I have had with persons of politer nations than ours is, teach me that this proceeds entirely from vanity and affectation; and the greatest proof of a woman's modesty, chastity, and sincerity, certainly consists, contrary to the general corrupted opinion, in yielding up herself into the arms of the man she loves. For she that can dally with a heart she prizes, can give away her heart, when she is once balked, to any man, even though she dislikes him.' You must judge, my dear father, I must be touched with a woman that was exceeding beautiful, beyond any of her nation, and who had thoughts as beautiful as her person. I therefore was all in rapture, and longed for the matrimony, but still loved her enough to propose the question, I resolved, to her, viz. if it would not be in her nation accounted a clandestine marriage, and prove of great damage to her.

To this she answered with all the wisdom which could be expected from a woman who had given such eminent tokens of her judgment on other points, amidst a nation so barbarous in its manners, and so corrupt in its principles, as Lapland is. 'I am,' said she, 'answerable to

my father for nothing by our laws, having no portion of him, but only what was presented me by my relations at my birth, according to custom, in lands and rein-deer. My father is but deputy governor; it is a Swede who is the governor of Uma; and if I pay to him at every mart and fair the due tribute, which must either consist of fifty rein-deer or one hundred and fifty rixdollars, he will have the priest that marries us present at the court of justice, according to our custom, and keep us in possession of our rights, that we may be enabled to pay tribute to the crown of Sweden. Indeed, before the abolition of the Birkarti, which were our native judges, we could not have married thus without danger to us both; but now there is none at all.'

My dear father, you must easily imagine that I could not help embracing with all tenderness so dear and so lovely a woman. In fine, I am married to her, I have lived very happy hitherto, and am now grown more happy, for she is big with child, and likely, before my letter comes to your hands, to make you a grandfather of a pretty boy. You will perhaps wonder that I name the sex of the child before it comes into the world, but we have a way in Lapland of finding that out, which, though some judicious people call superstitious, I am really persuaded of by experience, and therefore I indulged my dear wife's curiosity, when she signified to me she had a mind to make the usual trial, whether the child she was going to be delivered of would be a boy or a girl.

You must understand, my dear father, the people here judge of the sex of the child by the moon, unto which they compare a big-bellied woman. If they see a star appear just above the moon, it is a sign it will be a boy; but if the star be just below the moon, they conjecture her to be big with a girl. This observation and remark of Laplanders has, I know, been accounted by some, and those wise and judicious men too, to be ridiculously superstitious; but I have been led into an easy belief of this mystery, by a mistress that is superior to wisdom itself, constant, and therefore probably infallible, experience. I therefore indulged my wife in this her request, and went with her to the ceremony; the star appeared above the moon, which prognosticates a boy, which I wish may, and I scarce doubt will prove true, and when she is brought to bed I will send you word of it. It is remarkable, likewise, that a star was seen just before the moon, which we also count a very good omen. For it is a custom likewise here, in Lapland, to consult the moon, as an oracle about the health and vigour of the child. If a star be seen just before the moon, we count it a sign of a lusty and well-grown child, without blemish; if a star comes just after, we reckon it a token that the child will have some defect or deformity, or die soon after it is born.

Having thus told you the manners of the country I live in at present, as much at large as the nature of a letter will permit, and related to you my own happy circumstances, and the kindly promises of the heavens that are ushering in the birth of my child, I would not have you think that I addict myself to the superstitions of the country, which are very many and groundless, and arising partly from the remainder of pagan worship, which is still cultivated among some of the more obstinate inhabitants. I have, on the contrary, since I married her, endeavoured to repay my wife's temporal blessings to me with those that are endless, instructed her in all the *points of religion*, and made her perfectly a Christian; and she, by her devotion and prayers for me, makes me such amends for it that I hope in us two St. Paul's saying will be verified, viz. 'That the woman shall be sanctified in her husband, and the husband shall be sanctified in his wife.'

However, I must take notice in this place, with all due deference to Christianity, that though I am obliged to applaud the prudence and piety of Charles the Ninth of Sweden, who, constituting Swedish governors over this country, abrogated their practice of superstitious sad magic upon pain of death, yet that king carried the point too far, and intermingled with these arts the pretensions to the gift of a second-sight, which you know how frequent it is with us in Scotland, and which, I assure you, my wife (though she durst not publicly own it for fear of incurring the penalty of those Swedish laws) does, as it were, inherit (for all her ancestors before her have had it from time immemorial) to a greater degree than ever I knew any of our countrywomen or countrymen.

One day last week she distracted me between the extremes of joy and sorrow. She told me I should see you shortly, and that my coming you would grow to be one of the most remarkable men in England and Scotland, for his power of foresight; but that I should speedily lose her, and meet with difficulties in my own country, in the same manner as my father (meaning you, sir,) had done before me, and on the same account, viz. of civil broils and intestine wars in Scotland.

These unfortunate parts of her relation I would not conceal from you, because the veracity of her notions should appear; if they are true, though you may be sure I much wish they all may prove false to the very last; excepting that where she tells me my son will be greatly remarkable, and that I shall shortly see my dear father, which I daily long for, and will endeavour to do as soon as possible. Pray remember me to all friends; being, honoured sir, your most dutiful and loving son, ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

THE SECOND LETTER.

I am now the happiest man alive; the prosperous part of my wife's predictions, which I mentioned to you in my last, is come in some measure to pass. The child she has brought me proves a boy, and as fine a one as I ever beheld, (if fondness for my own makes me not blind); and sure it cannot be fondness, because other plain circumstances joined at his birth to prove it a more than ordinary remarkable one. He was born with a caul upon his head, which we count one of the luckiest signs that can be in nature: he had likewise three teeth ready cut through the gums, and we reckon that an undeniable testimony and promise given to the world by nature, that she intends such a person for her extraordinary favourite, and that he is born for great things, which I daily beg of Heaven may come to pass.

Since I have known for some months what it is to be a father, it adds a considerable weight to those affections which I had for my wife. I thought that my tenderness for her was at the height of perfection before; which shows how little we know of those parts of nature that we have yet never tried, and of which we have not yet been allotted our share to act upon the stage of life. I find that I did love her then as well as a husband could love a wife, that is, a wife without a child; but the love to a wife that has a child, is a feeling wonderful and inexpressible

different. A child is the seal and the pledge of love. Meditating upon this has likewise doubled my affection to you. I loved you before as a son, and because, as such, I felt your tenderness; but my love is much increased now, because I know the tenderness which you felt for me as a father. With these pleasing images of thought, I often keep you nearer company at this vast distance, than when I lived irregularly under your eye. These reflections render a solitary life dear to me. And though I have no manner of acquaintance with her relations, who hate me, as I am told, nor indeed with almost any of the inhabitants, but my own domestics, and those I am forced to deal with, yet I have as much, methinks, as I wish for, unless I could come over to Shetland and live with you, which I the more ardently desire, because I think I and my wife could be true comforts to you in your advanced years, now I know what living truly is. I am daily persuading my wife to go with me; but she denies me with kind expressions, and says she owes too much to the place (however less pleasant in itself than other climates), where she had the happiness of first joining hands with me in wedlock, ever to part from it. But I must explain how I ask, and how she refuses. I resolved never directly and downrightly to ask her, because I know she can refuse me nothing; and that would be bearing hard upon the goodness of her will. But my way of persuading her consists in endeavouring to make her in love with the place by agreeable descriptions of it, and likewise of the humane temper of the people; so that I shortly shall induce her to signify to me that it is her own will to come with me, and then I shall seem rather to consent to her will, than to have moved it over to my own. These hopes I have of seeing my dear father very shortly, and I know such news would make this letter, which I therefore send, more acceptable to him, to whom I will be a most dutiful and affectionate son till death.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

P.S. If I cannot bring my wife to change this country for another, I have brought her to that pitch of devotion, that whenever Providence, which, notwithstanding her predictions, I hope will be long yet, shall call her to change this world for another, it will be happy with her there; she joins with me in begging your blessing to me, herself, and our little Duncan, whom we christened so, out of respect to the name you bear.

THE THIRD LETTER.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I am lost in grief. I had just brought my wife (her that was my wife, for I have none now, I have lost all joy), in the mind of coming over to be a comfort to you. But now grief will let me say no more than that I am coming to beg comfort from you, and by this I prepare you to receive, when he comes, a son in tears and mourning.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

P.S.—I have a babe, not much above two years old, must bear the hardships of travelling over the ice, and all through Muscovy, for no ships can stir here for many months; and I cannot bear to live in this inhospitable place, where she died, that only could make it easy to me, one moment beyond the first opportunity I have of leaving it. She is in heaven; that should make me easy, but I cannot; I am not so good a Christian as she was—I am lost and ruined.

CHAPTER II.

After the death of Mr. Duncan Campbell's mother in Lapland, his father Archibald returned with his son to Scotland. His second marriage, and how his son was taught to read and write.

MR. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, having buried his Lapland lady, returned to Scotland, and brought over with him his son, Mr. Duncan Campbell. By that time he had been a year in his own country, he married a second wife, a lady whom I had known very well for some years, and then I first saw the boy; but, as they went into the Western Islands, I saw them not again in three years. She being, quite contrary to the cruel way much in use among stepmothers, very fond of the boy, was accustomed to say, she did, and would always think him her own son. The child came to be about four years of age (as she has related to me the story since), and not able to speak one word, nor to hear any noise; the father of him used to be mightily oppressed with grief, and complain heavily to his new wife, who was no less perplexed, that a boy so pretty, the son of so particular a woman, which he had made his wife, by strange accidents and adventures, and a child coming into the world with so many amazing circumstances attending his birth, should lose those precious senses by which alone the social commerce of mankind is upheld and maintained, and that he should be deprived of all advantages of education, which could raise him to the character of being the great man that so many concurring incidents at his nativity promised and betokened he would be.

One day a learned divine, who was of the university of Glasgow, but had visited Oxford, and been acquainted with the chief men of science there, happening to be in conversation with the mother-in-law of this child, she related to him her son's misfortunes, with so many marks of sorrow that she moved the good old gentleman's compassion, and excited in him a desire to give her what relief and consolation he could in this unhappy case. His particular inclination to do her good offices made him recollect that, at the time he was at Oxford, he had been in company with one Dr. Wallis, a man famous for learning, who had told him that he had taught a born deaf and dumb man to write, and to read, and even to utter some sounds articulately with his mouth; and that he told him he was then going to commit to print the method he made use of in so instructing that person, that others in the like unfortunate condition might receive the same benefits and advantages from other masters which his deaf and dumb pupil had received from him. A dumb man recovering his speech, or a blind man gaining his sight, or a deaf one getting his hearing, could not be more overjoyed than Mrs. Campbell was at these unexpected tidings, and she wept for gladness when he told it. The good gentleman animated and encouraged her with the kindest promises, and to keep alive her hopes, assured her he would send to one of the chief booksellers in London to inquire after the book, who would certainly procure it him if it was to be got, and that afterwards he would peruse it diligently, make himself master of Dr. Wallis's method, and though he had many great works upon his hands at that time, he would steal from his other studies leisure enough to complete so charitable an office as teaching the dumb and deaf to read and to

write, and give her son, who was by nature deprived of them, the advantages of speech, as far as art would permit that natural defect to be supplied by her powerful interposition.

When the mother came home, the child, who could hear no knocking, and therefore it must be by a strange and inexplicable instinct in nature, was the first that ran to the door, and, falling in a great fit of laughter, a thing it was not much used to before, having on the contrary rather a melancholy cast of complexion, it clung round its mother's knees, incessantly embracing and kissing them, as if just at that time it had an insight into what the mother had been doing for it, and into its own approaching relief from its misery.

When the mother came with the child in her hand to the father to tell him the welcome news, the child burst afresh into a great fit of laughter, which continued for an unusual space of time; and the scene of such reciprocal affection and joy between a wife and her own husband, on so signal an occasion, is a thing easier to be felt by parents of a good disposition, imagining themselves under the same circumstances with regard to a child they loved with fondness, than to be expressed or described by the pen of any writer. But it is certain, whenever they spoke of this affair, as anybody who knows the impatience of parents for the welfare of an only child, may guess they must be often discoursing it over, and wishing the time was come; the boy, who used seldom so much as to smile at other times, and who could never hear the greatest noise that could be made, would constantly look wishfully in their faces and laugh immoderately, which is a plain indication that there was then a wonderful instinct in nature, as I said before, which made him foretaste his good fortune, and, if I may be allowed the expression, the dawnings as it were of the second-sight were then pregnant within him.

To confirm this, the happy hour of his deliverance being come, and the doctor having procured Mr. Wallis's book, came with great joy, and desired to see his pupil; scarce were the words out of his mouth when the child happened to come into the room, and, running towards the doctor, fell on his knees, kissed his hand eagerly, and laughed as before, which to me is a demonstration that he had an insight into the good which the doctor intended him.

It is certain that several learned men who have written concerning the second-sight, have demonstrated by incontestable proofs, and undeniable arguments, that children, nay, even horses and cows, see the second-sight, as well as men and women advanced in years. But of this I shall discourse at large in its proper place, having allotted a whole future chapter for that same subject of second-sightedness.

In about half a year the doctor taught his little dumb pupil first to know his letters, then to name anything whatsoever, to leave off some savage motions which he had taken of his own accord before to signify his mind by, and to impart his thoughts by his fingers and his pen, in a manner as intelligible, and almost as swift through the eyes as that is of conveying our ideas to one another by our voices, through the conduits and portholes of the ears. But in little more than two years he could write and read as well as anybody. Because a great many people cannot conceive this, and others pretend it is not to be done in nature, I will a little discourse upon Dr. Wallis's foundation, and show in a manner obvious to the most ignorant how this hitherto mysterious help may be easily administered to the deaf and the dumb, which shall be the subject of the ensuing chapter.

But I cannot conclude this without telling the handsome saying with which this child, who not quite six years old, as soon as he thought he could express himself well, paid his first acknowledgment to his master, and which promised how great his future genius was to be, when so wise a child ripened into man. The words he wrote to him were these, only altered into English from the Scotch:—

'Sir,—It is no little work you have accomplished. My thanks are too poor amends; the world, sir, shall give you thanks; for as I could not have expressed myself without your teaching me, so those that can talk, though they have eyes, cannot see the things which I can see, and shall tell them; so that in doing me this, you have done a general service to mankind.'

CHAPTER III.

The method of teaching deaf and dumb persons to write, read, and understand a language.

It is, I must confess, in some measure amazing to me that men, of any moderate share of learning, should not naturally conceive of themselves a plain reason for this art, and know how to account for the practicability of it the moment they hear the proposition advanced; the reason for it are so obvious to the very first consideration we can make about it. It will be likewise as amazing to me that the most ignorant should not conceive it, after so plain a reason is given them for it, as I am now going to set down.

To begin: how are children at first taught a language that can hear? Are they not taught by sounds? And what are those sounds but tokens and signs to the ear, importing and signifying such and such a thing? If, then, there can be signs made to the eye, agreed by the party teaching the child, that they signify such and such a thing, will not the eye of the child convey them to the mind as well as the ear? They are indeed different marks to different senses, but both the one and the other do equally signify the same things or notions, according to the will of the teacher, and consequently must have an equal effect with the person who is to be instructed, for though the manners signifying are different, the things signified are the same.

For example, if, after having invented an alphabet upon the fingers, a master always keeps company with a deaf child, and teaches it to call for whatsoever it wants by such motions of the fingers which, if put down by letters, according to each invented motion of each finger, would form in writing a word of a thing which it wanted; might not he by these regular motions teach its eye the same notions of things, as sounds do to the ears of children that hear? The manner of teaching the alphabet by fingers is plainly set down in the following table [the dumb alphabet.]

When the deaf child has learned by these motions a good stock of words, as children that hear first learn by sounds, we may, methinks, call not improperly the fingers of such a dumb infant its mouth, and the eye of such a deaf child its ear. When he has learnt thus far, he must be taught to write the alphabet, according as it was adapted to the motions of his fingers: as, for instance, the five vowels, a, e, i, o, u, by pointing to the top of the five fingers, and the

other letters, *b*, *c*, *d*, &c., by such other place or posture of a finger, as in the above-mentioned table is set forth, or otherwise, it shall be agreed upon. When this is done, the marks B, R, E, A, D (and so of all other words), corresponding with such finger, convey through his eyes, unto his head, the same notion, viz. the thing signified, as the sound we give to those same letters, making the word 'bread,' does into our head through the ears.

This once done, he may be easily taught to understand the parts of speech, as the verb, the noun, pronoun, &c., and so, by rules of grammar and syntax, to compound ideas, and connect his words into a language. The method of which, since it is plainly set forth in Doctor Wallis's letter to Mr. Beverly, I shall set it down by way of extract; that people in the same circumstances with the person we treat of, and of the like genius, may not have their talents lost for want of the like assistance.

When once a deaf person has learned so far as to understand the common discourse of others, and to express his mind tolerably well in writing, I see no room to doubt but that (provided nature has endowed him with a proper strength of genius, as other men that hear) he may become capable (upon farther improvement) of such farther knowledge as is attainable by reading. For I must here join with the learned Doctor Wallis in asserting (as to the present case before us) that no reason can be assigned why such a deaf person may not attain the understanding of a language as perfectly as those that hear; and with the same learned author I take upon me to lay down this proposition as certain, that allowing the deaf person the like time and exercise, as to other men is requisite in order to attain the perfection of a language, and the elegance of it, he may understand as well, and write as good language as other men; and abating only what doth depend upon sound, as tones, cadences, and such punctilios, no whit inferior to what he might attain to if he had his hearing as others have.

An Extract from Dr. Wallis concerning the method of teaching the Deaf and Dumb to Read.

'It is most natural (as children learn the names of things) to furnish him by degrees with a nomenclature, containing a competent number of names of things common and obvious to the eye (that you may show the thing answering to such a name), and these digested under convenient titles, and placed under them in such convenient order (in several columns, or other orderly situation in the paper), as by their position best to express to the eye their relation or respect to one another. As contraries or correlatives one against the other, subordinates or appurtenances under their principle, which may serve as a kind of local memory.

'Thus in one paper, under the title mankind, may be placed (not confusedly, but in decent order), man, woman, child (boy, girl).

'In another paper, under the title body, may be written (in like convenient order), head (hair, skin, ear), face, forehead, eye (eyelid, eyebrow), cheek, nose (nostril), mouth (lip, chin), neck, throat, back, breast, side (right side, left side), belly, shoulders, arm (elbow, wrist, hand,—back, palm), finger (thumb, knuckle, nail), thigh, knee, leg (shin, calf, ancle), foot (heel, sole), toe.

'And when he hath learned the import of words in each paper, let him write them in like manner, in distinct leaves or pages of a book, prepared for that purpose, to confirm his memory, and to have recourse to it upon occasion.

'In a third paper you may give him the inward parts; as skull (brain), throat (windpipe, gullet), stomach, guts, heart, lungs, liver, spleen, kidney, bladder (urine), vein (blood), bone (marrow), flesh, fat, &c.

'In another paper, under the title beast, may be placed horse (stone-horse, gelding), mare (colt), bull (ox), cow, calf. Sheep, ram (wether), ewe (lamb), hog, boar, sow, pig, dog (mastiff, hound, greyhound, spaniel), bitch (whelp, puppy), hare, rabbit, cat, mouse, rat, &c.

'Under the title bird, or fowl, put cock, capon, hen, chick, goose (gander), gosling, duck (drake), swan, crow, kite, lark, &c.

'Under the title fish, put pike, eel, plaice, salmon, lobster, crawfish, &c.

'You may then put plants or vegetables under several heads, or subdivisions of the same head; as tree (root, body, bark, bough, leaf, fruit), oak, ash, apple tree, pear tree, vine, &c. Fruit: apple, pear, plum, cherry, grape, nut, orange, lemon. Flower: rose, tulip, gilliflower herb (weed), grass, corn, wheat, barley, rye, pea, bean.

'And the like of inanimates; as heaven, sun, moon, star, element, earth, water, air, fire; and under the title earth,—clay, sand, gravel, stone. Metal: gold, silver, brass, copper, iron (steel), lead, tin (pewter), glass. Under the title water, put sea, pond, river, stream; under that of air, put light, dark, mist, fog, cloud, wind, rain, hail, snow, thunder, lightning, rainbow. Under that of fire: coal, flame, smoke, soot, ashes.

'Under the title clothes, put woollen (cloth, stuff), linen (holland, lawn, lockarum), silk (satin, velvet), hat, cap, band, doublet, breeches, coat, cloak, stocking, shoe, boot, shirt, petticoat, gown, &c.

'Under the title house, put wall, roof, door, window, casement, room.

'Under room, put shop, hall, parlour, dining-room, chamber, study, closet, kitchen, cellar, stable, &c.

'And under each of these, as distinct heads, the furniture or utensils belonging thereunto, with divisions and subdivisions, as there is occasion, which I forbear to mention, that I be not too prolix.

'And in like manner, from time to time, may be added more collections, or classes of names or words, conveniently digested, under distinct heads, and suitable distributions, to be written in distinct leaves or pages of his book in such order as may seem convenient.

'When he is furnished with a competent number of names, though not so many as I have mentioned, it will be seasonable to teach him under the titles singular and plural, the formation of plurals from singulars, by adding *s*, or *es*; as hand, hands; face, faces; fish, fishes, &c.; with some few irregulars, as man, men; woman, women; foot, feet; tooth, teeth; mouse, mice; louse, lice; ox, oxen, &c.

'Which, except the irregulars, will serve for possessives, to be after taught him, which are formed by their primitives by like addition of *s* or *es*, except some few irregulars, as my, mine; thy, thine; our, ours; your, yours; his, her, hers; their, theirs, &c.

'And in all those and other like cases, it will be proper first to show him the particulars, and then the general title.

'Then teach him in another page or paper, the particles, a, an, the, this, that, these, those.

'And the pronouns, I, me, my, mine, thou, thee, thy, thine, we, us, our, ours, ye, you, your, yours,

he, him, his, she, her, hers, it, its, they, them, their, theirs, who, whom, whose.

'Then under the titles substantive, adjective, teach him to connect these, as, my hand, your head, his foot, his feet, her arms, our hats, their shoes, John's coat, William's band, &c.

'And in order to furnish him with more adjectives, under the title colours, you may place black, white, gray, green, blue, yellow, red, &c., and having showed the particulars, let him know that these are called colours. The like for taste and smell; as, sweet, bitter, sour, stink.

'And for hearing, sound, noise, word.

'Then for touch or feeling, hot, warm, cold, cool, wet, moist, dry, hard, soft, tough, brittle, heavy, light, &c.

'From whence you may furnish him with more examples of adjectives with substantives; as, white bread, brown bread, green grass, soft cheese, hard cheese, black hat, my black hat, &c.

'And then inverting the order, substantive, adjective, with the verb copulative between; as, silver is white, gold is yellow, lead is heavy, wood is light, snow is white, ink is black, flesh is soft, bone is hard, I am sick, I am not well, &c., which will begin to give him some notion of syntax.

'In like manner when substantive and substantive are so connected; as, gold is a metal, a rose is a flower, they are men, they are women, horses are beasts, geese are fowls, larks are birds, &c.

'Then as those before relate to quality, you may give him some other words relating to quantity. As, long, short, broad, narrow; thick, thin; high, tall, low; deep, shallow, great, big, small (little), much, little; many, few, full, empty; whole, part, piece; all, some, none, strong, weak, quick, slow, equal, unequal, bigger, less.

'Then words of figure; as, straight, crooked, plain, bowed, concave, hollow, convex; round, square, three-square, sphere, globe, bowl, cube, die, upright, sloping, leaning forward, leaning backward, like, unlike.

'Of gesture; as, stand, lie, sit, kneel, sleep.

'Of motion; as, move, stir, rest, walk, go, come, run, leap, ride, fall, rise, swim, sink, drawn, slide, creep, crawl, fly, pull, draw, thrust, throw, bring, fetch, carry.

'Then words relating to time; place, number, weight, measure, money, &c., are, in convenient time, to be showed him distinctly; for which the teacher, according to his discretion, may take a convenient season.

'As likewise the time of the day, the days of the week, the days of the month, the months of the year, and other things relating to the almanack, which he will be capable to understand if once methodically shown him.

'As likewise the names and situation of places and countries, which are convenient for him to know; which may be orderly written in his book, and showed him in the map of London, England, Europe, the world, &c.

'But these may be done at leisure, as likewise the practice of arithmetic, and other like pieces of learning.

'In the meantime, after the concord of substantive and adjective, he is to be showed by convenient examples, that of the nominative and verb; as, for instance, I go, you see, he sits, they stand, the fire burns, the sun shines, the wind blows, the rain falls, the water runs, and the like, with the titles in the top, Nominative, Verb.

'After this (under the titles, Nominative, Verb, *Accusative*), give him examples of verbs transitive; as, *I see* you, you see me, the fire burns the wood, the boy makes the fire, the cook roasts the meat, the butler lays the cloth, we eat our dinner.

'Or even with a double accusative; as, you teach me writing or to write, John teacheth me to dance, Thomas, tell me a tale, &c.

'After this you may teach him the flexion or conjugation of the verb, or what is equivalent thereunto; for in our English tongue each verb hath but two tenses, the present and the preter; two participles, the active and the passive; all the rest is performed by auxiliaries, which auxiliaries have no more tenses than the other verbs.

'Those auxiliaries are, do, did, will, would, shall, should, may, might, can, could, must, ought, to, have, had, am, be, was. And if by examples you can insinuate the signification of these few words, you have taught him the whole flexion of the verb.

'And here it will be convenient, once for all, to write him out a full paradigm of some one verb, suppose *to see*, through all those auxiliaries.

'The verb itself hath but these four words to be learned, see, saw, seeing, seen, save that after thou, in the second person singular, in both tenses, we add *est*, and in the third person singular, in the present tense, *eth* or *es*, or instead thereof, *st*, *th*, *s*, and so in all verbs.

'Then to the auxiliaries, do, did, will, would, shall, should, may, might, can, could, must, ought, to, we join the indefinite see. And after have, had, am, be, was, the passive participle seen, and so for all other verbs.

'But the auxiliary, am, or *be*, is somewhat irregular in a double form.

'Am, art, is; plural are; was, wast, was; plural were.

'Be, beest, be; plural be; were, wert, were; plural were.

'Be, am, was, being, been.

'Which, attended with the other auxiliaries, make us the whole passive voice.

'All verbs, without exceptions, in the active participle, are formed by adding *ing*, as see, seeing; teach, teaching, &c.

'The preter tense and the participle are formed regularly, by adding *ed*, but are often subject to contractions and other irregularities, sometimes the same in both, sometimes different, and therefore it is convenient here to give a table of verbs, especially the most usual, for those three uses, which may at once teach their significations and formation; as, boil, boiled; roast, roasted, roasted; bake, baked, baked, &c.; teach, taught, taught; bring, brought, brought; buy, bought, bought, &c.; see, saw, seen; give, gave, given; take, took, taken; forsake, forsook, forsaken; write, wrote, written, &c.; with many more fit to be learned.

'The verbs being thus despatched, he is then to learn the prepositions, wherein lies the whole regimen of the noun. For diversity of cases we have none, the force of which is to be indicated by convenient examples, suited to their different significations; as for instance, *of* a piece *of* bread, a pint *of* wine, the colour *of* a pot, the colour *of* gold, a ring *of* gold, a cup *of* silver, the mayor *of* London, the longest *of* all, &c.

'And in like manner, for, off, on, upon, to, unto, till, until, from, at, in, within, out, without, into, out of; about, over, under; above, below; between, among; before, behind, after; for, by, with, through, against, concerning; and by this time he will be pretty well enabled to understand a single sentence.

'In the last place, he is in like manner to be taught conjunctions, which serve to connect not words only, but sentences; as, and, also; likewise, either, or, whether; neither, nor, if, then,

why, wherefore, because, therefore, but, though, yet, &c.; and these illustrated by convenient examples in each case, as, *Because* I am cold, *therefore* I go to the fire, *that* I may be warm, *for* it is cold weather.

'*If* it were fair, *then* it would be good walking, but however, *though* it rain, *yet* I must go, *because* I promised; with other like instances.

'And by this time his book, if well furnished with plenty of words, and those well digested under several heads, and in good order, and well recruited from time to time as new words occur, will serve him in the nature of a dictionary and grammar.

'And in case the deaf person be otherwise of a good natural capacity, and the teacher of a good sagacity, by this method, proceeding gradually step by step, you may, with diligence and due application of teacher and learner, in a year's time, or thereabouts, perceive a greater progress than you would expect, and a good foundation laid for further instruction in matters of religion and other knowledge which may be taught by books.

It will be convenient all along to have pen, ink, and paper, ready at hand, to write down in a word what you signify to him by signs, and cause him to write, or show how to write what he signifies by signs, which way of signifying their mind by signs deaf persons are often very good at; and we must endeavour to learn their language, if I may so call it, in order to teach them ours, by showing what words answer to their signs.

'It will be convenient, also, as you go along, after some convenient progress made, to express, in as plain language as may be, the import of some of the tables; as for instance:—

'The head is the highest part of the body, the feet the lowest part; the face is the fore part of the head, the forehead is over the eyes, the cheeks are under the eyes, the nose is between the cheeks, the mouth is under the nose and above the chin, &c.

'And such plain discourse put into writing, and particularly explained, will teach him by degrees to understand plain sentences; and like advantages a sagacious teacher may take, as occasion offers itself from time to time.'

This extract is mostly taken out of the ingenious Dr. Wallis, and lying hid in that little book, which is but rarely inquired after and too scarcely known, died in a manner with that great man. And as he designed it for the general use of mankind that laboured under the misfortune of losing those two valuable talents of hearing and speaking, I thought it might not be amiss (in the life of so particular a dumb person as I am writing) to give them this small but particular fragment of grammar and syntax.

It is exactly adjusted to the English tongue; because such are the persons with whom the Doctor had to deal, and such the persons whose benefit alone I consult in this treatise.

One of the chief persons who was taught by Dr. Wallis was Mr. Alexander Popham, brother-in-law (if I am not mistaken) to the present Earl of Oxford; and he was a very great proficient in this way; and though he was born deaf and dumb, understood the language so well as to give under his hand many rare indications of a masterly genius.

The uncle of his present Sardinian Majesty, as I have been credibly informed, had the want of the same organs, and yet was a perfect statesman, and wrote in five or six different languages elegantly well.

Bishop Burnet, in his book of travels, tells us a wonderful story, almost incredible; but tells it as a passage that deserves our belief. It is concerning a young lady at Genoa, who was not only deaf and dumb, but blind too, it seems, into the bargain; and this lady, he assures us as a truth, could, by putting her hand on her sister's mouth, know everything she said.

But to return back to England. We have many rare instances of our own countrymen, the principal of whom I shall mention, as their names occur to my memory. Sir John Gawdy, Sir Thomas Knotcliff, Sir —— Gostwick, Sir Henry Lydall, and Mr. Richard Lyne of Oxford, were all of this number, and yet men eminent in their several capacities, for understanding many authors, and expressing themselves in writing with wonderful facility.

In Hatton Garden there now lives a miracle of wit and good nature, I mean the daughter of Mr. Loggin, who, though born deaf and dumb (and she has a brother who has the same impediments), yet writes her mind down upon any subject with such acuteness as would amaze learned men themselves, and put many students that have passed for wits to the blush, to see themselves so far surpassed by a woman amidst that deficiency of the common organs. If anybody speaks a word distinctly, this lady will, by observing narrowly the motion of the speaker's lips, pronounce the word afterwards very intelligibly.

As there are a great many families in England and Ireland that have several, and some even have five or six dumb persons belonging to them; and as a great many more believe it impossible for persons born deaf and dumb to write and read, and have thence taken occasion to say and assert that Mr. Campbell could certainly speak, I could never think it a digression in the history of this man's life to set down the grammar by which he himself was taught, and which he has taught others (two of which scholars of his are boys in this town), partly to confute the slander made against him, and partly for the help of others dumb and deaf, whose parents may by these examples be encouraged to get them taught.

CHAPTER IV.

Young Duncan Campbell returns with his mother to Edinburgh. The Earl of Argyle's overthrow. The ruin of Mr. Archibald Campbell, and his death. Young Duncan's practice in prediction at Edinburgh, while yet a boy.

OUR young boy, now between six and seven years of age, half a Highlander and half a Laplander, delighted in wearing a little bonnet and plaid, thinking it looked very manly in his countrymen; and his father, as soon as he was out of his hanging sleeves, and left off his boy's vest, indulged him with that kind of dress, which is truly antique and heroic. In this early part of his nonage he was brought to Edinburgh by his mother-in-law, where I myself grew afresh acquainted with her, his father being then but lately dead, just after the civil commotion; and off and on I have known him ever since, and conversed with him very frequently during that space of time, which is now about three or four and thirty years, so that whatever I say concerning him in the future pages I shall relate to the reader from my own certain knowledge, which, as I resolved to continue anonymous, may per-

haps not have so much weight and authority as if I had prefixed my name to the account. Be that as it will, there are hundreds of living witnesses that will justify each action I relate, and his own future actions while he lives will procure belief and credit to the precedent ones, which I am going to record; so that if many do remain infidels to my relations, and will not allow them exact (the fate of many as credible and more important historians than myself), I can, however, venture to flatter myself that greater will be the number of those who will have a faith in my writings than of those who will reject my accounts as incredible.

Having just spoke of the decease of Mr. Archibald Campbell, the father of our young Duncan Campbell, it will not be amiss here to observe how true the predictions of his Lapland mother were, which arose from second-sight, according to the notices given by the child's father to his grandfather, in his letter from Lapland, even before it was born, which shows that the infant held this second-sighted power, or occult faculty of divination even by inheritance.

In the year 1685, the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Argyle sailed out of the ports of Holland without any obstruction, the Earl of Argyle in May, with three ships for Scotland, and Monmouth in June, with the same number for England.

The earl setting out first, was also the first at landing. Argyle having attempted to land in the north of Scotland, and being disappointed by the vigilance of the Bishop of the Orcades, landed in the west, and encamped at Dunstaffnage Castle, in the province of Lorn, which had belonged to him. He omitted nothing that might draw over to him all the malcontents in the kingdom, whom he thought more numerous than they afterwards appeared to be. He dispersed about his declarations, wherein, after protesting that he had taken up arms only in defence of religion and the laws, against an unjust usurper (so he styled King James the Second), he invited all good Protestants, and such Scotch as would assert their liberty, to join him against a prince, he said, who was got into the throne to ruin the Reformation, and to bring in Popery and arbitrary power. Next he sent letters to those he thought his friends, among whom was Mr. Archibald Campbell, who, according to the vast deference paid by the Scots to their chief, joined him, though in his heart of quite a different principle, to call them to his assistance. He detached two of his sons to make inroads in the neighbourhood, and compel some by threats, others by mighty promises, to join him. All his contrivances could not raise him above three thousand men, with whom he encamped in the Isle of Bute, where he was soon, in a manner, besieged by the Earl of Dumbarton, with the king's forces, and several other bodies, commanded by the Duke of Gordon, the Marquis of Athol, the Earl of Arran, and other great men, who came from all parts to quench the fire before it grew to a head.

The Earl of Argyle being obliged to quit a post he could not make good, went over into a part of the country of his own name, where, having hastily fortified a castle called Ellingrey, he put into it the arms and ammunition taken out of his ships, which lay at anchor under the cannon of a fort he erected near that place. There his rout began; for going out from the castle with his forces to make an incursion, one of his parties was defeated by the Marquis of *Athol*, who slew four hundred of his men; and *Captain* Hamilton, who attacked his ships with some of the king's, and took them without any resistance.

The Earl of Dumbarton advancing towards him, at the same time, by long marches, while he endeavoured to secure himself by rivers, surprised him passing the Clyde in the village of Killern, as he was marching towards Lennox. Dumbarton coming upon them at night, would have stayed till the next day to attack the rebels, but they gave him not so much time, for they passed the river in the night, in such confusion, that being overcome by fear, they dispersed as soon as over. Argyle could scarce rally so many as would make him a small guard, which was soon scattered again; Dumbarton having passed the river, and divided his forces to pursue those that fled. Argyle had taken guides to conduct him to Galloway; but they mistaking the way, and leading him into a bog, most of those that still followed him quitted their horses, every man shifting for himself.

Argyle himself was making back alone towards the Clyde, when two resolute servants, belonging to an officer in the king's army, meeting him, though they knew him not, bid him surrender. He fired at and missed them; but they took better aim, and wounded him with a pistol ball. Then the earl drawing his two pistols out of the holsters, quitted his horse, that was quite tired, and took the river. A country fellow, who came with those two that had first assaulted him, pursued him with a pistol in his hand; the earl would have fired one of his, but the flint, failing, he was dangerously wounded in the head by the peasant. He discovered himself as he fell senseless, crying out, 'Unfortunate Argyle.' This nobleman, how far soever he may be thought misled in principle, was certainly in his person a very brave and a very gallant hero. They made haste to draw him out and bring him to himself; after which, being delivered up to the officers, the erring, unfortunate great man, was conducted to Edinburgh and there beheaded.

Many gentlemen that followed the fortunes of this great man, though not in his death, they shared in all the other calamities attending his overthrow. They most of them fled into the remotest isles and the obscurest corners of all Scotland; contented with the saving of their lives; they grew exiles and banished men of their own making, and abdicated their estates before they were known to be forfeited, because for fear of being informed against by the common fellows they commanded, they durst not appear to lay their claims. Of this number was Mr. Archibald Campbell, and this new disaster wounded him deep into the very heart, after so many late misadventures, and sent him untimely to the grave. He perfectly pined away and wasted: he was six months dying inch by inch, and the difference between his last breath and his way of breathing during all that time, was only that he expired with a greater sigh than he ordinarily fetched every time when he drew his breath.

Everything the Lapland lady had predicted so long before being thus come to pass, we may the less admire at the wonders performed by her son, when we consider this faculty of divination to be so derived to him from her, and grown as it were hereditary.

Our young prophet, who had taught most of his little companions to converse with him by finger, was the head at every little pastime and game they played at. Marbles (which he used to call children's playing at bowls) yielded him mighty diversion; and he was so dexterous an artist at shooting that little alabaster globe from

between the end of his forefinger and the knuckle of his thumb, that he seldom missed hitting plum (as the boys call it) the marble he aimed at, though at the distance of two or three yards. The boys always when they played coveted to have him on their side, and by hearing that he foretold other things, used to consult him, when they made their little matches (which were things of great importance in their thoughts), who should get the victory. He used commonly to leave these trifles undecided, but if ever he gave his opinion in these trivial affairs, the persons fared well by their consultation, for his judgment about them was like a petty oracle, and the end always answered his prediction. But I would have my reader imagine, that though our Duncan Campbell was himself but a boy, he was not consulted only by boys; his penetration and insight into things of a high nature got air, and being attested by credible witnesses, won him the esteem of persons of mature years and discretion.

If a beautiful young virgin languished for a husband, or a widow's mind was in labour to have a second venture of infants by another spouse; if a housekeeper had lost anything belonging to her master, still little Duncan Campbell was at hand, he was the oracle to be applied to; and the little chalked circle, where he was diverting himself with his play-fellows near the cross at Edinburgh, was frequented with as much solicitation, and as much credit, as the tripos of Apollo was at Delphos in ancient times.

It was highly entertaining to see a young blooming beauty come and slily pick up the boy from his company, carry him home with as much eagerness as she would her gallant, because she knew she should get the name of her gallant out of him before he went, and bribe him with a sugar plum to write down the name of a young Scotch peer in a green ribbon that her mouth watered after.

How often, after he has been wallowing in the dust, have I myself seen nice squeamish widows help him up in their gilded chariots, and give him a pleasant ride with them, that he might tell them they should not long lie alone; little Duncan Campbell had as much business upon his hands as the parsons of all the parishes in Edinburgh. He commonly was consulted, and named the couples before the minister joined them; thus he grew a rare customer to the toyshop, from whence he most usually received fees and rewards for his advice. If Lady Betty Such-a-one was foretold that she should certainly have Beau Such-a-one in marriage, then little Duncan was sure to have a hobby-horse from the toyshop, as a reward for the promised fop. If such a widow that was ugly, but very rich, was to be pushed hard for as she pretended, though in reality easily won, little Duncan, upon insuring her such a captain, or such a lieutenant-colonel, was sure to be presented from the same child's warehouse with a very handsome drum, and a silvered trumpet.

If a sempstress had an itching desire for a parson, she would, upon the first assurance of him, give the little Apollo a pasteboard temple, or church, finely painted, and a ring of bells into the bargain, from the same toy-office.

If a housekeeper lost any plate, the thief was certain to be catched, provided she took little master into the storeroom, and asked him the question after she had given him his bellyful of sweetmeats.

Neither were the women only his consulters; the grave merchants, who were anxious for many ventures at sea, applied to the boy for his opinion of their security, and they looked upon his opinion to be as safe as the insurance office for ships. If he but told them, though the ship was just set sail, and a tempest rose just after on the ocean, that it would have a successful voyage, gain the port designed, and return home safe laden with the exchange of traffic and merchandise, they dismissed all their fears, banished all their cares, set their hearts at ease, and, safe in his opinion, enjoyed a calm of mind amidst a storm of weather.

I myself knew one Count Cog, an eminent gamester, who was a person so far from being of a credulous disposition, that he was an unbeliever in several points of religion, and the next door to an infidel; yet, as much as he was a stranger to faith, he was mastered and overpowered so far in his incredulity by the strange events which he had seen come frequently to pass from the predictions of this child, that he had commonly daily access to this boy to learn his more adverse and more prosperous hours of gaming. At first indeed he would try, when the child foretold him his ill fortune, whether it would prove true, and relying upon the mere hazard and turn of the die, he had always, as he observed, a run of ill luck on those forbidden days, as he never failed of good if he chose the fortunate hours directed by the boy. One time above all the rest, just before he was departing from Edinburgh, and when the season of gaming was almost over, most persons of wealth and distinction withdrawing for pleasure to their seats in the country, he came to young Duncan Campbell to consult, and was extremely solicitous to know how happily or unluckily he should end that term (as we may call it) of the gamester's weighty business, viz. play, there being a long vacation likely to ensue, when the gaming table would be empty, and the box and dice lie idle and cease to rattle. The boy encouraged him so well with his predictions on this occasion, that Count Cog went to the toyshop, brought him from thence a very fine ivory T totum, (as children call it,) a pretty set of painted and gilded little ninepins and a bowl, and a large bag of marbles and alloys; and what do you think the gamester got by this little present and the prediction of the boy? Why, without telling the least tittle of falsehood, within the space of the last week's play, the gains of Count Cog really amounted to no less than £20,000 sterling neat money.

Having mentioned these persons of so many different professions by borrowed names, and perhaps in a manner seemingly ludicrous, I would not have my reader from hence take occasion of looking on my account as fabulous. If I was not to make use of borrowed names, but to tell the real characters and names of the persons, I should do injury to those old friends of his who first gave credit to our young seer, while I am endeavouring to gain him the credit and esteem of new ones, in whose way it has not yet happened to consult him. For many persons are very willing to ask such questions as the foregoing ones, but few or none willing to have the public told they asked them, though they succeeded in their wish, and were amply satisfied in their curiosity. I have represented them perhaps in a ludicrous manner, because, though they are mysterious actions, they are still the actions of a boy; and as the rewards he received for his advices did really and truly consist of such toys as I mentioned, so could they not be treated of in a more serious manner without the author's incurring a magisterial air of pedantry, and showing a mind, as it were, of being mighty grave and sententious about trifles.

There are, however, some things of greater weight and importance done by him in a more advanced stage of life, which will be delivered to the public with that exactitude and gravity which becomes them; and in some of those relations the names of some persons that are concerned shall be printed, because it will not at all be injurious to them, or because I have their leave, and they are still living to testify what I shall relate.

In the meantime, as the greatest part of his nonage was spent in predicting almost innumerable things, which are all, however, reducible to the general heads above mentioned, I will not tire the reader with any particulars; but instead of doing that, before I come to show his power of divination in the more active parts of his life, and when, after removing from Edinburgh to London, he at last made it his public profession, I shall account how such divinations may be made, and divert the reader with many rare examples, taken from several faithful and undoubted historians, of persons who have done the like before him, some in one way, and some in another; though in this he seems to be peculiar, and to be (if I may be allowed the expression) a species by himself, alone in the talent of prediction; that he has collected within his own individual capacity all the methods which others severally used, and with which they were differently and singly gifted in their several ways of foreseeing and foretelling.

This art of prediction is not attainable any otherwise than by these three ways: first, It is done by the company of familiar spirits and genii, which are of two sorts, some good and some bad, who tell the gifted person the things of which he informs other people. 2dly, It is performed by the second-sight, which is very various, and differs in most of the possessors, it being but a very little in some, very extensive and constant in others; beginning with some in their infancy, and leaving them before they come to years; happening to others in a middle age, to others again in an old age, that never had it before, and lasting only for a term of years, and now and then for a very short period of time; and in some intermitting like fits, as it were, of vision, that leave them for a time, and then return to be as strong in them as ever; and it being in a manner hereditary to some families, whose children have it from their infancy (without intermission) to a great old age, and even to the time of their death, which they often foretell before it comes to pass, to a day, nay, even to an hour. 3dly, It is attained by the diligent study of the lawful part of the art of magic.

Before I give the reader an account (as I shall do in three distinct discourses), 1st, concerning the intercourse which familiar spirits, viz. the good and bad genii, have had and continue to have to a great degree with some select parts of mankind; 2dly, concerning the wonderful and almost miraculous power of a second-sight, with which many, beyond all controversy, have been extraordinarily but visibly gifted; and 3dly, concerning the pitch of perfection to which the magic science has been carried and promoted by some adepts in that mysterious art; I will premise a few particulars about the genii which attended our little Duncan Campbell, and about the second-sight which he had when yet a child, and when we may much more easily believe that the wonders he performed and wrote of must have been rather brought about by the intervention of such genii and the mediation of such a sight, than that he could have invented such fables concerning them, and compassed such predictions as seem to want their assistance, by the mere dint of a child's capacity.

One day I remember, when he was about nine years of age, going early to the house where he and his mother lived, and it being before his mother was stirring, I went into little Duncan Campbell's room to divert myself with him. I found him sitting up in his bed with his eyes broad open, but as motionless as if he had been asleep, or even (if it had not been for a lively beautiful colour which the little pretty fair silver-haired boy always had in his cheeks) as if he had been quite dead. He did not seem so much as to breathe; the eyelids of him were so fixed and immoveable, that the eyelashes did not so much as once shake, which the least motion imaginable must agitate; not to say that he was like a person in an ecstasy, he was at least in what we commonly call a brown study, to the highest degree, and for the largest space of time I ever knew. I, who had been frequently informed by people who have been present at the operations of second-sighted persons, that at the sight of a vision the eyelids of the person are erected, and the eyes continue staring till the object vanishes; I (I say) sat myself softly down on his bedside, and with a quiet amazement observed him, avoiding diligently any motion that might give him the least disturbance, or cause in him any avocation or distraction of mind from the business he was so intent upon. I remarked that he held his head sideways, with his mouth wide open, and in a listening posture, and that after so lively a manner, as, at first general thought made me forget his deafness, and plainly imagine he heard something, till the second thought of reflection brought into my mind the misfortune that shut up all passage for any sound through his ears. After a stedfast gaze, which lasted about seven minutes, he smiled, and stretched his arms as one recovering from a fit of indolence, and rubbed his eyes; then, turning towards me, he made the sign of a salute, and hinted to me, upon his fingers, his desire for pen, ink, and paper, which I reached him from a little desk that stood at his bed's foot.

Placing the paper upon his knees, he wrote me the following lines, which, together with my answers, I preserve by me, for their rarity, to this very day, and which I have transcribed word for word, as they form a little series of dialogue.

Duncan Campbell. I am sorry I cannot stay with you; but I shall see my pretty youth and my lamb by and by, in the fields, near a little coppice or grove, where I go often to play with them, and I would not lose their company for the whole world; for they and I are mighty familiar together, and the boy tells me everything that gets me my reputation among the ladies and nobility, and you must keep it secret.

My question. I will be sure to keep it secret; but how do you know you are to meet them there to-day? Did the little boy appoint you?

Duncan Campbell. Yes, he did, and signified that he had several things to predict to me concerning people, that he foreknew would come to me the week following to ask me questions.

My question. But what was you staring at when I came in?

Duncan Campbell. Why, at that little boy that goes along with the lamb I speak of, and it was then he made me the appointment.

My question. How does he do it? Does he write?

Duncan Campbell. No, he writes sometimes, but oftener he speaks with his fingers, and mighty swift; no man can do it so quick, or

write half so soon. He has a little bell in his hand, like that which my mother makes me a sign to shake when she wants the servants: with that he tickles my brain strangely, and gives me an incredible delight of feeling in the inside of my head; he usually wakes me with it in the morning when he comes to make me an appointment. I fancy it is what you call hearing, which makes me mighty desirous I could hear in your way; it is sweeter to the feeling, methinks, than anything is to the taste; it is just as if my head was tickled to death, as my nurse used to tickle my sides; but it is a different feeling, for it makes things like little strings tremble in my temples and behind my ears. Now I remember, I will tell you what it is like, that makes me believe it is like your hearing, and that strange thing which you that can speak call sound or noise; because, when I was at church with my mother, who told me the bells could be heard ringing a mile off, as I was kneeling on the bench, and leaning over the top of the pew and gnawing the board, every time the man pulled the rope, I thought all my head beat as if it would come to pieces, but yet it pleased me, methought, rather than pained me, and I would be always gnawing the board when the man pulled the rope, and I told my mother the reason; the feeling of that was something like the little bell, but only that made my head throb, as if it would break, and this tickles me, and makes, as it were, little strings on the back of my ears dance and tremble like anything; is not that like your way of hearing? If it be, it is a sweet thing to hear; it is more pleasant than to see the finest colours in the world; it is something like being tickled in the nose with a feather till one sneezes, or like the feeling after one strikes the leg when it has been numb, or asleep, only with this difference, that those two ways give a pain, and the other a pleasure. I remember, too, when I had a great cold for about two months, I had a feeling something like it, but that was blunt, dull, confused, and troublesome. Is not that like what you call hearing?

My question. It is the finest kind of hearing, my dear; it is what we call music. But what sort of a boy is that that meets you? and what sort of a lamb?

Duncan Campbell. Oh! though they are like other boys and other lambs which you see, they are a thousand times prettier and finer; you never saw such a boy nor such a lamb in your lifetime.

My question. How big is he? As big as you are? And what sort of a boy is he?

Duncan Campbell. He is a little little pretty boy, about as tall as my knee; his face is as white as snow, and so are his little hands; his cheeks are as red as a cherry, and so are his lips; and when he breathes, it makes the air more perfumed than my mother's sweet bags that she puts among the linen; he has got a crown of roses, cowslips, and other flowers upon his head, such as the maids gather in May; his hair is like fine silver threads, and shine like the beams of the sun; he wears a loose veil down to his feet, that is as blue as the sky in a clear day, and embroidered with spangles, that look like the brightest stars in the night; he carries a silver bell in one hand, and a book and pencil in the other, and he and the little lamb will dance and leap about me in a ring as high as my head: the lamb has got a little silver collar with nine little bells upon it; and every little piece of wool upon its back, that is as white as milk, is tied up all round it in puffs, like a little miss's hair, with ribbons of all colours; and round its head, too, are little roses and violets stuck very thick into the wool that grows upon its forehead, and behind and between its ears, in the shape of a diadem. They first meet me dancing thus; and after they have danced some time, the little boy writes down wonderful things in his book, which I write down in mine; then they dance again, till he rings his bell, and then they are gone all of a sudden, I know not where; but I feel the tinkling in the inside of my head caused by the bell less and less, till I don't feel it at all, and then I go home, read over my lesson in my book, and when I have it by heart, I burn the written leaves, according as the little boy bids me, or he would let me have no more. But I hear the little bell again; the little boy is angry with me; he pulled me twice by the ear, and I would not displease him for anything; so I must get up, and go immediately, to the joy and delight of my life.

I told him he might, if he would promise me to tell me further another time; he said he would, if I would keep it secret. I told him I would; and so we parted: though just before he went, he said he smelt some venison, and he was sure they would shortly have some for dinner: and nothing was so sure, as that my man had my orders to bring a side of venison to me the next day to Mrs. Campbell's; for I had been hunting, and came thither from the death of a deer that morning; and intended, as usual, to make a stay there for two or three days.

There are, I know, many men of severe principles, and who are more strict, grave, and formal in their manner of thinking, than they are wise, who will be apt to judge of these relations as things merely fabulous and chimerical, and not contented with being disbelievers by themselves, will labour to insinuate into others this pernicious notion, that it is a sign of infirmity and weakness in the head to yield them credit. But though I could easily argue these Sir Gravities down, though a sentence or two would do their business, put them beyond the power of replying, and strike them dumb, yet do I think it not worth my while; their greatest and most wonted objection against these Eudemons and Kakodemons being, that it arises all from the work of fancy, in persons of a melancholic blood. If we consider the nature of this child's dialogue with me, will it not be more whimsically strange and miraculous, to say that a child of nine years' old had only a fancy of such things as these, of which it had never heard anybody give an account, and that it could, by the mere strength of imagination, predict such things as really after came to pass, than it is, when it does so strangely predict things, to believe the child does it in the manner itself owns it does, which is by the intervention of a good demon, or a happy genius? Departing, therefore, from these singular and wise men's opinions, who will believe nothing excellent can happen to others, which it has not been their lot to enjoy a share of, I shall take my farewell hastily of them, without losing my own time or theirs, in the words of the ingenious Monsieur Le Clerc: *Acerbos homines non moror, indignos quippe, qui hæc studia tractent, aut quorum judicii ulla ratio habeatur.*

I shall rather see how far these things have lain open to the eyes of, and been explained by the ancient sages; I will relate who among them were happy in their genii, and who among the moderns, whose examples may be authorities for our belief; I will set down as clearly as I can what perception men have had of genii or spirits by the sense of seeing; what by the sense of hearing; what by the sense of feeling, touching, or tasting; and, in fine, what perception others

have had of these genii by all the senses, what by dreams, and what by magic, a thing rarely to be met with at once in any single man, and which seems particular to the child, who was the subject of our last little historical account. When I have brought examples and the opinions of wise philosophers, and the evidence of undeniable witnesses, which one would think sufficient to evince persons of the commerce men have with spirits, if they were not past all sense of conviction; I shall, not so much to corroborate what I say, as to shame some wiseacres, who would by their frail reason scan all things, and pretend to solve the mysteries ascribed to spirits, as facts merely natural, and who would banish from the thoughts of men all belief of spirits whatsoever, I shall, I say, in order to put to shame these wiseacres, if they have any shame left, produce the opinions of the Fathers as divines, show the doctrines of spirits in general to be consistent with Christianity, that they are delivered in the Scripture and by Christian tradition, in which, if they will not acquiesce, I shall leave them to the labyrinth of their own wild opinions, which in the end will so perplex their judgments of things, that they will be never able to extricate themselves; and these different heads will be the subject of the chapter ensuing; and will, or I am greatly mistaken, form both an instructive, edifying, and entertaining discourse, for a reader really and truly intelligent, and that has a good taste and relish for sublime things.

CHAPTER V.

An argument proving the perception which men have had, and have, by all the senses, as seeing, hearing, &c., of demons, genii, or familiar spirits.

It is said in the ninth book of the *Morals* of Aristotle, 'It is better to come at the probable knowledge of some things above us in the heavens, than to be capable of giving many demonstrations relating to things here below.' This is no doubt an admirable proposition, and speaks the lofty aims of that sublime mind from whence it proceeded. Among all the disquisitions in this kind, none seem to me more excellent than those which treat concerning the genii that attend upon men, and guide them in the actions of life. A genius, or demon, of the good kind, is a sort of mediate being, between human and divine, which gives the mind of man a pleasant conjunction with angelic and celestial faculties, and brings down to earth a faint participation of the joys of heaven. That there have been such fortunate attendants upon wise men, we have many rare instances. They have been ascribed to Socrates, Aristotle, Plotinus, Porphyrius, Iamblicus, Chicus, Scaliger, and Cardan. The most celebrated of all these ancients was Socrates; and as for his having a genius, or demon, we have the testimonies of Plato, Xenophon, and Antisthenes, his contemporaries, confirmed by Laertius, Plutarch, Maximus Tyrius, Dion Chrysostomus, Cicero, Apuleius, Ficinus, and others; many of the moderns, besides Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Austin, and others; and Socrates himself, in Plato's *Theage*, says, 'By some divine lot I have a certain demon which has followed me from my childhood as an oracle;' and in the same place intimates that the way he gained his instruction, was by hearing the demon's voice. Nothing is certainly so easy as for men to be able to contradict things, though never so well attested, with such an air of truth as to make the truth of the history doubted by others as well as themselves, where no demonstrative proof can be brought to convince them. This has been the easy task of those who object against the demon of Socrates; but when no demonstrative proof is to be had on either side, does not wisdom incline us to lean to the most probable? Let us then consider whether the evidences are not more credible, and witnesses of such a thing are not persons of more authority, than these men are, who vouchsafe to give no reason but their own incredulity for maintaining the contrary; and whether those, therefore, by the right rule of judging, ought not much sooner than these, to gain over our assent to their assertions?

We will, however, laying aside the histories of those ancient times, the sense whereof, by various readings and interpretations being put upon the words, is rendered obscure and almost unintelligible, descend to more modern relations, the facts whereof shall be placed beyond doubt, by reason of the evidences we will bring to attest them, and shall consequently prove the perception men have of spirits, or genii, by every sense.

Section I.

We will first begin as to the perception of spirits by the sight.

Mr. Glanvil, in his *Collections of Relations for proving Apparitions, Spirits, &c.*, tells us of an Irishman that had like to have been carried away by spirits, and of the ghost of a man, who had been seven years dead, that brought a medicine to his bedside.

The relation is thus:

A gentleman in Ireland, near to the Earl of Orrery's, sending his butler one afternoon to buy cards, as he passed a field, to his wonder he espied a company of people sitting round a table with a deal of good cheer before them, in the midst of the field; and he going up towards them, they all arose and saluted him, and desired him to sit down with them; but one of them whispered these words in his ear, 'Do nothing this company invites you to.' Hereupon he refused to sit down at the table, and immediately table and all that belonged to it were gone, and the company are now dancing and playing upon musical instruments. And the butler being desired to join himself with them, but he refusing this also, they all fall to work, and he not being to be prevailed with to accompany them in working, any more than in feasting or dancing, they all disappeared, and the butler is now alone; but instead of going forwards, home he returns, as fast as he could drive, in a great consternation; and was no sooner entered his master's door, but he fell down and lay some time senseless, but coming again to himself, he related to his master what had passed.

The night following, there comes one of his company to his bedside, and tells him, that if he offered to stir out of doors the next day, he would be carried away. Hereupon he kept within; but towards the evening, having need to make water, he adventured to put one foot over the threshold, several standing by; which he had no sooner done but they espied a rope cast about his middle; and the poor man was hurried away with great swiftness, they following him as fast as they could, but could not overtake him: at length they espied an horseman coming towards him, and made signs to him to

stop the man whom he saw coming near him, and both ends of the rope, but nobody drawing. When they met, he laid hold of one end of the rope, and immediately had a smart blow given him over his arm with the other end; but by this means the man was stopped, and the horseman brought him back with him.

The Earl of Orrery hearing of these strange passages, sent to the master to desire him to send this man to his house, which he accordingly did; and the morning following, or quickly after, he told the earl that his spectre had been with him again, and assured him that that day he should most certainly be carried away, and that no endeavours should avail to the saving of him; upon this he was kept in a large room with a considerable number of persons to guard him, among whom was the famous stroaker, Mr. Greatrix, who was a neighbour. There were, besides other persons of quality, two bishops in the house at the same time, who were consulted concerning the making use of a medicine, the spectre or ghost prescribed; of which mention will be made anon; but they determined on the negative.

Till part of the afternoon was spent, all was quiet; but at length he was perceived to rise from the ground, whereupon Mr. Greatrix and another lusty man clapped their arms over his shoulders, one of them before him, and the other behind, and weighed him down with all their strength; but he was forcibly taken up from them, and they were too weak to keep their hold; and for a considerable time he was carried into the air, to and fro over their heads; several of the company still running under him, to prevent his receiving hurt if he should fall: at length he fell, and was caught before he came to the ground, and had by that means no hurt.

All being quiet till bed-time, my lord ordered two of his servants to lie with him; and the next morning he told his lordship, that his spectre was again with him, and brought a wooden dish with grey liquor in it, and bid him drink it off. At the first sight of the spectre he said he endeavoured to awake his bed-fellows; but it told him, that that endeavour should be in vain; and that he had no cause to fear him, he being his friend, and he that at first gave him the good advice in the field, which had he not followed, he had been before now perfectly in the power of the company he saw there; he added, that he concluded it was impossible but that he should have been carried away the day before, there being so strong a combination against him; but now he could assure him there would be no more attempts of that nature, but he being troubled with two sorts of sad fits, he had brought that liquor to cure him of them, and bid him drink it; he peremptorily refusing, the spectre was angry, and upbraided him with great disingenuity, but told him, however, he had a kindness for him, and that if he would take plantain juice he should be well of one sort of fits, but he should carry the other to his grave; the poor man having by this somewhat recovered himself, asked the spectre whether by the juice of plantain he meant that of the leaves or roots? It replied, 'The roots.'

Then it asked him whether he did not know him? He answered, No; it replied, 'I am such a one;' the man answered he had been long dead; 'I have been dead,' said the spectre or ghost, 'seven years, and you know that I lived a loose life, and ever since I have been hurried up and down in a restless condition with the company you saw, and shall be to the day of judgment.' Then he proceeded to tell him, that had he acknowledged God in his ways, he had not suffered such severe things by their means; and farther said, 'You never prayed to God before that day you met with this company in the fields.'

This relation was sent to Dr. Henry More by Mr. E. Fowler, who said, Mr. Greatrix told it several persons. The Lord Orrery also owned the truth of it; and Mr. Greatrix told it to Dr. Henry More himself, who particularly inquired of Mr. Greatrix about the man's being carried up into the air, above men's heads in the room; and he did expressly affirm that he was an eye-witness thereof.

A vision which happened to the ingenious and learned Dr. Donne, may not improperly be here inserted. Mr. Isaac Walton, writing the life of the said doctor, tells us, that the doctor and his wife, living with Sir Robert Drury, who gave them a free entertainment at his house in Drury Lane, it happened that the Lord Haye was by King James sent in an embassy to the French king, Henry IV., whom Sir Robert resolved to accompany, and engaged Dr. Donne to go with them, whose wife was then with child, at Sir Robert's house. Two days after their arrival at Paris, Dr. Donne was left alone in that room in which Sir Robert and he and some other friends had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and as he left so he found Dr. Donne alone, but in such an ecstasy, and so altered in his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold him, insomuch that he earnestly desired Dr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence. To which Dr. Donne was not able to make a present answer; but after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, 'I have seen a dreadful vision, since I saw you; I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me, through this room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms; this I have seen since I saw you.' To which Sir Robert replied, 'Sure, sir, you have slept since I saw you, and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you to forget, for you are now awake.' To which Dr. Donne's reply was, 'I cannot be surer that I now live than that I have not slept since I saw you, and am as sure at her second appearing she stopped and looked me in the face and vanished.' Rest and sleep had not altered Dr. Donne's opinion the next day; for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate and so confirmed a confidence, that he inclined Sir Robert to a faint belief that the vision was true, who immediately sent a servant to Drury House, with a charge to hasten back and bring him word whether Mrs. Donne were alive; and if alive, what condition she was in as to her health. The twelfth day the messenger returned with this account: That he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad and sick in bed; and that after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child: and upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour, that Dr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by in his chamber. Mr. Walton adds this, as a relation which will beget some wonder; and well it may; for most of our world are at present possessed with an opinion that visions and miracles are ceased; and though it is most certain that two lutes, being both strung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then one played upon, the other, that is not touched, being laid upon the table at a fit distance, will, like an echo to a trumpet, warble a faint audible harmony, in answer to the same tune; yet many will not believe that there is any such thing as a sympathy with souls, &c.

SECTION II.

I shall next relate some little histories to show what perception men have had of spirits by the sense of hearing. For, as Wierus says, spirits appear sometimes invisibly, so that only a sound, voice, or noise is perceived by men, viz. a stroke, knocking, whistling, sneezing, groaning, lamenting, or clapping of the hands, to make men attempt to inquire or answer.

In Luther's *Colloquia Mensalia*, &c., set forth in Latin, at Frankfort, anno 1557, (it being a different collection from that of Aurifaber, which is translated from High Dutch into English;) we have the following relation.

It happened in Prussia, that as a certain boy was born, there presently came to him a genius, or what you please to call it (for I leave it to men's judgments), who had so faithful a care of the infant, that there was no need either of mother or servant; and, as he grew up, he had a like care of him: he went to school with him, but so that he could never be seen, either by himself or any others, in all his life. Afterwards he travelled into Italy, he accompanied him, and whensoever any evil was like to happen to him, either on the road or in the inn, he was perceived to foretell it by some touch or stroke; he drew off his boots as a servant; if he turned his journey another way he continued with him, having the same care of him in foretelling evil. At length he was made a canon; and as, on a time, he was sitting and feasting with his friends in much jollity, a vehement stroke was struck on a sudden on the table, so that they were all terrified; presently the canon said to his friends, Be not afraid; some great evil hangs over my head. The next day he fell into a great fever, and the fit continued on him for three whole days, till he died miserably.

Captain Henry Bell, in his narrative prefixed to Luther's *Table-Talk*, printed in English, anno 1652, having acquainted us how the German copy printed of it had been discovered under ground, where it had lain hid fifty-two years, that edition having been suppressed by an edict of the Emperor Rudolphus II., so that it was death for any person to keep a copy thereof; and having told us that Casparus van Spar, a German gentleman, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, while he negotiated affairs in Germany for King James I., was the person that discovered it, anno 1626, and transmitted it into England to him, and earnestly desired him to translate the said book into English, says he accordingly set upon the translation of it many times, but was always hindered from proceeding in it by some intervening business. About six weeks after he had received the copy, being in bed with his wife, one night, between twelve and one of the clock, she being asleep, but himself awake, there appeared to him an ancient man standing at his bedside, arrayed all in white, having a long and broad white beard hanging down to his girdle, who, taking him by his right ear, said thus to him: 'Sirrah! will you not take time to translate that book which is sent unto you out of Germany? I will shortly provide for you both place and time to do it;' and then he vanished. Hereupon, being much affrighted, he fell into an extreme sweat, so that his wife awaking and finding him all over wet, she asked him what he ailed? He told her what he had seen and heard; but he never regarded visions nor dreams, and so the same fell out of his mind. But a fortnight after, being on a Sunday, at his lodging in King-street, Westminster, at dinner with his wife, two messengers were sent from the whole council-board, with a warrant to carry him to the Gate-house, Westminster, there to be kept till farther order from the lords of the council; upon which warrant he was kept there ten whole years close prisoner, where he spent five years of it in translating the said book, having good cause to be mindful of the old man's saying, 'I will shortly provide for you both place and time to translate it.'

Though the perception of spirits chiefly affects the hearing and seeing faculties, yet are not the other senses without some participation of those genial objects, whether good or evil; for, as St. Austin says, 'The evil work of the devil creeps through all the passages of the senses;' he presents himself in figures, applies himself to colours, adheres to sounds, introduces odours, infuses himself in savours, and fills all the passages of intelligence; sometimes cruelly tormenting with grief and fear, sometimes sportingly diverting man, or taunting with mocks; and, on the other hand, as the learned Walter Hilton (a great master of contemplative life), in his *Scale of Perfection*, sets forth, that appearances or representations to the corporeal senses may be both good and evil.

But before I conclude on this head, to give still more weight and authority to the perception men have had of these genii, both by the senses of hearing and seeing, I will relate two very remarkable fragments of history of this kind, told us by persons who demand our credit, and done within the memory of our grandfathers and fathers.

The first is concerning that Duke of Buckingham who was stabbed by Felton, August the twenty-third, 1628.

Mr. Lilly, the astrologer, in his book entitled *Monarchy or No Monarchy in England*, printed in quarto, 1651, having mentioned the Duke of Buckingham, writes as follows: Since I am upon the death of Buckingham, I shall relate a true story of his being admonished often of the death he should die, in this manner.

An aged gentleman, one Parker, as I now remember, having formerly belonged unto the duke, or of great acquaintance with the duke's father, and now retired, had a demon appeared several times to him in the shape of Sir George Villiers, the duke's father. This demon walked many times in Parker's bedchamber, without any action of terror, noise, hurt, or speech; but at last, one night, broke out in these words: 'Mr. Parker, I know you loved me formerly, and my son George at this time very well: I would have you go from me, (you know me very well to be his father, old Sir George Villiers of Leicestershire,) and acquaint him with these and these particulars, &c.; and that he above all retain the counsel and company of such and such, (whom he then nominated,) or else he will come to destruction, and that suddenly.' Parker, though a very discreet man, partly imagined himself in a dream all this time; and being unwilling to proceed upon no better grounds, forbore addressing himself to the duke; for he conceived, if he should acquaint the duke with the words of his father, and the manner of his appearance to him, (such apparitions being not usual,) he should be laughed at and thought to dote, in regard he was aged. Some two nights passed without farther trouble to the old man; but not very many nights after, old Sir George Villiers appeared again, walked quick and furiously in the room, seemed angry with Parker, and at last said, 'Mr. Parker, I thought you had been my friend so much, and loved my

son George so well, that you would have acquainted him with what I desired, but I know you have not done it; by all the friendship that ever was betwixt you and me, and the great respect you bear my son, I desire you to deliver what I formerly commanded you to my son.' The old man, seeing himself thus solicited, promised the demon he would; but first argued it thus, that the duke was not easy to be spoken withal, and that he would account him a vain man to come with such a message from the dead, nor did he conceive the duke would give any credit to him; to which the demon thus answered, 'If he will not believe you have this discourse from me, tell him of such a secret,' and named it, 'which he knows none in the world ever knew but myself and him.' Mr. Parker being now well satisfied that he was not asleep, and that the apparition was not a vain delusion, took a fit opportunity, and seriously acquainted the duke with his father's words, and the manner of his apparition. The duke laughed heartily at the relation, which put old Parker to a stand, but at last he assumed courage, and told the duke that he acquainted his father's ghost with what he found now to be true, viz. scorn and derision. 'But, my lord,' says he, 'your father bid me acquaint you by this token, and he said it was such as none in the world but your two selves did yet know.' Hereat the duke was amazed and much astonished, but took no warning or notice thereof, keeping the same company still, advising with such counsellors, and performing such actions as his father by Parker countermanded. Shortly after, old Sir George Villiers, in a very quiet but sorrowful posture, appears again to Parker, and said, 'Mr. Parker, I know you delivered my words to George, my son; I thank you for so doing; but he slighted them: and now I only request this more at your hands, that once again you repair to my son, and tell him that if he will not amend, and follow the counsel I have given him, this knife or dagger (and with that he pulled a knife or dagger from under his gown) shall end him: and do you, Mr. Parker, set your house in order, for you shall die at such a time.' Mr. Parker once more engaged, though very unwillingly, to acquaint the duke with the last message, and so did; but the duke told him to trouble him no farther with such messages and dreams, and told him he perceived he was now an old man and doted; and within a month after, meeting Mr. Parker on Lambeth Bridge, said, 'Now, Mr. Parker, what say you of your dream?' Who only returned, 'Sir, I wish it may never have success,' &c. But within six weeks after, he was stabbed with a knife, according to his father's admonition beforehand; and Mr. Parker died soon after he had seen the dream or vision performed.

This relation is inserted also in the great Lord Clarendon's History, and in Sir R. Baker's Chronicle. The Lord Clarendon, in his *History*, vol. i. lib. i., having given some relations, says, that amongst others, there was one (meaning this of Parker) which was upon a better foundation of credit than usually such discourses are founded upon. And he tells us that Parker was an officer in the king's wardrobe in Windsor Castle, of a good reputation for honesty and discretion, and then about the age of fifty years or more. This man had, in his youth, been bred in a school in the parish where Sir George Villiers, the father of the duke, lived, and had been much cherished and obliged in that season of his age by the said Sir George, whom afterwards he never saw. About six months before the miserable end of the Duke of Buckingham the apparition was seen. After the third appearance, he made a journey to London, where the court then was; he was very well known to Sir Ralph Freeman, one of the masters of the requests, who had married a lady that was nearly allied to the duke, and was himself well received by him. He informed the duke with the reputation and honesty of the man, and Sir Ralph Freeman carried the man the next morning, by five of the clock, to Lambeth, according to the duke's appointment, and there presented him to the duke, who received him courteously at his landing, and walked in conference near an hour with him, and Sir Ralph and the duke's servants at such a distance that they heard not a word; but Sir Ralph always fixed his eyes on the duke, who sometimes spoke with great commotion and disorder; and the man told Sir Ralph in their return over the water, that when he mentioned those particulars that were to gain him credit, the duke's colour changed, and he swore he could come to that knowledge only by the devil; for that those particulars were known only to himself and to one person more, who, he was sure, would never speak of them. So far the Lord Clarendon.

I will now subjoin an authentic relation, which Mr. Beaumont tells us at the end of his book of Genii, or Familiar Spirits, printed in the year 1705, he had just before received from the mouth of the then Bishop of Gloucester himself. It is as follows, word for word.

Sir Charles Lee, by his first lady, had only one daughter, of which she died in childbirth; and when she died, her sister, the Lady Everard, desired to have the education of the child; and she was by her very well educated till she was marriageable; and a match was concluded for her with Sir William Perkins, but was then prevented in an extraordinary manner. Upon a Thursday night, she thinking she saw a light in her chamber after she was in bed, knocked for her maid, who presently came to her; and she asked why she left a candle burning in her chamber? The maid said she left none, and there was none but what she brought with her at that time. Then she said it was the fire; but that, the maid told her, was quite out, and said she believed it was only a dream; whereupon she said it might be so, and composed herself to sleep; but about two of the clock she was awakened again, and saw the apparition of a little woman between her curtain and her pillow, who told her she was her mother, and that she was happy, and that by twelve of the clock that day she should be with her; whereupon she knocked again for her maid, called for her clothes, and when she was dressed, went into her closet, and came not out again till nine; and then brought out with her a letter, sealed, to her father, brought it to her aunt, the Lady Everard, told her what had happened, and desired that, as soon as she was dead, it might be sent to him; but the lady thought she was suddenly fallen mad; and thereupon sent presently away to Chelmsford for a physician and surgeon, who both came immediately, but the physician could discern no indication of what the lady imagined, or of any indisposition of her body; notwithstanding, the lady would needs have her let blood, which was done accordingly; and when the young woman had patiently let them do what they would with her, she desired that the chaplain might be called to read prayers, and when prayers were ended, she took her guitar and psalm book, and sat down upon a chair without arms, and played and sung so melodiously and admirably, that her music mas-

ter, who was then there, admired at it; and near the stroke of twelve, she rose and sat herself down in a great chair with arms, and presently fetching a strong breathing or two, immediately expired, and was so suddenly cold as was much wondered at by the physician and surgeon. She died at Waltham, in Essex, three miles from Chelmsford; and the letter was sent to Sir Charles, at his house in Warwickshire; but he was so afflicted with the death of his daughter, that he came not till she was buried: but when he came, he caused her to be taken up, and to be buried by her mother at Edmonton, as she desired in her letter. This was about the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-two or sixty-three; and this relation the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Gloucester had from Sir Charles Lee himself; and Mr. Beaumont printed it in his book above mentioned, from the bishop's own mouth.

The relations which I have given above, are not like the trifling accounts too often given of these things, and therefore causing grave ones to be ridiculed in common with them. They are of that nature, that whoever attempts to ridicule them will, instead of turning them into jest, become the object of ridicule himself.

The first story, which has in it such amazing circumstances, and such uncommon and dreadful incidents concerning the butler in Ireland, is (as the reader sees) attested by no less a personage than an Earl of Orrery, two bishops, and many other noblemen and gentlemen being present and eye-witnesses of what the earl said. What greater testimony would the most incredulous have? They say such things are told for interest. What interest could an earl and many noblemen have in promoting such an imposture? The incredulous say, likewise, great and learned men delight sometimes in putting frauds upon the world, and after laugh at their credulity. Would a number of noble laymen choose two prelates to carry on such a fraud; and would two pious bishops probably combine with several, and some servants there present, in spreading such a deceit? It is past believing, and it demands the strictest of moral faith that can be given to the most unquestioned history that the pen of man ever wrote.

The second story is founded, first, upon the experience of one of the most ingenious men of that age, Dr. Donne, and then upon the proof made by his friend Sir Robert Drury, who could at first scarce believe it; and shall we doubt the credit of men, whose company, for their credit be it spoken, a British ambassador was proud of gaining?

The third story is told by Luther himself, who began the great work of the Reformation.

The fourth is told by one that was a king's public minister, and told from his own trial of the matter, where he could have no interest in the telling it.

The fifth is related by those great historians, the Lord Clarendon and Sir Richard Baker, as a truth relied upon by themselves, and fit to be credited by their readers.

The sixth and last was related to Mr. Beaumont by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, who received the account from Sir Charles Lee himself, to whose granddaughter the matter happened.

Men who will not believe such things as these, so well attested to us, and given us by such authorities, because they did not see them themselves, nor anything of the like nature, ought not only to deny the demon of Socrates, but that *there* was such a man as Socrates himself; they should not dispute the genii of Cæsar, Cicero, Brutus, Marc Antony, but avow that there were never any such men existing upon earth, and overthrow all credible history whatsoever. Meanwhile, all men, but those who run such lengths in their fantastical incredulity, will, from the facts above mentioned, rest satisfied that there are such things as evil and good genii, and that men have sometimes a commerce with them by all their senses, particularly those of seeing and hearing, and will not therefore be startled at the strange fragments of histories which I am going to relate of our young Duncan Campbell, and look upon some wonderful adventures which he performed by the intervention of his familiar demon or genius, as falsehoods, only because they are uncommon and surprising; more especially since they were not done in a corner, but by an open way of profession of a predictor of things, in the face of the metropolis of London, where he settled young, as will appear in the progress of his life. However, some people, notwithstanding all this, may allege, that though a man may have a genius appear to him, so as to convey into his mind, through his senses, the knowledge of things that are to come to pass, yet this happens but on very eminent and extraordinary occasions. The murder, for example, of a prime minister, and the favourite of a monarch, in such a manner as it was performed on the great Duke of Buckingham, by Felton, was a thing so uncommon, that it might perhaps deserve, by the permission of Heaven, an uncommon prediction; the others likewise are instances eminent in their way, particularly that of the Lady Everard's niece; for that young lady being then marriageable, and a treaty for that end being on foot with Sir William Perkins, the Divine Providence foreseeing that such a state might call away her thoughts, hitherto bent on Him and spiritual affairs, and fix them on the trifles of this world, might perhaps permit her to be called by a holy mother to the state of happiness she before her enjoyed, lest her daughter's mind should change, and she go into the ways of a sinner. But if these supereminent, these scarce and rare examples, may be admitted of man's holding a conversation with the spiritualized beings of another world, it will, however, be far below the dignity of human reason, methinks, to make such large concessions to people who pretend to converse that wonderful way, as to allow them the credit of being able to do it upon every slight occasion, and every indifferent occurrence of human life.

I cannot help acknowledging that a man of wisdom may, at first thought, make such an objection; but reflection will presently retract it, and the same good sense that taught him to make an objection so well upon the first thought, will teach him, upon second thoughts, to acquiesce in the answer.

Infants may have, no doubt, the benefit of such an attending genius, as well as people more advanced in years; as may be seen in one of the instances, which is a very famous one, relating to the boy born in Prussia, who was attended by one constantly, from the time of his birth to his death. Besides, it is a mistake in the understanding to imagine that death, which is the determination and end of life, is of more consequence to be known than the manner of regulating that life; for in reality, according to the right way of considering, death, or the determination of a man's life, derives its importance from the steps which he took in the due regulation of it; and therefore every, the least, step proper to be taken for the due regulation of life,

is of more consequence to be known than the death of a person, though this at first sight carries the face of significance, and the other nothing better than the look of a trifle. Marriage, for example, is a step in life of the utmost importance, whether we consider that estate with regard to this or the next world. Death is but the finishing of one person, but marriage may be the introducing of many into the world with happiness: it is therefore a thing of more importance to be known beforehand, and consequently more worthy of the communication of a genius to the man with whom he conversed. Possidonius tells us that a certain Rhodian dying, nominated six of his equals, and said who should die first, who next, and so on, and the event answered the prediction; why, then, (though some people are apt to make a jest of it,) may not a man, by the intervention of his good genius, tell a woman that is to have six husbands, who she shall have first, who next, and so on, and the event answer the prediction? If men of learning may acquire such knowledge as to attain to extraordinary things by their ordinary faculties, why may not ordinary things be taught others in this extraordinary way? For will anybody say that it is easier for a man to accommodate himself to the knowledge of a demon or genius, than for a demon or genius to accommodate himself to the knowledge of a man? Certain it is, indeed, that if this good genius (that endues a man with a prophetic kind of science) be anything resembling a good angel, the primary end of his being permitted to direct mankind must consist in things relating more to their welfare hereafter; yet I know not why they may not sometimes inspire or openly direct them in human knowledge, and in things relating to human life, so they are of a good tendency; more especially since such a good inspiration may be a counterbalance to the bad knowledge which some have been inspired with by evil spirits. I would not be thought to go too far in a point of this nature, and have, therefore (though perhaps I could say much more if I followed entirely my own private opinion, and would venture to introduce it here, in order to communicate it to others, and make it a public one) said no more on this head than what divines generally teach.

But the most unexceptionable mistress, that teaches these things to be in nature, is experience. If we had very many people gifted this way, the extraordinary thing would have been become ordinary, and therefore I cannot help wondering that it should be so ordinary a thing for wise men themselves to wonder too much at things because they are extraordinary, and suspect them as frauds because they are uncommon.

There has scarce been any period of time in which some person of this prophetic class has not existed, and has not been consulted by the greatest of men, and their predictions found at the long run to come true. Ignorant men always rise to their belief of them by experience, and the most learned men submit their great opinions to experience; but your men of middling talents, who make up their want of reason with bustling obstinacy and noisy contradiction, have been and still continue to be their own opposers, and without discovering the reason for what they say, they content themselves with having the laugh on their sides, and barely affirming without proving that it is a kind of ideal juggle and intellectual legerdemain, by which these modern predictors impose things upon the eye of reason, as the corporeal eye is imposed upon by sleight of hand; but it is a strange thing that men of such quick reason cannot give us a sample of the frauds. Thus, I remember to have read (I cannot tell where) the story of some courtiers, who, when a great artist of legerdemain was to act before the king, pretended to be so quick-sighted that nothing he did should escape their discovery, were left by his nimble fingers in the dark, and forced at last with blushes to own they had no better eyes than other people. In a word, if people will be led by suspicions and remote possibilities of fraud and contrivance of such men, all historical truth shall be ended, when it consists not with a man's private humour or prejudice to admit it. Now, therefore, to prove by experience and undeniable testimonies that these kind of genii will submit to little offices, in order to bring men to greater good, I will give three or four curious passages that will set the reasonable reader at ease, and prepare him for reading the passages of Mr. Campbell's life with pleasure, and as a fine history of wonderful facts, that though they seem to surpass belief, yet ought to have his credit.

What in nature can be more trivial than for a spirit to employ himself in knocking on a morning at a wainscot by the bed's-head of a man who got drunk over-night, according to the way that such things are ordinarily explained? And yet I shall give you such a relation of this, that not even the most devout and precise Presbyterian will offer to call in question. For Mr. Baxter, in his *Historical Discourse of Apparitions*, writes thus.

There is now in London an understanding, sober, pious man, oft one of my hearers, who has an elder brother, a gentleman of considerable rank, who, having formerly seemed pious, of late years does often fall into the sin of drunkenness; he often lodges long together here in his brother's house; and whensoever he is drunk and has slept himself sober, something knocks at his bed's-head, as if one knocked on a wainscot: when they remove his bed, it follows him: besides other loud noises, on other parts where he is, that all the house hears. They have often watched him, and kept his hands lest he should do it himself. His brother has often told it me, and brought his wife, a discreet woman, to attest it; who avers, moreover, that as she watched him, she has seen his shoes under the bed taken up, and nothing visible to touch them. They brought the man himself to me, and when we asked him how he dare sin again after such a warning, he had no excuse: but being persons of quality, for some special reason of worldly interest I must not name him.

Two things are remarkable in this instance, says Mr. Baxter; first, what a powerful thing temptation and fleshly concupiscence is, and what a hardened heart sin brings men to; if one rose from the dead to warn such sinners, it would not of itself persuade them.

Secondly, says Mr. Baxter, it poses me to think what kind of spirit this is that has such a care of this man's soul, which makes me hope he will recover. Do good spirits dwell so near us, or are they sent on such messages? or is it his guardian angel? or is it the soul of some dead friend that suffers, and yet retaining love to him, as Dives to his brethren, would have him saved? God yet keeps such things from us in the dark.

So far we have the authority of the renowned and famous Mr. Baxter, who makes this knocking of the spirit at the bed's-head (though what we commonly call frivolous) an important errand.

Another relation of this kind was sent to Mr.

John Beaumont (whom I myself personally knew, and which he has inserted in his *Account of Genii or Familiar Spirits*) in a letter by an ingenious and learned clergyman of Wiltshire, who had given him the relation likewise before, by word of mouth. It is as follows.

Near eighty years since, in the parish of Wilcot (which is by Devizes) in the vicar's house, there was heard for a considerable time the sound of a bell constantly tolling every night; the occasion was this: A debauched person who lived in the parish came one night very late and demanded the keys of the church of the vicar, that he might ring a peal, which the vicar refused to let him have, alleging the unseasonableness of the time, and that he should, by granting his desires, give a disturbance to Sir George Wroughton and his family, whose house adjoined the churchyard. Upon this refusal, the fellow went away in a rage, threatening to be revenged of the vicar, and going some time after to Devizes, met with one Cantle or Cantlow, a person noted in those days for a wizard; and he tells him how the vicar had served him, and begs his help to be even with him. The reply Cantle made was this: Does he not love ringing? he shall have enough of it: and from that time a bell began to toll in his house, and continued so to do till Cantle's death, who confessed at Fisherton gaol, in Sarum (where he was confined by King James during his life), that he caused that sound, and that it should be heard in that place during life. The thing was so notorious that persons came from all parts to hear it; and King James sent a gentleman from London, on purpose to give him satisfaction concerning the truth of the report. Mr Beaumont had likewise this story, as he tells, from the mouth of Sir George Wroughton's own son; with this remarkable circumstance, that if any in the house put their heads out of the window, they could not hear the sound; but heard it immediately again, as soon as they stood in the room.

The reader here sees that good and bad genii exercise themselves upon very little functions, knocking at bed's-heads, and ringing of bells. For proof of this, we have the testimonies of two divines, of a man of quality and probity, and the same satisfaction that a learned king had, who sent to inquire into the matter; and after this there can be, I think, no room for doubt.

But to carry the point still nearer home: inasmuch as I know some will leave no stone unturned to make the extraordinary actions which the person whose life I write has performed appear impostures, and inasmuch as for this end they may say, that though many people may have been gifted in this extraordinary manner, yet not so as to make a profession of it, and therefore from thence they take their suspicions, I shall in this place, to remove every nicest scruple they can have touching this affair, give the reader one instance of this kind likewise, before I proceed with my history.

There lived not many years since a very aged gentlewoman in London, in Water Lane, by Fleet-street, whose name was Pight, who was endowed with a prophetic spirit; and the ingenious Mr Beaumont (whom I personally knew, and who had a familiar genius himself) gives the world this account of her. She was very well known, says he, to many persons of my acquaintance now living in London. Among others, a gentleman, whose candour I can no way suspect, has told me, that he often resorted to her as to an oracle; and that as soon as he came into her presence, she would usually tell him that she knew what he was coming for, for that she had seen his spirit for some time before: and without his saying anything to her, she would commonly tell him what the business was which he came to consult her about, and what the event of it would be; which he always found to fall out as she said; and many other persons now living can testify the like experience of her as to themselves.

Before I conclude this chapter, I am willing to give the public one farther little history of the like kind with the foregoing ones; with this only difference, that if it be valued according to the worth the world has always attributed to the very ingenious person whom it concerns, it will be far the most famous of them all, and therefore fittest to finish this chapter, and to crown this part of the work, in which we are showing that persons have had a perception of genii or spirits, not visible at the same time to others.

The famous Torquatus Tasso, prince of the Italian poets, and scarce inferior to the immortal Virgil himself, and who seems to enjoy the intermingled gifts of the most accurate judgment of this Latin poet, and the more fertile and copious invention and fancy of the Greek one, Homer, strongly asserted his own experience in this kind. His life was written and published in French, anno 1692, by D. C. D. D. V. who, in his preface, tells us, that in what he writ he has followed chiefly the history given us in Italian by John Baptista Manso, a Neapolitan gentleman, who had been a very intimate friend to Tasso. In his life, among other things, he acquaints us that Tasso was naturally of that melancholic temperament which has always made the greatest men, and that this temperament being aggravated by many hardships he had undergone, it made him sometimes beside himself, and that those melancholic vapours being despatched, he came again to himself, like those that return from fits of the falling sickness, his spirit being as free as before. That, near his latter end, he retired from the city of Naples, to his friend Manso, at Bisaccia, a small town in the kingdom of Naples, where Manso had a considerable estate, and passed an autumn there in the diversions of the season.

And here the French author gives us an account of Tasso's sensible perception of a genius, as follows. As, after these amusements, he usually retired to his chamber, to entertain himself there with his friend Manso, the latter had the opportunity to inquire into one of the most singular effects of Tasso's melancholy (of this heroic melancholy, as I may call it) which raised and brightened his spirit; so far it was from depressing or rendering it obscure; and which, among the ancients, would have reasonably caused them to have ascribed a familiar demon to him, as to Socrates. They were often in a warm debate concerning this spirit, with which Tasso pretended to have so free a communication. 'I am too much your friend,' said Manso to him one day, 'not to let you know what the world thinks of you concerning this thing, and what I think of it myself. Is it possible, that being enlightened as you are, you should be fallen into so great a weakness as to think you have a familiar spirit? and will you give your enemies that advantage, to be able to prove by your own acknowledgment, what they have already published to the world? You know, they say, you did not publish your *Dialogue of the Messenger* as a fiction; but you would have men believe that the spirit which you make to speak there, was a real and true spirit: hence men have drawn this injurious consequence, that your studies have embroiled your imagination, so that there is made in it a confused mixture of the fictions of the poets, the

inventions of the philosophers, and the doctrine of religion.'

'I am not ignorant,' answered Tasso, 'of all that is spread abroad in the world on account of my Dialogue: I have taken care divers times to disabuse my friends, both by letter and word of mouth; I prevented even the malignity of my enemies, as you know, at the time I published my Dialogue. Men could not be ignorant that I composed it for the young Prince of Mantua, to whom I would explain, after an agreeable manner, the principal mysteries of the Platonic philosophy. It was at Mantua itself, after my second flight from Ferrara, that I formed the idea of it, and I committed it to paper a little after my unfortunate return. I addressed it to this prince; and all men might have read in the epistle dedicatory the protestation I there make, that this Dialogue, being writ according to the doctrine of the Platonics, which is not always conformable to revealed truths, men must not confound what I expose there as a philosopher, with what I believe as a Christian. This distinction is by so much the more reasonable, that at that time nothing extraordinary had happened to me, and I spake not of any apparition. This can be attested by all those with whom I lodged, or whom I frequented in this voyage; and therefore there is no reason for confounding the fiction of my Dialogue with what has happened to me since.' 'I am persuaded of all you say to me,' replied Manso, 'but truly I cannot be of what you believe, at present, concerning yourself. Will you imagine that you are in commerce with a spirit? And I ask you, of what order is that spirit? Shall we place him in the number of the rebels, whom their pride precipitated into the abyss? or of the intelligences, who continued firm in faith and submission to their Creator? For there is no mean to take in the true religion, and we must not fall into the extravagances of the gnomes and sylphs of the cabalists.

'Now the spirit in question cannot be a demon. You own, that instead of inspiring you with anything contrary to piety and religion, he often fortifies in you the maxims of Christianity; he strengthens your faith by profound reasonings, and has the same respect with you for sacred names and things. Neither can you say that it is an angel; for though you have always led a regular life, and far from all dissoluteness; though for some years past you have applied yourself, after a particular manner, to the duties of a true Christian; you will agree with me, that these sorts of favours are not common; that a man must have attained to a high degree of sanctity, and not be far from the pureness of celestial spirits, to merit a familiar converse, and bear a harmony with them. Believe me, there is nothing in all these discourses, which you imagine you have with this spirit. You know, better than any man, those symptoms which the black humours, wherewith you are tormented, causes in you. Your vapours are the source of your visions; and yourself would not judge otherwise of another person to whom a like thing should happen; and you will come to this in your own respect also, if you will make a mature reflection, and apply yourself to blot out, by an effort of reason, these imaginations which the violence of your evil effects causes in you.' 'You may have reason,' replied Tasso, 'to think so of the things that pass in me; but as to myself, who have a sensible perception of them, I am forced to reason after another manner. If it were true that the spirit did not show himself to me, but in the violent assault of my vapours; if he offered to my imagination but wandering and confused species, without connection or due sequel; if he used to me frivolous reasonings, which ended in nothing; or if, having begun some solid reasoning, he broke it off on a sudden, and left me in darkness; I should believe with you, that all things that pass are but mere dreams and phantoms. But it is quite otherwise: This spirit is a spirit of truth and reason; and of a truth so distinct, of a reason so sublime, that he raises me often to knowledges that are above all my reasonings, though they appear to me no less clear; that he teaches me things which, in my most profound meditations, never came into my spirit, and which I never heard of any man, nor read in any book. This spirit, therefore, is somewhat of real: of whatsoever order he be, I hear him and see him, nevertheless for its being impossible for me to comprehend and define him.' Manso did not yield to these facts, which Tasso would have passed for proofs: he pressed him with new questions, which were not without answers. 'Since you will not believe me on my word,' said Tasso to him another day, after having well disputed, 'I must convince you by your own eyes that these things are not pure imaginations.' And the next day, conversing together in the same chamber, Manso perceived that, on a sudden, he fixed his eyes towards the window, and that he stood, as it were, immoveable; he called to him, and jogged him many times; but instead of answering him, 'See there the spirit,' says Tasso at last, 'that has been pleased to come and visit me, and to entertain himself with me: look on him, and you will acknowledge the truth of what I say.'

Manso, somewhat surprised, cast his eyes towards the place he showed him, and perceived nothing but the rays of the sun passing through the glass; nor did he see anything in all the chamber, though he cast his eyes round it with curiosity: and he desired him to show him the spirit, which he looked for in vain, while he heard Tasso speak with much vehemency. He declares in a letter which he writ concerning this to the Admiral of Naples, that he really heard no other voice but Tasso's own; but there were sometimes questions made by him to the pretended spirit, sometimes answers that he made to the pretended questions of the spirit, and which were couched in such admirable terms, so efficacious, concerning subjects so elevated and so extraordinary, that he was ravished with admiration, and dared not to interrupt him. He hearkened therefore attentively; and being quite beside himself at this mysterious conversation, which ended at last by a recess of the spirit, as he found by the last words of Tasso: after which, Tasso turning himself to him, 'Well,' said he, 'are your doubts at last dissipated?' 'On the contrary,' answered Manso, 'I am more embroiled than ever: I have truly heard wonderful things; but you have not showed me what you promised me.' 'You have seen and heard,' resumed Tasso, 'perhaps more than—' He stopped here; and Manso, who could not recover himself of his surprise, and had his head filled with the ideas of this extraordinary entertainment, found himself not in a condition to press him further. Meanwhile he engaged himself not to speak a word to any man of these things he had heard, with a design to make them public, though he should have liberty granted him. They had many other conversations concerning this matter; after which Manso owned he was brought to that pass, that he knew not what to think or say; only, that if it were a weakness in his friend to believe these

visions, he much feared it would prove contagious to him, and that he should become at last as credulous as himself.

Dr. Beaumont, who is still living, and with whom I have had formerly some acquaintance myself, has set down, among others, this relation at large concerning Tasso, and gives this reason for it; 'Because,' says the doctor, 'I think it contains a sufficient answer to what many learned friends have said to myself on the like occasion.'

Perhaps it may not be ungrateful to the reader, if I subjoin here the short *elogium* writ on Tasso, by the famous Thuanas, which is as follows.

'Torquatus Tasso died about the forty-fifth year of his age; a man of a wonderful and prodigious wit, who was seized with an incurable fury in his youth, when he lived at the court of Ferrara, and nevertheless, in lucid intervals, he writ many things, both in verse and prose, with so much judgment, elegancy, and extreme correctness of style, that he turned at length that pity, which many men had conceived for him, into an amazement; while by that fury, which, in others, makes their minds outrageous, or dulls them, after it was over, his understanding became as it were more purified, more ready in inventing things, more acute in aptly disposing them after they were invented, and more copious in adorning them with choice words and weight of sentences; and that which a man of the soundest sense would scarce excogitate at his leisure, with the greatest labour and care imaginable, he, after a violent agitation of the mind set beside itself, naturally performed with a wonderful facility, so that he did not seem struck with an alienation of mind, but with a divine fury. He that knows not these things, which all men know that have been in Italy, and concerning which himself sometimes complains, though modestly, in his writings; let him read his divine works, and he must necessarily conclude, either that I speak of another man than Tasso, or that these things were written by another man than Tasso.'

After having given my readers so many memorable accounts concerning the perception men have had in all ages, and still continue to have, of genii or familiar spirits, by all the senses, as seeing, hearing, &c., which accounts have been attested by men of the greatest learning and quality, if any of them still remain dissatisfied, I am contented, and desire them, for their punishment, to lay down the book before they arrive at the more pleasant parts of it, which are yet to come, and not to read one tittle further. These unbelieving gentlemen shall then be at liberty, according as their different spirits dictate, to ridicule me in the same manner as many more learned and greater men than I have been satirized before my time, by persons of a like infidel temper, who would fain pass incredulity upon the world as wisdom; and they may, with all the freedom in nature, bestow upon me those merry appellations which I very well know such extraordinary freethinkers imagine to belong of right to any author, that either believes himself, or would possess the world with an opinion and belief, that there is such a thing as the holding conversation in this habitable world with genii and familiar spirits. I shall only first tell them all I have to say to terminate the dispute between them and me.

Those who, to give themselves the air and appearance of men of solid wisdom and gravity, load other men, who believe in spirits, with the titles of being men of folly, levity, or melancholy, are desired to learn, that the same folly (as they are pleased to term it) of opinion is to be found in the greatest men of learning that ever existed in the universe. Let them, in order to be convinced of this, read Apuleius's book, *de deo Socrat;* Censorinus's book *de die Nat.* c. 3; Porphyrius in his book *de Abstinentia;* Agrippa, in his Treatise *de Occult. Phil.* l. 3, c. 22, and also c. 21; Natalis Comes in his *Myth.* l. 4, c. 3; Maraviglia, in his *Pseudomantia, Dissertation,* 9 and 11, and *Animadversion,* 10; Plato, in his *Timæus et Cratylus;* Ammianus Marcellinus's History, book 21; Hieronimus Cardanus, in his book *de Vitâ Propriâ,* c. 47; the great Kircher, in his *Œdipus Ægyptiacus,* vol. iii. p. 474; Pausanius, in *Cliac. Poster.;* that immortal orator, Cicero, lib. i. *de Divinatione;* lib. ii. *de Naturâ Deorum;* the *Histoire Prodigieuse,* written by Pere Arnault; and a book intitled *Lux e Tenebris,* which is a collection of modern visions and prophecies in Germany by several persons, translated into Latin by Jo. Amos Comenius, printed at Amsterdam, 1655. And if they will be at the pains of having due recourse to these quotations, they will find that all these men, whose learning is unquestionable, and most of whom have been in a firm and undisputed possession of fame for many centuries, have all unanimously agreed in this opinion, how foolish soever they may think it, that there ever was and ever would be a communication held between some select men and genii, or familiar spirits. I must, therefore, desire their pardon, if I rejoice to see them remain wise by themselves, and that I continue to be esteemed by them a fool among so much good company.

Others, out of a mere contempt of religion, or cowardly, for fear of being thought pusillanimous by men, turn bravos to Heaven, and laugh at every notion of spirits, as imbibed from the nurse or imposed upon us by priests, and may top these lines upon us with an elegant and a convincing magisterial sneer, though the divine Socrates was of our opinion, and even experienced it to be true, having a genius himself:—

> The priests but finish what the nurse began,
> And thus the child imposes on the man.

These bring into my mind a saying of Sir Roger L'Estrange on Seneca, which I must apply to Socrates: 'I join in opinion with a Christian heathen, while they remain heathen Christians.'

The third sort, out of a pretended veneration to religion and divinity, may call me superstitious and chimerical. To them I answer, I will continue chimerical and superstitious with St. Austin, who gives the same opinion in his *Civitate Dei* with Ludovicus Vives; let them be solider and more religious divines than St. Austin in disowning it. Thus I bid these austere critics heartily farewell; but let my better-natured readers go on and find a new example of this conversation being held with the genii by our Duncan Campbell.

CHAPTER VI.

A narrative of Mr. Campbell's coming to London, and taking upon him the profession of a predictor; together with an account of many strange things that came to pass just as he foretold.

To proceed on regularly with the life of young Duncan Campbell, I must let the reader know that he continued thus conversing with his little genius, as is set forth above in the dialogue he had with me, and predicting many things of the like nature, as I have described, till the year 1694,

when he was just fourteen years of age, and then he left Scotland.

But before I come to speak of the manner of his departure from thence, his half native country, inasmuch as his father was of that country, and he had his education there (what education he could have, being deaf and dumb), I must let the reader know that in the year 1692, my very good friend, Mrs. Campbell, his mother-in-law, died, and left him there at Edinburgh, an orphan of twelve years of age.

He was, I may venture to say, the most beautiful boy of that age I ever knew; and the sensible reader, who considers a child of good birth, with the misfortunes of being deaf and dumb, left fatherless and motherless in the wide world, at twelve years old, without any competency for his maintenance and support, without any relations, in a manner, that knew him or assisted him; all the little fortune his father had having been lost in the civil commotions in Scotland, as I have related above, need not hear me describe the compassion I and many more had for him; because such a reader must certainly feel in his own bosom the same lively acts of pity and commiseration at the hearing of such a mishap as I had at the seeing it, or at least as I have now revived afresh within me at the relating it.

However, it came so to pass, that a person of the name of Campbell, and who was a distant relation of the boy, though he himself was but in indifferent circumstances, was resolved to see him provided for one way or another, in a manner somewhat suitable to his condition, and till that time to take the best care of him himself that he was able.

Several ladies of quality, who had known his perfections, coveted to make the boy one of their domestics, as a page, or a playfellow to their children; for though he could not speak, he had such a vivacity in all his actions, such a sprightliness of behaviour, and such a merriment accompanying all his gestures, that he afforded more entertainment than the prettiest and wittiest little prattlers at those years are wont to do. Mr. Campbell had certainly accepted of some of these fortunate offers for his little cousin, which were many of them likely to prove very advantageous, if it had not been put in his head by some friends, particularly myself, that if he had a mind to dispose of the boy in that manner, the best way he could take would be to present him to the late Earl of Argyle, who for his name's sake and for his father's sake, as well as the qualifications and endowments of the boy, would more naturally, according to all probability, take a greater pleasure and delight in him, and consequently provide better for him, and with a more lasting care, than any other person of quality that had a sudden liking to him, which might change, and took him as a stranger out of a bare curiosity. Mr. Campbell was by these reasons overruled in the disposal of his little dumb prophetical cousin, as he called him, and resolved that an offer should be made of him to the present illustrious Duke of Argyle's most noble father. But it so unfortunately happened that the earl, making very much a longer stay at London than was expected, Mr. Campbell, the uncle, sent our young Duncan Campbell, his nephew, handsomely accoutred, and with a handsome sum of money in his pocket, by sea, with Captain Meek of Kirkcaldy, to London, with letters of recommendation to the earl's favour; and just a few days before young Duncan arrived in London, the earl was set out on his journey to his seat in Scotland.

I had now left him for near three years, not having seen him since about a year after his mother's death; and then coming to London, I had by mere accident an appointment to meet some Scotch gentlemen at the Buffalo at Charing-cross. There happened at that time to be a great concourse of Scotch nobility there at an entertainment; and one of the ladies and gentlemen passing by and seeing one of my friends, desired him to come in, and told him both he and his companion should be very welcome to partake of the diversion. The lady told him they had got a lovely youth, a Scotch miracle, among them, that would give us exquisite delight, and write down to us all the occurrences of our future lives, and tell us our names upon our first appearance. The moment I heard of it, Duncan Campbell came into my head; but as it is a thing not rare to be met with in Scotland for second-sighted persons to tell such things, and as the Earl of Argyle was in the north, I thought little Duncan had been under his protection, and with him, and did not dream of meeting with him there; and accordingly told my friend, before I went in, that I believed I knew a lad in Scotland would exceed this in foresight, let him be as dexterous in his art as he would.

As soon as I entered the room, I was surprised to find myself encompassed and surrounded by a circle of the most beautiful females that ever my eyes beheld. In the centre of this angelic tribe was seated a heavenly youth, with the most winning comeliness of aspect that ever pleased the sight of any beholder of either sex; his face was divinely fair, and tinged only with such a sprightly blush as a painter would use to colour the picture of health with, and the complexion was varnished over by a blooming like that of flourishing fruit, which had not yet felt the first nippings of an unkind and an uncivil air; with this beauty was joined such a smiling draught of all the features as is the result of pleasantry and good humour. His eyes were large, full of lustre, majestic, well set, and the soul shone so in them, as told the spectators plainly how great was the inward vivacity of his genius; the hair of his head was thick, and reclined far below his shoulders; it was of a fine silver colour, and hung down in ringlets like the curling tendrils of a copious vine. He was by the women entertained, according to the claim which so many perfections joining in a youth just ripening into manhood might lay to the benevolent dispositions of the tender sex. One was holding the basin of water, another washing a hand, a third with a towel drying his face, which another fair had greedily snatched the pleasure of washing before, while a fourth was disposing into order his silver hairs with an ivory comb, in a hand as white, and which a monarch might have been proud to have had so employed in adjusting the crown upon his head; a fifth was setting into order his cravat; a sixth stole a kiss, and blushed at the innocent pleasure, and mistook her own thoughts as if she kissed the angel and not the man; and they all rather seemed to adore than to love him, as if they had taken him not for a person that enjoyed the frequent gift of the second-sight, but as if he had been some little prophet peculiarly inspired; and while they all thus admired and wondered, they all consulted him as an oracle. The surprise of seeing a young man so happy amidst the general concurring favours of the fair, made me be for a while lost in a kind of delightful amazement, and the consideration of what bliss he was possessed made me scarce believe my own eyes, when they told me it was Duncan Campbell, who I had left an unhappy orphan at Edinburgh.

But so it was, though he was much altered in stature, being now shot up pretty fast in his growth since I had seen him, and having gained a kind of a fixed comportment, such as we may daily observe in those who are taking leave of their minority, and stepping into a stage of maturer life.

The first remarkable thing I knew him do in London, being in this splendid company, where there were so many undoubted witnesses, of quality too, that had ocular proof of his predictions at that public tavern; I choose to record it here in the first place according to its due order. It was in the year 1698.

Among this angelical class of beauties were Dr. W—lw—d's lady and daughter. Upon earth there was not sure a more beautiful creature than the daughter was; she was the leading light of all the sparkling tribe; and Otway's character suits her exactly, for she was 'among ten thousand, eminently fair.' One would imagine prosperous and lucky fortune was written upon her face, and that nothing unhappy could be read in so fair a book; and it was therefore the unanimous consent of all, that by way of good omen to the rest, his predictions should begin to be opened luckily that day, and that therefore he should first of all be consulted about her.

Accordingly, the mother, to be satisfied of his talent before she proceeded to any other questions, asked him in writing if he knew the young lady, her name, and who she was. After a little ruminating and pondering upon the matter, and taking an exact view of the beauty, he wrote down her name, told Mrs. W—lw—d she was her daughter, and that her father was a doctor. Convinced by his so readily telling the name and quality of persons he had never seen in his lifetime, that fame had not given a false character of his capacity, she proceeded in her questions as to her future fortune. He gazed afresh at her very eagerly for some time, and his countenance during that time of viewing her seemed to be ruffled with abundance of disturbance and perplexity. We all imagined that the youth was a little touched at the heart himself with what he saw, and that instead of telling hers, he had met in her bright eyes with his own destiny, the destiny of being for ever made a slave and a captive to so many powerful and almost irresistible charms.

At length, after having a long debate within himself, which we thought proceeded from the strugglings of love and passion, he fetching a great sigh, which still convinced us more, took the pen and wrote to Mrs. W—lw—d, that he begged to be excused, and that his pen might remain as dumb and silent as his tongue on that affair. By this answer we concluded, one and all, that our former conjectures were true, and we joined in pressing him the more earnestly to deliver his real and sincere opinion concerning the accidents upon which the future fortunes of her life were to turn and depend. He showed many mighty reluctances in the doing it; and I have often since considered him in the same anguish as the late great Dr. Radcliffe, who was endeavouring by study to save a certain fair one, whom he loved with a vehemence of temper, and who was, as his reason told him, got far away beyond the reach of the art of physic to recover. At last he wrote in plain terms that his backwardness and unwillingness to tell it arose from his wishes that her fortune would be better than his certain foreknowledge of it told him it would be, and begged that we would rest satisfied with *that* general answer, since it was in so particular a case, where he himself was a well-wisher in vain, to the lady about whom he was consulted. The young lady herself, thinking that if she knew any disasters that were to befall her, she might, by knowing the nature of them beforehand, and the time when they were likely to happen, be able, by timely prudence and forecast, to avert those evils, with many beseechings urged him to reveal the fatal secret. After many struggles to avoid it, and as many instances made to him both by mother and daughter for the discovery of his prescience in that point, he complied with very great difficulty; and blotting the paper with tears that trickled fast from his eyes, he gave her the lamentable scroll, containing the words that follow, viz.: 'I wish it had not fallen to my lot to tell this lady, whom everybody that but once looks at her must admire, though they must not have leave to love, that she is not much longer to be possessor of that lovely face, which gains her such a number of adorers. The smallpox will soon turn a ravisher, and rifle all those sweets and charms that might be able to vanquish a king and to subdue a conqueror of mighty battles. Her reign is doomed, alas! to be as short as it is now great and universal. I believe she has internal beauties of the mind, not the least inferior to those external excellences of the body; and she might, perhaps, by the power of her mind alone, be absolute queen of the affections of men, if the smallpox threatened not too surely to be her farther enemy, and, not contented to destroy the face, was not perversely bent to destroy the whole woman. But I want words to express my sorrow. I would not tell it if you did not extort the baneful secret from my bosom. This fair creature, whose beauty would make one wish her immortal, will, by the cruel means of the smallpox, give us too sudden a proof of her mortality. But neither the mother nor herself ought too much to repine at this, seeing it appears to be the decree of Providence, which is always to be interpreted as meant for our good, and seeing it may be the means of translating her the sooner only to her kindred angels, whose beauty she so much resembles here on earth, and to be among the lowest class of whom, is better than being the greatest beauty of the world here below, and wearing an imperial crown. While I comfort you, I cannot help the force of nature, which makes me grieve myself; and I only give you, because you compel me to it, so particular and so exact an answer to so particular and so exacting a question.'

The mother, who took the paper, was prudent enough to conceal from the daughter what he said; but nature would force its way, and bubbled from her eyes; and the daughter perceiving that, pressed hard to see it, and wept at the consideration that hard fate, though she knew not particularly what way, was to befall her. Never surely was anything so beautiful in tears, and I obtained of the mother to see the writing. At last, in general terms, to free her from a suspense of mind, it was told her that some trouble should happen to her that should diminish her beauty. She had courage enough to hear that misfortune with disdain, and crying, 'If that be all, I am armed, I don't place much pride in that, which I know age must shortly after destroy, if trouble did not do it before;' and she dried up her tears, and (if what Mr. Bruyere says be true, viz. that the last thing a celebrated woman thinks of when she dies is the loss of her beauty) she showed an admirable pattern of female philosophy, in bearing such a cruel prediction with such unspeakable magnanimity, as exceeded even the patience

of stern stoicism, considering she was a woman, to whom beauty is more dear than life.

If any evil that is impending over people's heads could be evaded by foreknowledge, or eluded by art, she had the fairest opportunity of having this prediction annulled (which would have been more to the satisfaction of the predictor than knowing it verified) than ever any woman had. Her mother was specifically told that the fatal distemper should be the smallpox; her father was, and is still, a very eminent physician; and distempers of that kind, especially, are much more easily prevented by care, than cured by art, and by art more easily set aside, when there is a timely warning given to a physician to prepare the body against the danger of the poison, than when the distemper has once catched hold of a body at unawares, when it is unpurged of any gross humours that may accompany it. But neither the foreknowledge and caution of the mother, nor the skill and wisdom of the great physician her father, were sufficient to ward off the approaching harm, that was written in the books of fate. Not many suns had finished their yearly courses, before she was forced to submit to the inevitable stroke of death, after the infectious and malicious malady had first ravished her beauty, rioted in all her sweets, and made an odious deformed spectacle of the charmer of mankind. The death of the daughter worked hard upon the mother's bowels, and dragged her speedily after her, with a broken heart to the grave.

This lady, whose fortune so great and distinguished an assembly had chosen to hear as a happy forerunner and lucky omen of all their own, which were to be asked afterwards in their turns, proving so contrary to their expectations, already unfortunate in the prediction, and having been in tears about the matter, disheartened all the rest of the beauties, from consulting him farther that day. The person who kept the tavern, by name Mrs Irwin, alleged that as some people were very fortunate, and others unfortunate upon the same day, so one lady might be before told a mishap one minute, and another lady all the prosperity in nature the very next minute following; and therefore that what the unfortunate lady had heard was not to be taken as ominous, or as what could malignantly influence the day, neither ought it to be the least hindrance to any who had the curiosity of being let into the secrets of time beforehand. However, whether the ladies were convinced or no; if she prevailed over their belief in that point, she could not prevail over their humour, which (though they might not believe the former prediction ominous to themselves) was naturally awed for fear of the like peradventure for a time; and so it was agreed, *nemine contradicente*, as a witty lady wrote it down, that no more petitions should for that day be presented by any of that company to his dumb, yet oracular, majesty. Mrs. Irwin, however, would have her way; said she did not presume to such honour as to call herself of that company, and that therefore she might consult him without breaking through the votes of the assembly. Many endeavoured to dissuade her; but as she was passionately fond of knowing future events, and had a mighty itch to be very inquisitive with the oracle about what might happen, not only to herself, but her posterity, it was agreed that he should have the liberty of satisfying her curiosity, since she presumed her fortune was sure to be so good, and was so forward and eager for the knowledge of it. But alas! such is too often the fantastical impulse of nature unluckily depraved, that it carries us often into wishes of knowing what, when known, we would be glad to unknow again, and then our memory will not let us be untaught.

Mrs. Irwin was at that time in a pretty commodious way of business, everything in plenty round about her, and lived more like a person of distinction, that kept such a cellar of wine, open house, and a free table, than like one who kept a tavern. She brought in her pretty children, that were then almost babies, the youngest having not long been out of the nurse's arms, or trusted to the use of its own legs. These children she loved as a mother should love children; they were the delight of her eyes all day, and the dream of her imagination all night. All the passions of her soul were confined to them; she was never pleased but when they were so, and always angry if they were crossed; her whole pride was centered in them, and they were clothed and went attended more like the infants of a princess, than of a vintner's relict. The fortune of these was what she had near at heart, and of which she was so eager of being immediately apprised. Her impatience was proportionable to the love she had for them, and which made her wish to foreknow all the happiness that was like to attend them. She sat cheerfully down, presented one to him, and smiling, wrote the question in general terms, viz. 'Is this boy to be happy or unhappy?' A melancholy look once more spread itself all over the face of the predictor, when he read the too inquisitive words, and he seemed mightily to regret being asked a question, to which he was by his talent of foreseeing compelled to give so unwelcome an answer. The colour of the poor woman flushed and vanished alternately, and very quick, and she looked not quite like the picture of despair, but a disconsolate woman, with little hopes on one hand, and great doubts and dismal fears on the other. She professed she read great evil in the troubles of his face, thanked him for his good nature, told him that they all knew that though he could foretell he could not alter the acts and decretals of fate, and therefore desired him to tell her the worst; for that the misfortunes, were they never so great, would be less dreadful to her than remaining in the state of fear and suspension. He at last wrote down to her that great and unexpected, and even unavoidable accidents, would involve the whole family in new calamities; that the son she asked him about would have the bitterest task of hardship to go through withal, while he lived; and that to finish all more unhappily, he would be basely and maliciously brought to an untimely end, by some mortal enemy or other, but that she should not trouble herself so much on that head, she would never see it, for it would happen some years after she was departed from the world. This melancholy account closed up the book of predictions for that day, and put a sad stop to all the projected mirth and curiosity. Now I must tell the reader how and when the event answered the prediction. And in a few words, it was thus: Poor Mrs. Irwin, by strange accidents, decayed in the world, and dying poor, her sons were forced to be put out apprentices to small trades; and the son whom the abovementioned prediction concerned, was, for stealing one cheese from a man in the Haymarket, severely prosecuted at the Old Bailey, and on Wednesday, the 23d of December 1713, hanged at Tyburn, with several other criminals.

The two foregoing passages are of so tragical a nature, that it is time I should relieve the minds of my readers with some histories of ladies who

consulted him with more success and advantage, to whom his predictions were very entertaining, when they so came to pass in their favour; the relation whereof will consequently be agreeable to all readers who have within them a mixture of happy curiosity and good nature.

Two ladies, who were the most remarkable beauties in London, and most courted, turned at the same time their thoughts to matrimony; and being satiated, I may say wearied, with the pleasure of having continually after them a great number and variety of adorers, resolved each, about the same time, to make a choice of their several men, to whom they thought they could give most happiness, and from whom they might receive most. Their names (for they are both persons of distinction) shall be Christallina and Urbana. Christallina was a virgin, and Urbana a young widow. Christallina engrossed the eyes, the hearts, and the sighs of the whole court; and wherever she appeared, put any court lady out of her place, that had one before in the heart of any youth; and was the most celebrated toast among the *beau monde*. Urbana's beauty made as terrible havoc in the city; all the citizens' daughters that had many admirers, and were in fair hopes of having husbands when they pleased themselves, as soon as Urbana had lost her old husband, found that they every day lost their lovers; and it was a general fear among the prettiest maids that they should remain maids still, as long as Urbana remained a widow. She was the monopolizer of city affection, and made many girls, that had large stocks of suitors, bankrupts in the trade of courtship, and broke some of their hearts, when her charms broke off their amours. Well, but the day was near at hand when both the belles of the court and the city damsels were to be freed from the ravages which these two tyrants, triumphant in beauty and insolent in charms, made among the harvest of love. Each had seen her proper man, to whom the enjoyment of their person was to be dedicated for life. But it being an affair of so lasting importance, each had a mind to be let into the knowledge of the consequences of such a choice, as far as possible, before they stepped into the irrevocable state of matrimony. Both of them happened to take it into their heads that the best way to be entirely satisfied in their curiosity was to have recourse to the great predictor of future occurrences, Mr. Duncan Campbell, whose fame was at that time spread pretty largely about the town. Christallina and Urbana were not acquainted with each other, only by the report which fame had made of beauty. They came to Mr. Campbell's on the same day, and both with the same resolution of keeping themselves concealed and under masks, that none of the company of consulters, who happened to be there, might know who they were. It happened that on that very day, just when they came, Mr. Campbell's rooms were more than ordinarily crowded with curious clients of the fair sex, so that he was obliged to desire these two ladies, who expressed so much precaution against, and fear of having their persons discovered, to be contented with only one room between them; and with much ado they complied with the request, and condescended to sit together *incog.* Distant compliments of gesture passed between them, the dress and comportment of each making them appear to be persons of figure and breeding; and after three or four modish courtesies, down they sat, without so much as once opening their lips, or intending so to do. The silence between them was very formal and profound for near half an hour, and nothing was to be heard but the snapping of fans, which they both did very tuneably, and with great harmony, and played as it were in concert.

At last one of the civil, well-bred mutes happening to sneeze, the other very gracefully bowed, and before she was well aware, out popped the words, 'Bless you, madam.' The fair sneezer returned the bow, with an 'I thank you, madam.' They found they did not know one another's voices, and they began to talk very merrily together, with pretty great confidence; and they taking a mutual liking from conversation, so much familiarity grew thereupon instantly between them, that they began not only to unmask, but to unbosom themselves to one another, and confess alternately all their secrets. Christallina owned who she was, and told Urbana the beau and courtier that had her heart. Urbana as frankly declared that she was a widow; that she would not become the lady's rival; that she had pitched upon a second husband, an alderman of the city. Just by that time they had had their chat out, and wished one another the pleasure of a successful prediction, it came to Christallina's turn to visit the dumb gentleman, and receive from his pen oracular answers to all the questions she had to propose. Well, he accordingly satisfied her in every point she asked him about; but while she was about this, one of Mr. Campbell's family going with Urbana to divert her a little, the widow rallied at the virgin as a fool, to imagine that she should ever make a conquest of the brightest spark about the court, and then let fly some random bolts of malice to wound her reputation for chastity. Now it became the widow's turn to go and consult; and the same person of Mr. Campbell's family in the meantime entertained Christallina. The maid was not behindhand with the widow; she rallied against the widow, represented her as sometimes a coquette, sometimes a lady of pleasure, sometimes a jilt, and lifted up her hands in wonder and amazement that Urbana should imagine so rich a man as an Alderman Such-a-one should fall to her lot. Thus Urbana swore and protested that Christallina could never arrive at the honour of being the wife to the courtly Secretarius, let Mr. Campbell flatter her as he would; and Christallina vowed that Campbell must be a downright wizard if he foretold that such a one as Urbana would get Alderman Stiffrump for a husband, provided a thing so improbable should come to pass.

However, it seems Duncan had told them their own names, and the names of their suitors; and told them farther, how soon they were both to be married, and that too, directly to their hearts' content, as they said rejoicingly to themselves, and made their mutual gratulations.

They went away each satisfied that she should have her own lover; but Christallina laughed at Mr. Campbell for assigning the alderman to Urbana; and Urbana laughed at him for promising the courtier to the arms of Christallina.

This is a pretty good figure of the tempers of two reigning toasts with regard to one another.

First, their curiosity made them, from resolving to be concealed, discover one another wilfully; from utter strangers, grow as familiar as old friends in a moment; swear one another to secrecy, and exchange the sentiments of their hearts together; and, from being friends, become envious of each other's enjoying a similitude of happiness. The compliments made on either side face to face, were, upon the turning of the back, turned into reflections, detraction, and ridicule; each was a self-lover, and admirer of her own beauty and merit, and a despiser of the other's.

However, Duncan Campbell proved at last to be in the right: Urbana was wrong in her opinion of Christallina's want of power over Secretarius, and Christallina was as much out in her opinion that Urbana would miss in her aim of obtaining Stiffrump; for they both proved in the right of what they thought with regard to their own dear single persons, and were made happy according to their expectations, just at the time foretold by Mr. Campbell.

Christallina's ill wishes did not hinder Urbana from being mistress of Alderman Stiffrump's person and stock; nor did Urbana's hinder Christallina from showing herself a shining bride at the Ring, in Secretarius' gilded chariot, drawn by six prancers of the proud Belgian kind, with her half dozen of liveries, with favours in their hats, waiting her return at the gate of Hyde Park.

Both loved and both envied, but both allowed of Mr. Campbell's foreknowledge.

Having told you two very sorrowful passages, and one tolerably successful and entertaining, I shall now relate to you another of my own knowledge, that is mixed up with the grievous and the pleasant, and chequered, as it were, with the shade and the sunshine of fortune.

Though there are vicissitudes in every stage of life under the sun, and not one ever ran continually on with the same series of prosperity; yet those conditions which are the most liable to the signal alterations of fortune, are the conditions of merchants; for professed gamesters I reckon in a manner as men of no condition of life at all, but what comes under the statute of vagabonds.

It was, indeed, as the reader would guess, a worthy and a wealthy merchant who was to run through these different circumstances of being. He came and visited our Mr. Campbell in the year 1707: he found him amidst a crowd of consulters; and being very eager and solicitous to know his own fortune just at that critical juncture of time, he begged of him, if possible, to adjourn his other clients to the day following, and sacrifice that one wholly to his use; which, as it was probably more important than all the others together, so he wrote down that he would render the time spent about it more advantageous to Mr. Campbell; and, by way of previous encouragement, threw him down ten guineas as a retaining fee.

Mr. Campbell, who held money in very little esteem, and valued it so much too little that he has often had my reprehensions on that head, paused a little, and after looking earnestly in the gentleman's face, and reading there, as I suppose, in that little space of time in general, according to the power of the second-sight, that what concerned him was highly momentous, wrote him this answer: That he would comply with his requests, adjourn his other clients to the day following, and set apart all the remnant of that, till night, for inspecting the future occurrences of which he had a mind to be made a master.

There is certainly a very keen appetite in curiosity; it cannot stay for satisfaction, it is pressing for its necessary repast, and is without all patience. Hunger and thirst are not appetites more vehement, and more hard and difficult to be repressed, than that of curiosity; nothing but the present *now* is able to allay it. A more expressive picture of this I never beheld than in the faces of some, and the murmurs and complaints of others, in that little inquisitive company, when the unwelcome note was given about signifying an adjournment for only twenty-four hours.

The colour of a young woman there came and went a hundred times, if possible, in the space of two minutes; she blushed like a red rose this moment, and in the switch of an eyelash she was all over as pale as a white one. The suitor whose name her heart had gone pit-a-pat for the space of an hour to be informed of from the pen of a seer, was now deferred a whole day longer. She was once or twice within an ace of swooning away; but he comforted her, in particular, by telling her (though he said it only by way of jest), that the day following would be a more lucky day to consult about husbands than the present that she came on. The answer was a kind of cordial to her hopes, and brought her a little better to herself.

Two others, I remember, sisters and old maids, that it seems were misers, women ordinarily dressed and in blue aprons, and yet, by relation, worth no less than two thousand pounds each, were in a peck of troubles about his going and leaving them unsatisfied. They came upon an inquiry after goods that were stolen, and they complained that by next morning at that time, the thief might be got far enough off, and creep into so remote a corner, that he would put it beyond the power of the devil and the art of conjuration to find him out and bring him back again. The disturbance and anxiety that was to be seen in their countenances was just like that which is to be beheld in the face of a losing gamester, when his all, his last great stake, lies upon the table, and is just sweeping off by another winning hand into his own hat.

The next was a widow who bounced because, as she pretended, he would not tell her what was best to do with her sons, and what profession it would be most happy for them to be put to; but in reality all the cause of the widow's fuming and fretting was not that she wanted to provide for her sons, but for herself. She wanted a second husband, and was not half so solicitous about being put in a way of educating those children she had already, as of knowing when she should be in a likelihood of getting more. This was certainly in her thoughts, or else she would never have flounced about in her weed from one end of the room to the other, and all the while of her passion, smile by fits upon the merchant, and leer upon a young pretty Irish fellow that was there. The young Irishman made use of a little eye-language: she grew appeased; went away in quite a good humour; scuttled too airily down stairs for a woman in her clothes; and the reason was certainly that she knew the matter before, which we took notice of presently after. The Irishman went precipitately after her down stairs, without taking his leave.

But neither were the two misers for their gold, the virgin for a first husband, nor the widow for a second, half so eager as another married woman there was for the death of her spouse. She had put the question in so expecting a manner for a lucky answer, and with so much keen desire appearing plainly in her looks, that no big-bellied woman was ever more eager for devouring fruit, no young, hasty bridegroom, just married to a beauty, more impatient for night and enjoyment, than she was to know, what she thought a more happy moment, the moment of her husband's last agonizing gasp. As her expectation was the greatest, so was her disappointment too, and consequently her disorder upon his going and leaving her unresolved. She was frantic, raging, and implacable. She was in such a fury at the delay of putting off her answer to the day following, that in her fury she acted as if she would

have given herself an answer which of the two should die first, by choking herself upon the spot with the indignation that swelled in her stomach and rose into her throat on that occasion. It may look like a romance to say it, but indeed they were forced to cut her lace, and then she threw out of the room with great passion; but yet had so much of the enraged wife left (beyond the enraged woman) as to return instantly upstairs, and signify very calmly, she would be certain to be there next day, and beseeched earnestly that she might not meet with a second disappointment.

All this hurry and bustle created a stay a little too tedious for the merchant, who began to be impatient himself, especially when word was brought up that a fresh company was come in. But Mr. Campbell was denied to them; and to put a stop to any more interruptions, the merchant and the dumb gentleman agreed to slip into a coach, drive to a tavern in the city, and settle matters of futurity over a bottle of French claret.

The first thing done at the tavern was Mr. Campbell's saluting him upon a piece of paper by his name, and drinking his health. The next paper held a discourse of condolence for a disaster that was past long since, namely, a great and considerable loss that happened to his family, in the dreadful conflagration of the city of London. In the third little dialogue which they had together, he told the merchant that losses and advantages were general topics, which a person unskilled in that art might venture to assign to any man of his profession; it being next to impossible that persons who traffic should not sometimes gain and sometimes lose. 'But,' said Mr. Duncan Campbell, 'I will sketch out particularly, and specify to you some future misfortunes with which you will unavoidably meet. It is in your stars, it is in destiny, that you should have some trials; and therefore, when you are forewarned, take a prudent care to be forearmed with patience and by longanimity, and meekly and resignedly enduring your lot, render it more easy, since impatience can't avert it, and will only render it more burdensome and heavy.' He gave these words to the merchant, who pressed for his opinion that moment. 'By your leave,' resuming the pen, said the dumb gentleman, in writing, 'we will have this bottle out first, and tap a fresh one, that you may be warmed with courage enough to receive the first speculative onset of ill fortune, that I shall predict to you, with a good grace, and that may perhaps enable you to meet it, when it comes to reduce itself into action, with a manful purpose and all becoming resolution.' The merchant agreed to the proposal, and put on an air of the careless and indifferent as well as he could, to signify that he had no need to raise up an artificial courage from the auxiliary forces of the grape. But nature, when hard pressed, will break through all disguises; and not only notwithstanding the air of pleasantry he gave himself, which appeared forced and constrained, but in spite of two or three sparkling and enlivening bumpers, a cloud of care would ever and anon gather and shoot heavily across his brow, though he laboured all he could to dispel it as quickly, and to keep fair weather in his countenance. Well, they had cracked the first bottle, and the second succeeded upon the table, and they called to blow a pipe together. This pipe Mr. Campbell found had a very ill effect. It is certainly a pensive kind of instrument, and fills a mind, anything so disposed, with disturbing thoughts, black fumes, and melancholy vapours, as certainly as it doth the mouth with smoke. It plainly took away even the little sparks of vivacity which the wine had given before; so he wrote for a truce of firing those sort of noxious guns any longer, and they laid down their arms by consent, and drank off the second bottle. A third immediately supplied its place; and at the first glass of the opening of the bottle, Mr. Campbell began to open to him his future case in the following words: 'Sir, you have now some ventures at sea from such and such a place, to such a value. Don't be discomforted at the news which you certainly will have within three months (but it will be false at last), that they are by three different tempests made the prey of the great ocean, and enrich the bottom of the sea, the palace of Neptune. A worse storm than all these attends you at home; a wife who is, and will be more, the tempest of the house wherein she lives. The high and lofty winds of her vanity will blow down the pillars of your house and family; the high tide of her extravagance will roll on like a resistless torrent, and leave you at low water and the ebb of all your fortunes. This is the highest and the most cutting disaster that is to befall you: your real shipwreck is not foreign, but domestic; your bosom friend is to be your greatest foe, and even your powerful undoer for a time. Mark what I say, and take courage; it shall be but for a time provided you take courage. It will, upon that condition, be only a short and wholesome taste of adversity given to you, that you may relish returning prosperity with virtue, and with a greater return of thanks to Him that dispenses it at pleasure to mankind. Remember, courage and resignation is what I advise you to; mark, as becomes you, in your adversity, and believe that as I foretold that adversity, so I can foretell a prosperity will again be the consequence of those virtues; and the more you feel the one, ought not to cast you down, but raise your hopes the more, that he who foretold you that so exactly, could likewise foretell you the other.' The merchant was by this put into a great suspense of mind, but somewhat easier by the second prediction being annexed so kindly to the first fatal one. They crowned the night with a flask of Burgundy; and then parting, each went to their respective homes.

The reader may perchance wonder how I, who make no mention of my being there, as in truth I was not at the tavern, should be able to relate this as of my own knowledge; but if he pleases to have patience to the end of the story, he will have entire satisfaction on that point.

About half a year after, the merchant came again, told him that his prediction was too far verified, to his very dear cost, and that he was now utterly undone, and beyond any visible means of a future recovery; and doubting lest the other fortunate part of the prediction was only told him by way of encouragement (for groundless doubts and fears always attend a mind implunged in melancholy), besought him very earnestly to tell him candidly and sincerely if there was no real prospect of good, and rid him at once of the uneasiness of such a suspension of thought. 'But pray, too,' said he, with all the vehemence of repeated expostulation, 'satisfy me if there are any farther hopes on this side the grave?'

To this, Duncan Campbell made a short, but a very significant reply in writing. 'May the heavens preserve you from a threatening danger of life. Take care only of yourself, great and mighty care; and if you outlive Friday next, you

will yet be great, and more fortunate than ever you was in all the height of your former most flourishing space of life.' He coloured inordinately when Duncan Campbell said Friday, and conjured him to tell him as particularly as he could what he meant by Friday. He told him he could not particularize any further, but that great danger threatened him that day; and that, without extraordinary precaution, it would prove fatal to him, even to death. He shook his head, and went away in a very sorrowful plight. Friday past, Saturday came; and on that very Saturday morning came likewise the joyful tidings, that what ventures of his were given over for lost at sea were all come safe into the harbour. He came the moment he received those despatches from his agent to Mr. Duncan Campbell's apartment, embraced him tenderly, and saluted him with much gladness of heart, before a great roomful of ladies, where I happened to be present at that time; crying out in a loud voice, before he knew what he said, that Mr. Campbell had saved his life; that Friday was his birthday, and he had intended, with a pistol, to shoot himself that very day. The ladies thought him mad; and he, recovered from his ecstasy, said no more, but sat down, till Mr. Campbell dismissed all his clients; and then we three went to the tavern together, where he told me the whole little history or narrative, just as is above related.

The fame which Mr. Duncan Campbell got by the foregoing, and several other predictions of the like kind, was become very large and extensive, and had spread itself into the remotest corners of this metropolis. The squares rang with it; it was whispered from one house to another through the more magnificent streets, where persons of quality and distinction reside; it catched every house in the city, like the news of stock from Exchange-alley; it ran noisily through the lanes and little thoroughfares where the poor inhabit; it was the chat of the tea-table, and the babble of the streets; and the whole town, from the top to the bottom, was full of it. Whenever any reputation rises to a degree like this, let it be for what art or accomplishment, or on what account soever it will, malice, envy, and detraction are sure to be the immediate pursuers of it with open mouth, and to hunt it down, if possible, with full cry. Even the great Nostradamus, though favoured by kings and queens, which always without any other reason creates enemies, was not more pursued by envy and detraction for his predictions in Paris, and throughout France, than our Duncan Campbell was in London, and even throughout England. Various, different, and many were the objections raised to blot his character and extenuate his fame, that, when one was confuted, another might not be wanting to supply its place, and so maintain a course and series of backbiting, according to the known maxim, 'Throw dirt, and if it does not stick, throw dirt continually, and some will stick.'

Neither is there any wonder; for a man that has got applauders of all sorts and conditions must expect condemners and detractors of all sorts and conditions likewise. If a lady of high degree, for example, should say, smiling (though really thinking absolutely what she says), for fear of being thought over-credulous, 'Well, I vow, some things Mr Campbell does are surprising after all; they would be apt to incline one to a belief that he is a wonder of a man, for one would imagine the things he does impossible;' why, then, a prude, with an assumed supercilious air and a scornful face, would, in order to seem more wise than she was, reply, 'Lard, madam, it is more a wonder to me that you can be imposed upon so. I vow to Gad, madam, I would as soon consult an almanack maker, and pin my faith upon what he pricks down; or believe, like my creed, in the cross which I make upon the hand of a gipsy. Lard, madam, I assure your la'ship he knows no more than I do of you. I assure you so, and therefore believe me. He has it all by hearsay.' If the lady that believed it should reply, that if he had notice of every stranger by hearsay he must be a greater man than she suspected, and must keep more spies in pay than a prime minister; the prude's answer would be with a loud laugh, and giggling out these words, 'Lard, madam, I assure you nothing can be more easy, and so take it for granted.' Because she was inclined to say so, and had the act of wisdom on her side, forsooth, that she appeared hard of belief (which some call hard to be put upon), and the other lady credulous (which some, though believing upon good grounds, are called), and so thought foolish; the prude's answer would be thought sufficient and convincing.

Thus malice and folly, by dint of noise and impudence, and strong though empty assertions, often run down modesty and good sense. Among the common people it is the same, but only done in a different manner. For example, an ordinary person that had consulted, might say, as he walked along, 'There goes the dumb gentleman who writes down any name of a stranger at first sight.' Steps up a blunt fellow, that takes stubbornness for sense, and says, 'That is a confounded lie; he is a cheat and an impostor, and you are one of his accomplices; he will tell me my name, I suppose, if you tell it him first; he is no more dumb than I am; he can speak and hear as well as us; I have been with those that say they have heard him; I wish I and two or three more had him in our stable, and I warrant you, with our cartwhips, we would lick some words out of his chops, as dumb as you call him. I tell you it is all a lie, and all a bite.' If the other desires to be convinced for himself by his own experience, the rougher rogue, who perhaps has stronger sinews than the other, answers, 'If you lie any farther, I will knock you down;' and so he is the vulgar wit, and the mouth of the rabble-rout, and thus the detraction spreads below with very good success, as it does above in another kind.

As there are two comical adventures in his life, which directly suit and correspond with the foregoing reflections, this seems the most proper place to insert them in. The first consists of a kind of mob-way of usage he met with from a fellow who got to be an officer in the army, but by the following behaviour will be found unworthy of the name and the commission.

In the year 1701, a lady of good quality came and addressed herself to him much after the following manner. She told him she had choice of lovers, but preferred one above the rest; but desired to know his name, and if she made him her choice, what would be the subsequent fate of such a matrimony. Mr. Duncan Campbell very readily gave her down in writing this plain and honest reply: That of all her suitors she was most inclined to a captain, a distinguished officer, and a great beau (naming his name), and one that had a great many outward engaging charms, sufficient to blind the eyes of any lady that was not thoroughly acquainted with his manner of living. He therefore assured her (and thought himself bound, being conjured so to do, having received his fee, though there was danger in such plain and open predictions) that he was a villain.

and a rogue in his heart, a profligate gamester, and that if she took him to her bed, she would only embrace her own ruin. The lady's woman, who was present, being in fee with the captain, resolving to give intelligence, for fear the officer, her so good friend, should be disappointed in the siege, slily shuffled the papers into her pocket, and made a present of them to the military spark. Fired with indignation at the contents, he vowed revenge; and in order to compass it, conspires with his female spy about the means. In fine, for fear of losing the lady, though he quarrelled with Duncan Campbell, a method was to be found out how to secure her by the very act of revenge. At last it was resolved to discover to her, that he had found out what she had been told by Mr. Campbell, but the way how he had been informed was to remain a secret. He did do so, and ended his discovery with these words: 'I desire, madam, that if I prove him an impostor, you would not believe a word he says.' The lady agreed to so fair a proposal. Then the captain swore that he himself would never eat a piece of bread more till he had made Mr. Campbell eat his words; nay, he insisted upon it that he would bring him to his tongue, and make him own by word of mouth, that what he had written before was false and calumnious. To which the lady answered again, that if he performed what he said, she would be convinced. This brave military man, however, not relying upon his own single valour and prowess, to bring about so miraculous a thing as the making a person that was dumb to speak, he took with him for this end three lusty assistants to combine with him in the assassination. The ambuscade was settled to be at the Five Bells Tavern, in Wych-street, in the Strand. After the ambush was settled with so much false courage, the business of decoying Mr. Campbell into it was not practicable any other way than by sending out false colours. The lady's woman, who was by her own interest tied fast to the interests of the beau, was to play the trick of Delilah, and betray this deaf and dumb Samson (as he will appear to be a kind of one in the sequel of the story) into the hands of these Philistines. She smooths her face over with a complimenting lie from her mistress to Mr. Campbell, and acted her part of deceit so well, that he promised to follow her to the Five Bells with all haste; and so she scuttled back to prepare the captain, and to tell him how lucky she was in mischief; and how she drew him out by smiles into perdition. The short of the story is, when they got him in among them, they endeavoured to assassinate him, but they missed of their aim; yet it is certain they left him in a very terrible and bloody condition; and the captain went away in as bad a plight as the person was left in, whom he assaulted so cowardly with numbers, and to such disadvantage. I was sent for to him upon this disaster, and the story was delivered to me thus, by one of the drawers of the tavern, when I inquired into it. They began to banter him, and speaking to him as if he heard, asked him if he knew his own fortune; they told him it was to be beaten to death. This was an odd way of addressing a deaf and dumb man. They added, they would make him speak before they had done. The boy, seeing he made no reply, but only smiled, thought what passed between them was a jest with an old acquaintance, and withdrew about his business. The door being fastened, however, before they began the honourable attack, they vouchsafed to write down their intent in the words above mentioned, which they had uttered before to make sure that he should understand their meaning, and what this odd way of correction was for. All the while the maid who had brought him into it was peeping through a hole and watching the event, as appears afterwards. Mr. Campbell wrote them the following answer, viz. That he hoped for fair play; that he understood bear-garden as well as they; but if a gentleman was amongst them, he would expect gentlemanly usage. The rejoinder they made to this, consisted, it seems, not of words but of action. The officer, in conjunction with another ruffian, one of the strongest of the three he had brought, commenced the assault. As good luck would have it, he warded off their first blows, it seems, with tolerable success; and a wine quart-pot standing upon the table, Duncan took to his arms, and at two or three quick blows, well managed, and close laid in upon the assailants, felled them both to the ground. Here it was that the maid discovered her knowledge of it, and privity to the plot, to the whole house; for she no sooner sees the famous leader, the valiant captain, lie sprawling on the floor with bleeding temples, but she shrieked out with all the voice she could exert, 'Murder, murder, murder!' Alarmed at this outcry, the master and all the attendants of the tavern scampered upstairs, burst into the room, and found Duncan Campbell struggling with the other two, and the quart-pot still fast clenched in his hand, which they were endeavouring to wrench from him. The drawers rescued him out of their hands, and inquired into the matter. The maid in a fright confessed the whole thing. The officer and his associate rubbed their eyes as recovering from a stunning sleep, reeled as they went to rise, paid the reckoning, and slunk pitifully away; or, as the rakes' term for it is, they brushed off, and for all their odds had the worst of the lay. I, who had some authority with Mr. Campbell, by reason of my years, and the strict acquaintance I had with his mother, when I came and found him in that pickle, and had the whole relation told me by the people of the house, though I could not forbear pitying him within my own mind, took upon me to reprehend him, and told him that these hardships would by Providence be daily permitted to fall upon him (for he met with them twenty times) while he continued in that irregular way of living and spending his time, that might be so precious to himself and many others, in drunkenness and debauchery; and I think the lessons I wrote down to him upon that head, though a little severe just at that juncture, were, notwithstanding, well timed, and did, as I guessed they would, make a more solid impression in him than at any other. In all these scuffles (whether it is that being deaf and dumb an affront works deeper upon a man, and so renders him far more fierce or resolute) it must be said, that, though nature has been kind in making him very strong, robust, and active withal, yet he has bore some shocks, we would imagine, beyond the strength of a man, having sometimes got the better of five or six ruffians in rencounters of the like kind.

The next banter he met with was in a gentleder way, from an unbelieving lady; and yet she came off with very ill success, and the banter turned all upon herself in the end.

A lady of distinction (whose name shall therefore be concealed in this place) came with two or three of her special friends, who took her for the most merry, innocent, spotless virgin upon earth, and whose modesty was never suspected in the least by her relations or servants that were nearest about her. After having rallied Mr. Campbell with several trivolous questions, doubting his

capacity, and vexing and teasing him with gay impertinencies beyond all patience, was by him told, that he did not take fees in his profession to be made a jest of like a common-fortune-teller, but to do real good to those who consulted him, as far as he was able by his predictions; that he was treated with more respect by persons of a higher condition, though her own was very good, and so offered her guinea back again with a bow and a smile. She had a little more generosity of spirit than not to be a little nettled at the proffer she had caused by so coarse an usage. She affected appearing grave a little, and told him she would be serious for the future, and asked him to set down her name, which she had neglected before, to ask other questions that were nothing to the purpose. He promised to write it down; but pausing a little longer than ordinary about it, she returned to her former way of uncivil merriment and ungallant raillery. She repeated to him in three or four little scraps of paper, one after another, as fast as she could write them, the same words, viz. That he could not tell her name, nor whether she was maid, wife, or widow; and laughed as if she would split her sides, triumphing to the rest of her companions over his ignorance and her own wit, as if she had posed him, and put him to an entire stand. But see what this overweening opinion of security ended in: the man of the second-sight was not to be so easily baffled. Vexed at being so disturbed, and coming out of his brown study, he reaches the paper and begins to write. Now it was the lady's turn to suffer; she had deserved hearty punishment, and it came into her hands with the note, to a degree of severity, as you will perceive by the contents of it just now. She read it, and swooning away, dropped from her chair. The whole room being in a bustle, I, that was in the outward chamber, ran in. While Mr. Campbell was sprinkling water in her face, a lady snatched up the note to read it, at which he seemed mightily displeased: I, therefore, who understood his signs, recovered it out of her hands by stratagem, and ran to burn it; which I did so quick, that I was not discovered in the curiosity which I must own I satisfied myself in by reading it first; a curiosity raised too high by so particular an adventure, to be overcome in so little a time of thought, as I was to keep it in my hands; and so I came by the knowledge of it myself, without being informed by Mr. Campbell. This shows how a sudden curiosity, when there is not time given to think and correct it, may overcome a man as well as a woman; for I was never over-curious in my life, and though I was pleased with the oddness of the adventure, I often blushed to myself since for the unmanly weakness of not being able to step with a note from one room to another to the fireside, without peeping into the contents of it. The contents of it were these: 'Madam, since you provoke me, your name is——. You are no widow, you are no wife, and yet you are no maid; you have a child at nurse at such a place, by such a gentleman; and you were brought to bed in Leicestershire.' The lady, convinced by this answer of his strange and mystical power, and pleased with his civility in endeavouring to conceal from others the secret, after so many repeated provocations, though she showed great disorder for that day, became one of his constant attenders some time after, and would not take any step in her affairs without his advice, which, she often has said since, she found very much to her advantage. She was as serious in her dealings with him afterwards, and improved by being so, as she was gay and turbulent with him before, and smarted for it. In fine, she was a thorough convert, and a votary of his; and the only jest she used afterwards to make concerning him, was a civil witticism to his wife, to whom she was wont, every now and then, smiling, to address herself after this manner: 'Your husband, madam, is a devil, but he is a very handsome and a very civil one.'

Not long after this came another lady, with a like intent, to impose upon him; and was resolved, as she owned, to have laughed him to scorn if she had succeeded in her attempt. She had very dexterously dressed herself in her woman's habit, and her woman in her own; her footman squired the new-made lady in a very gentlemanly dress, hired for that purpose of a disguise from Monmouth Street. The strange and unknown masqueraders entered Mr. Campbell's room with much art. The fellow was by nature of a clean make, and had a good look; and from following a genteel master when he was young, copied his gait a little, and had some appearance of a mien, and a tolerable good air about him. But this being the first time of his being so fine, and he a little vain in his temper, he over-acted his part; he strutted too much; he was as fond of his ruffles, his watch, his sword, his cane, and his snuff-box, as a boy of being newly put into breeches; and viewed them all too often to be thought the possessor of any such things long. The affectation of the chamber-maid was insufferable; she had the toss of the head, the jut of the bum, the sidelong leer of the eye, the imperious look upon her lady, now degraded into her woman, that she was intolerable, and a person without the gift of the second-sight would have guessed her to have been a pragmatical upstart, though it is very probable that during that time she fancied herself really better than her mistress. The mistress acted her part of maid the best; for it is easier for genteel modesty to act a low part, than for affected vanity to act a high one. She kept her distance like a servant, but would, to disguise things the better, be every now and then pert, according to their way, and give occasion to be chid. But there is an air of gentility inborn and inbred to some people; and even when they aim to be awkward, a certain grace will attend all their minutest actions and gestures, and command love, respect, and veneration. I must therefore own that there was not need of a man's being a conjuror to guess who ought to be the lady and who the maid; but to know who absolutely was the lady, and who was the maid, did require that skill. For how many such real ladies have we, that are made so from such upstarts; and how many genteel waiting-women of great descent, that are born with a grace about them, and are bred to good manners? Mr. Campbell's art made him positive in the case: he took the patches from the face of the maid, and placed them on the mistress's; he pulled off her hood and scarf, and gave it the lady; and taking from the lady her riding-hood, gave it the maid in exchange; for ladies at that time of day were not entered into that fashion of cloaking themselves. Then he wrote down that he should go out, and ought to send his maid in to undress them quite, and give the mistress her own clothes and the maid hers, and with a smile wrote down both their names, and commended her contrivance. But after that, it was remarked by the lady that he paid her less respect than she expected, and more to her footman, who was in a gentleman's habit, whom he took aside, and told a great many fine things; whereas he would tell the lady nothing farther. The lady, nettled at

this, wrote to him that she had vanity enough to believe that she might be distinguished from her maid in any dress, but that he had shown his want of skill in not knowing who that gentleman was. Mr. Campbell told her her mistake in sharp terms; and begging her pardon, assured her he knew several chamber-maids as genteel and as well-born as her, and many mistresses more awkward and worse-born than her maid; that he did not go therefore by the rule of guess and judging what ought to be, but by the rule of certainty and the knowledge of what actually was. She, however, unsatisfied with that answer, perplexed him mightily to know who the man was. He answered, he would be a great man. The lady laughed scornfully, and said she wanted to know who he was, not what he would be. He answered again, he was her footman, but that she would have a worse. She grew warm, and desired to be informed, why, since he knew the fellow's condition, he respected her so little and him so much, and accused him of want of practising manners, if he had not want of knowledge. He answered, 'Madam, since you will be asking questions too far, this footman will advance himself to the degree of a gentleman, and have a woman of distinction to his wife; while you will degrade yourself by a marriage to be the wife of a footman. His ambition is laudable, your condescension mean; therefore I give him the preference. I have given you fair warning and wholesome advice; you may avoid your lot by prudence; but his will certainly be what I tell you.'

This coming afterwards to pass exactly as was predicted, and his disappointing so many that had a mind to impose upon him, has rendered him pretty free from such wily contrivances since, though now and then they have happened, but still to the mortification and disappointment of the contrivers. But as we have not pretended to say, with regard to these things, that he has his genius always at his elbow or his beck, to whisper in his ear the names of persons, and such little constant events as these; so, that we may not be deemed to give a fabulous account of his life and adventures, we think ourselves bound to give the reader an insight into the particular power and capacity which he has for bringing about these particular performances, especially that of writing down names of strangers at first sight, which I don't doubt will be done to the satisfaction of all persons who shall read the succeeding chapter, concerning the gift of the second-sight.

CHAPTER VII.

Concerning the Second-Sight.

Mr. Martin lately published a book, entitled, *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, called by the Ancient Geographers, Hebrides.* It contains many curious particulars relating to the natural and civil history of those islands, with a map of them; and in his preface he tells us, that perhaps it is peculiar to those isles that they have never been described till now, by any man that was a native of the country, or had travelled them, as himself has done: and in the conclusion of the said preface he tells us, he has given here such an account of the second-sight as the nature of the thing will bear, which has always been reckoned sufficient among the unbiassed part of mankind; but for those that will not be satisfied, they ought to oblige us with a new scheme, by which we may judge of matters of fact. The chief particulars he has given us concerning the second-sight, are here set down by way of abstract or epitome, that they may not be tedious to the reader.

1. In the second-sight, the vision makes such a lively impression on the seers, that they neither see nor think of anything else but the vision so long as it continues; and then they appear pensive or jovial, according to the object which was presented to them.

2. At the sight of a vision, the eyelids of the person are erected, and the eyes continue staring till the objects vanish, as has often been observed by the author and others present.

3. There is one in Skye, an acquaintance of whom observed, that when he sees a vision, the inner part of his eyelids turns so far upward that, after the object disappears, he must draw them down with his fingers; and sometimes employs others to draw them down, which he finds to be much the easier way.

4. The faculty of the second-sight does not lineally descend in a family, as some imagine, for he knows several parents that are endowed with it, but not their children; and so, on the contrary, neither is it acquired by any previous compact; and, after a strict inquiry, he could never learn from any among them that this faculty was communicable any way whatsoever.

Note, That this account is differing from the account that is given by Mr. Aubrey, a Fellow of the Royal Society; and I think Mr. Martin's reason here against the descent of this faculty from parents to children is not generally conclusive. For though he may know parents endowed with it and not children, and so *vice versa*, yet there may be parents who are endowed with it, being qualified, as Mr. Aubrey has said (viz. both being second-sighted, or even one in an extraordinary degree), whose children may have it by descent. And as to this faculty's being any otherwise communicable, since the accounts differ, I must leave it to a farther examination.

5. The seer knows neither the object, time, nor place of a vision before it appears; and the same object is often seen by different persons, living at a considerable distance from one another. The true way of judging as to the time and circumstance of an object is by observation; for several persons of judgment, without this faculty, are more capable to judge of the design of a vision, than a novice that is a seer. As an object appears in the day or night, it will come to pass sooner or later accordingly.

6. If an object be seen early in the morning, which is not frequent, it will be accomplished in a few hours afterwards; if at noon, it will commonly be accomplished that very day; if in the evening, perhaps that night; if after candles be lighted, it will be accomplished that night. It is later always in accomplishment by weeks, months, and sometimes years, according to the time of the night the vision is seen.

7. When a shroud is perceived about one, it is a sure prognostic of death. The time is judged according to the height of it about the person; for if it be not seen above the middle, death is not to be expected for the space of a year, and perhaps some months longer; and as it is frequently seen to ascend higher towards the head, death is concluded to be at hand in a few days, if not hours, as daily experience confirms. Examples of this kind were shown the author, when the persons, of whom the observations were made, enjoyed perfect health.

There was one instance lately of a prediction of this kind, by a seer that was a novice, concerning the death of one of the author's acquaintance. This was communicated to a few only, and with great confidence. The author being one of the number, did not in the least regard it, till the death of the person, about the time foretold, confirmed to him the certainty of the prediction. The foresaid novice is now a skilful seer, as appears from many late instances: he lives in the parish of St. Mary's, the most northern in Skye.

8. If a woman be seen standing at a man's left hand, it is a presage that she will be his wife, whether they are married to others, or unmarried, at the time of the apparition. If two or three women are seen at once standing near a man's left hand, she that is next him will undoubtedly be his wife first, and so on, whether all three, or the man, be single or married at the time of the vision; of which there are several late instances of the author's acquaintance. It is an ordinary thing for them to see a man, that is to come to the house shortly after; and though he be not of the seer's acquaintance, yet he not only tells his name, but gives such a lively description of his stature, complexion, habit, &c., that upon his arrival he answers the character given of him in all respects. If the person so appearing be one of the seer's acquaintance, he can tell by his countenance whether he comes in good or bad humour. The author has been seen thus, by seers of both sexes, at some hundreds of miles' distance. Some that saw him in this manner had never seen him personally, and it happened according to their visions, without any previous design of his to go to those places, his coming there being purely accidental. And in the nineteenth page of his book he tells us that Mr. Daniel Morrison, a minister, told him that, upon his landing in the island Rona, the natives received him very affectionately, and addressed themselves to him with this salutation: 'God save you, Pilgrim! you are heartily welcome here, for we have had repeated apparitions of your person amongst us,' viz. after the manner of the second-sight.

9. It is ordinary with them to see houses, gardens, and trees, in places void of all three; and this in process of time uses to be accomplished; of which he gives an instance in the island of Skye.

10. To see a spark of fire fall upon one's arm or breast, is a forerunner of a dead child to be seen in the arms of those persons; of which there are several fresh instances.

To see a seat empty at the time of one's sitting in it, is a presage of that person's death quickly after.

When a novice, or one that has lately obtained the second-sight, sees a vision in the night-time without doors, and comes near a fire, he presently falls into a swoon.

Some find themselves, as it were, in a crowd of people, having a corpse, which they carry along with them; and after such visions the seers come in sweating, and describe the people that appeared. If there are any of their acquaintance among them, they give an account of their names, and also of the bearers. But they know nothing concerning the corpse.

All those that have the second-sight do not always see these visions at once, though they are together at the time; but if one who has this faculty, designedly touch his fellow-seer, at the instant of a vision's appearing, then the second sees it as well as the first.

11. There is the way of foretelling death by a cry, that they call *taisk*, which some call a *wraith* in the Lowland. They hear a loud cry without doors, exactly resembling the voice of some particular person, whose death is foretold by it; of which he gives a late instance, which happened in the village Rigg, in Skye isle.

12. Things are also foretold by smelling, sometimes, as follows: Fish or flesh is frequently smelt in the fire, when at the same time neither of the two are in the house, or, in any probability, like to be had in it for some weeks or months. This smell several persons have who are endued with the second-sight, and it is always accomplished soon after.

13. Children, horses, and cows have the second-sight, as well as men and women advanced in years.

That children see it, is plain, from their crying aloud at the very instant that a corpse or any other vision appears to an ordinary seer; of which he gives an instance in a child when himself was present.

That horses likewise see it, is very plain, from their violent and sudden starting, when the rider, or seer in company with them, sees a vision of any kind by night or day. It is observable of a horse, that he will not go forward that way, till he be led about at some distance from the common road, and then he is in a sweat. He gives an instance of this in a horse in the Isle of Skye.

That cows have the second-sight, appears from this: that if a woman milking a cow happens to see a vision by the second-sight, the cow runs away in a great fright at the same time, and will not be pacified for some time after.

In reference to this, Paracelsus, tom. ix. *L. de Arte præsagâ*, writes thus: 'Horses also have their auguries, who perceive, by their sight and smell, wandering spirits, witches, and spectres, and the like things; and dogs both see and hear the same.'

Here, in the next place, the author answers objections that have lately been made against the reality of the second-sight.

First, it is objected that these seers are visionary and melancholy people, who fancy they see things that do not appear to them or anybody else.

He answers, the people of these isles, and particularly the seers, are very temperate, and their diet is simple and moderate in quantity and quality; so that their brains are not, in all probability, disordered by undigested fumes of meat or drink. Both sexes are free from hysteric fits, convulsions, and several other distempers of that sort. There are no madmen among them, nor any instance of self-murder. It is observed among them, that a man drunk never has a vision of the second-sight; and he that is a visionary would discover himself in other things as well as in that; nor are such as have the second-sight judged to be visionaries by any of their friends or acquaintance.

Secondly, it is objected that there are none among the learned able to oblige the world with a satisfactory account of these visions; therefore they are not to be believed.

He answers, if everything of which the learned are not able to give a satisfactory account shall be condemned as false and impossible, we shall find many other things, generally believed, which must be rejected as such.

Thirdly, it is objected that the seers are impostors, and the people who believe them are credulous, and easy to be imposed upon.

He answers, the seers are generally illiterate and well-meaning people, and altogether void of

design; nor could he ever learn that any of them made the least gain of it; neither is it reputable among them to have that faculty. Beside, the people of the Isles are not so credulous as to believe an impossibility, before the thing foretold be accomplished; but when it actually comes to pass afterwards, it is not in their power to deny it, without offering violence to their senses and reason. Beside, if the seers were deceivers, can it be reasonable to imagine that all the islanders, who have not the second-sight, should combine together and offer violence to their understandings and senses, to force themselves to believe a lie from age to age? There are several persons among them, whose birth and education raise them above the suspicion of concurring with an imposture merely to gratify an illiterate and contemptible sort of persons. Nor can a reasonable man believe that children, horses, and cows could be engaged in a combination to persuade the world of the reality of a second-sight.

Every vision that is seen comes exactly to pass according to the rules of observation, though novices and heedless persons do not always judge by those rules: concerning which he gives instances.

There are visions seen by several persons, in whose days they are not accomplished; and this is one of the reasons why some things have been seen, that are said never to have come to pass; and there are also several visions seen, which are not understood till they are accomplished.

The second-sight is not a late discovery, seen by one or two in a corner, or a remote isle; but it is seen by many persons of both sexes in several isles, separated about forty or fifty leagues from one another. The inhabitants of many of these isles never had the least converse by word or writing; and this faculty of seeing visions having continued, as we are informed by tradition, ever since the plantation of these isles, without being disproved by the nicest sceptic, after the strictest inquiry, seems to be a clear proof of its reality.

It is observable, that it was much more common twenty or thirty years ago than at present; for one in ten does not see it now, that saw it then.

The second-sight is not confined to the Western Isles alone, the author having an account that it is in several parts of Holland, but particularly in Bommel, where a woman has it, for which she is courted by some and dreaded by others. She sees a smoke about one's face, which is the forerunner of the death of a person so seen; and she actually foretold the deaths of several that lived there. She was living in that town a few winters ago.

The second-sight is likewise in the Isle of Man, as appears by this instance: Captain Leathes, the chief commander of Belfast, in his voyage 1690, lost thirteen men by a violent storm; and upon his landing in the Isle of Man, an ancient man, clerk to a parish there, told him immediately that he had lost thirteen men there. The captain inquired how he came to the knowledge of that. He answered that it was by thirteen lights which he had seen come into the churchyard; as Mr. Sacheverell tells us in his late description of the Isle of Man. Note, that this is like the sight of the corpse candles in Wales, which is also well attested.

Here the author adds many other instances concerning the second-sight, of which I shall set down only a few.

A man in Knockow, in the parish of St. Mary's, the northernmost part of Skye, being in perfect health, and sitting with his fellow-servants at night, was on a sudden taken ill, dropped from his seat backward, and then fell a vomiting; at which the family was much concerned, he having never been subject to the like before; but he came to himself soon after, and had no sort of pain about him. One of the family, who was accustomed to see the second-sight, told them that the man's illness proceeded from a very strange cause, which was thus: An ill-natured woman (whom he named), who lived in the next adjacent village of Bornskittag, came before him in a very angry and furious manner, her countenance full of passion, and her mouth full of reproaches, and threatened him with her head and hands, till he fell over as you have seen him. This woman had a fancy for the man, but was like to be disappointed as to her marrying of him. This instance was told the author by the master of the family, and others who were present when it happened.

Sir Norman Macleod and some others playing at tables, at a game called in Irish, Falmermore, wherein there are three of a side, and each of them throw the dice by turns, there happened to be one difficult point in the disposing of one of the table-men. This obliged the gamester to deliberate before he was to change his man, since upon the disposing of it the winning or losing of the game depended. At length the butler, who stood behind, advised the player where to place the man, with which he complied, and won the game. This being thought extraordinary, and Sir Norman hearing one whisper him in the ear, asked who advised him so skilfully. He answered it was the butler; but this seemed more strange, for it was generally thought he could not play at tables. Upon this Sir Norman asked him how long it was since he had learned to play? and the fellow owned that he had never played in his life, but that he saw the spirit Brownie (a spirit usually seen in that country) reaching his arm over the player's head, and touching the part with his finger where the table-man was to be placed. This was told the author by Sir Norman and others who happened to be present at the time.

Daniel Bow, *alias* Black, an inhabitant of Bornskittag, who is one of the precisest seers in the Isles, foretold the death of a young woman in Minginis within less than twenty-four hours before the time, and accordingly she died suddenly in the fields, though at the time of the prediction she was in perfect health; but the shroud appearing close about her head, was the ground of his confidence that her death was at hand.

The same person foretold the death of a child in his master's arms, by seeing a spark of fire fall on his left arm; and this was likewise accomplished soon after the prediction.

Some of the inhabitants of Harris, sailing round the Isle of Skye, with a design to go to the opposite mainland, were strangely surprised with an apparition of two men hanging down by the ropes that secured the mast, but could not conjecture what it meant. They pursued their voyage, but the wind turning contrary, they were forced into Broadford, in the Isle of Skye, where they found Sir Donald Macdonald keeping a sheriff's court, and two criminals receiving sentence of death there. The ropes and mast of that very boat were made use of to hang those criminals. This was told the author by several, who had this instance related to them by the boat's crew.

Several persons, living in a certain family,

told the author that they had frequently seen two men standing at a gentlewoman's left hand, who was their master's daughter; they told the men's names, and being her equals, it was not doubted but she would be married to one of them; and perhaps to the other after the death of the first. Some time after a third man appeared, who seemed always to stand nearest to her of the three, but the seers did not know him, though they could describe him exactly; and within some months after, this man who was seen last, actually came to the house, and fully answered the description given of him by those who never saw him but in a vision; and he married the woman shortly after. They live in the Isle of Skye, and both themselves and others confirmed the truth of this instance when the author saw them.

Archibald Macdonald, of the parish of St. Mary's in the Isle of Skye, being reputed famous in his skill of foretelling things to come, by the second-sight, happening to be in the village of Knockow one night, and before supper, told the family he had just then seen the strangest thing he ever saw in his life, viz. a man with an ugly long cap, always shaking his head; but that the strangest of all was a little kind of harp which he had, with four strings only, and that it had two hart's horns fixed in the front of it. All that heard this odd vision fell a laughing at Archibald, telling him that he was dreaming, or had not his wits about him, since he pretended to see a thing which had no being, and was not so much as heard of in any part of the world. All this could not alter Archibald's opinion, who told them that they must excuse him if he laughed at them after the accomplishment of the vision. Archibald returned to his own house; and within three or four days after, a man with a cap, harp, etc., came to the house, and the harp, strings, horns, and cap answered the description of them at first view, and he shook his head when he played; for he had two bells fixed to his cap. This harper was a poor man, who made himself a buffoon for his bread, and was never seen before in those parts, and at the time of the prediction he was in the Isle of Barray, which is about twenty leagues distant from that part of Skye. This relation is vouched by Mr. Daniel Martin, and all his family, and such as were then present, and they live in the village where this happened.

One Daniel Nicholson, minister of St. Mary's in Skye, the parish in which Mr. Archibald Macdonald lived, told the author that, one Sunday, after sermon, at the Chapel Uge, he took an occasion to inquire of Archibald if he still retained that unhappy faculty of seeing the second-sight, and wished him to get rid of it, if possible; 'for,' said he, 'it is no true character of a good man.' Archibald was highly displeased, and answered, that he hoped he was no more unhappy than his neighbours, for seeing what they could not perceive. 'I had,' said he, 'as serious thoughts as my neighbours in time of hearing a sermon to-day, and even then I saw a corpse laid on the ground, close to the pulpit; and I assure you it will be accomplished shortly,' for it was in the day-time. There were none in the parish then sick, and few are buried at that little chapel, nay, sometimes not one in a year. Yet when Mr. Nicholson returned to preach in the said chapel, a fortnight or three weeks after, he found one buried in the very spot named by Archibald. This story is vouched by Mr. Nicholson the minister, and several of the parishioners still living.

Note, that it is counted by many an argument of somewhat evil attending upon this faculty of the second-sight, because there are instances given of some persons who have been freed of it upon using some Christian practices. But I shall hereafter show that this opinion cannot be entirely true.

Sir Norman Macleod, who has his residence in the Isle of Bernera, which lies between the isles of North Uist and Harris, went to the Isle of Skye about business, without appointing any time for his return; his servants, in his absence, being all together in the large hall at night, one of them, who had the second-sight, told the rest they must remove, for there would be abundance of other company in the hall that night. One of his fellow-servants answered that there was very little likelihood of that, because of the darkness of the night, and the danger of coming through the rocks that lie round the isle; but within an hour after, one of Sir Norman's men came to the house, bidding them provide lights, &c., for his master had newly landed.

Sir Norman being told of this, called for the seer and examined him about it. He answered, that he had seen the spirit Brownie, in human shape, come several times and make a show of carrying an old woman, that sat by the fire, to the door, and at last seemed to carry her out by neck and heels, which made him laugh heartily, and gave occasion to the rest to conclude him mad, to laugh so much without any reason. This instance was told the author by Sir Norman himself.

Four men from the Isle of Skye and Harris went to Barbadoes, and stayed there some years, who though they had wont to see the second-sight in their native country, never saw it in Barbadoes; but upon their return to England, the first night after their landing, they saw the second-sight, as the author was told by several of their acquaintance.

John Morrison, who lives in Bernera of Harris, wears the plant called *fuga dæmonum* sewed in the neck of his coat, to prevent his seeing of visions, and says, he never saw any since he first carried that plant about him.

A spirit, by the country people called Brownie, was frequently seen in all the most considerable families in the isles, and north of Scotland, in the shape of a tall man, having very long brown hair; but within these twenty years past he has been seen but rarely.

There were spirits also that appeared in the shape of women, horses, swine, cats, and some like fiery bulls, which would follow men in the fields; but there have been but few instances of these for upwards of forty years past.

These spirits used also to form sounds in the air, resembling those of a harp, pipes, crowing of a cock, and of the grinding of hand-mills; and sometimes voices have been heard in the air at night, singing Irish songs; the words of which songs some of the author's acquaintances still retain; one of them resembled the voice of a woman who died some time before, and the song related to her state in the other world. All these accounts, the author says, he had from persons of as great integrity as any are in the world. So far Mr. Martin, whose account is so long, that I have given the reader only a short abridgment thereof; and shall therefore satisfy myself, without relating any further passages, by directing the reader to others also, learned men, who have written on the same subject. Laurentius Ananias printed a volume in Latin, at Venice, anno 1581, about the nature of demons;

where, in the third book, he writes concerning the second-sight. The learned Camerarius does the like, and names a person of his own acquaintance whom he testifies to have had that gift. St. Austin himself testifies something (not very different from what we now call the gift of the second-sight) of one Curina, who lived in the country of Hippo, in Africa. Bonaysteau tells us something like it in his *Disc. de Excell. et Dig. Hominis*, concerning the spirit of Hermotimus. So do likewise Herodotus and Maximus Tyrius, about the spirit of Aristæus. Cardan does the same in his *De Rerum Variet.* l. 8. c. 84, of his kinsman Baptista Cardan, a student at Pavia. Baptista Fulgosus tells us of what we call the second-sight, in other words, in his *Fact. et Dict. Memorab.* l. 1, c. 6. Among our own countrymen, the Lord Henry Howard, in the book he writ against supposed prophecies, in his seventeenth chapter, tells us a wonderful story of this kind of sight; and sure that noble lord may be looked upon as an unexceptionable testimony, in a story he relates of his own knowledge, he having otherwise little faith in things of this kind. Mr. Cotton Mather, a minister of New England, in his relation of the wonders of the invisible world, inserted in his ecclesiastical history of that country, printed in London, anno 1702, in folio, has given us several instances of this kind, as also of many other diabolical operations. Mr. Baxter's book concerning *The Certainty of the World of Spirits*, has the like proofs in it. Mr. Aubrey, Fellow of the Royal Society, has written largely concerning second-sighted persons; so has Mr. Beaumont, in his book of *Genii and Familiar Spirits*, who has collected almost all the other accounts together; and many others, whose very names it would be tedious to recite. However, as there are a few more passages, very curious in themselves, I will venture so far upon the reader's patience, as not only to recite the names of the authors, but the accounts themselves, in as succinct and brief a manner as it is possible for any one to do.

Mr. Th. May, in his History, lib. 8, writes, that an old man, like a hermit, second-sighted, took his leave of King James I. when he came into England; he took little notice of Prince Henry, but addressing himself to the Duke of York, since King Charles I., fell a weeping to think what misfortunes he should undergo; and that he should be one of the most miserable and most unhappy princes that ever was.

A Scotch nobleman sent for one of these second-sighted men out of the Highlands, to give his judgment of the then great George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. As soon as ever he saw him; 'Pish,' said he, 'he will come to nothing, I see a dagger in his breast;' and he was stabbed in the breast by Captain Felton, as has been at large recounted in some of the foregoing pages.

Sir James Melvin hath several the like passages in his history.

A certain old man in South Wales, told a great man there of the fortune of his family, and that there should not be a third male generation. It has fallen out accordingly.

Sir William Dugdale, with his own mouth, informed several gentlemen that Major-General Middleton (since Lord) went into the Highlands of Scotland to endeavour to make a party for King Charles I. An old gentleman, that was second-sighted, came and told him that his endeavour was good, but he would be unsuccessful; and, moreover, that they would put the king to death; and that several other attempts would be made, but all in vain; but that his son would come in, but not reign in a long time; but would at last be restored. This Lord Middleton had a great friendship with the laird Bocconi, and they made an agreement, that the first of them that died should appear to the other in extremity. The Lord Middleton was taken prisoner at Worcester fight, and was prisoner in the Tower of London, under three locks. Lying in his bed, pensive, Bocconi appeared to him. My Lord Middleton asked him if he were dead or alive? He said, Dead; and that he was a ghost; and told him that within three days he should escape; and he did so, in his wife's clothes; when he had done his message, he gave a frisk, and said—

> Givanni, Givanni, 'tis very strange,
> In the world to see so sudden a change;

and then gathered up and vanished. This account Sir William Dugdale had from the Bishop of Edinburgh; and this account he hath writ in a Book of Miscellanies, which is now reposited (with other books of his) in the Museum at Oxford.

Thus the reader sees what great authorities may be produced to prove that wonderful and true predictions have been delivered by many persons gifted with the second-sight. The most learned men in almost all nations, who are not in all likelihood deceived themselves; the most celebrated and authentic historians, and some divines in England, who, it is not to be thought, have combined together and made it their business to obtrude upon us falsehoods; persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, in Scotland, who, it would be even madness to think, would join in a confederacy to impose tricks upon us, and to persuade us to the greatest of impostures as solemn truths delivered from their own mouths; all these, I say, have unanimously, and, as it were, with one voice, asserted, repeated, and confirmed to us, that there have been at all times, and in many different nations, and that still there are persons, who, possessed with the gift of a second-sight, predict things that wonderfully come to pass; and seem to merit very little less than the name of prophets for their miraculous discoveries. Now, if any man should come, and without giving the least manner of reason for it (for there is no reason to be given against such assertions), declare his disbelief of all these authentic, though strange accounts, can he with reason imagine that his incredulity shall pass for a token of wisdom? Shall his obstinacy confute the learned? Shall his want of faith be thought justly to give the lie to so many persons of the highest honour and quality, and of the most undoubted integrity? In fine, shall his infidelity, by a reverse kind of power to that which is attributed to the philosopher's stone, be able to change the nature of things, turn and transmute truth into falsehood, and make a downright plain matter of fact to be no more than a chimera, or an *ens rationis?* And shall a manifest experience be so easily exploded?

Taking it therefore for granted, that no modest man whatsoever (though never so hard of belief, which is certainly as great a weakness as that of too much credulity) will make bold openly to declare his disbelief of things so well attested; and taking it much more for granted still, that it is impossible for any man of common sense to have the front of declaring his disbelief of them in such a manner as to urge it for an argument and a reason why others should disbelieve them too; taking this, I say, as I think I very well may, for granted, I think there remains nothing farther for

me to offer, before I conclude this chapter, except a few remarks as to the similitude there is between those actions which I have related above to have been performed by Mr. Campbell, and these actions which so many learned, ingenious, and noble authors, as I have just now quoted, have asserted to have been performed by persons whom they know to be gifted with the second-sight.

As to what is said, several pages above, concerning Duncan Campbell when a boy at Edinburgh, that he even told his little companions who would have success at their little matches when they played at marbles, and that he informed a great gamester there, whose name I have disguised under that of Count Cog, what times he should choose to play if he would win, as ludicrous as it may have appeared to be, and as much as it may have seemed to my readers to carry with it nothing better than the face of invention and the air of fiction, yet if they will be at the pains of comparing that passage of Duncan Campbell's with the account given in this chapter from the mouth of Sir Norman Macleod, concerning a man, who, though he never played at tables in his life, instructed a skilful gamester, when he was at a stand, to place one of his men right, upon which the whole game depended, which the ignorant fellow, when asked how he came to do it, said he was directed to it by the spirit Brownie; whoever, I say, will be at the pains of comparing these passages together, will find they bear a very near resemblance, and that the way we may most reasonably account for Duncan Campbell's prediction when he was a boy, must be, that he was at that time directed by his little genius or familiar spirit, which I described in the precedent pages, as this fellow was by the spirit Brownie, according to Sir Norman Macleod's assertion; which spirit Brownie, as Mr. Martin, a very good and credited writer, assures us, in his *History of the Western Islands*, dedicated to the late Prince George of Denmark, is a spirit usually seen all over that country.

If the reader recollects, he will remember likewise, that in the little discourse which I mentioned to have been held between me and this Duncan Campbell, when a boy, concerning his little genius, I there say, the boy signified to me that he smelt venison, and was sure that some would come to his mother's house shortly after: accordingly I came thither that morning from the death of a deer, and ordered a part of it to be brought after me to her house. Now Mr. Martin's twelfth observation about the second-sight, in this chapter, clears it plainly up that this knowledge in the boy proceeded from the gift of second-sight. Not to give the reader too often the trouble of looking back in order to judge of the truth of what I say, I will here repeat that observation, which is as follows: 'Things are also foretold by smelling sometimes; for example, fish or flesh is frequently smelt in the fire, when, at the same time, neither of the two are in the house, or, in any probability, like to be had in it for some weeks or months. This smell several persons have, who are endued with the second-sight, and it is always accomplished soon after.'

But I will here omit any farther remarks by way of accounting how he compassed his predictions when a boy, either by the intervention of his genius, or the gift of a second-sight; and examine how nearly those things, which I have related to have been done by him in his more advanced years, when he took up the profession of a predictor, in London, correspond with the accounts given us in this chapter about a second-sight, and how near a resemblance the things done by him bear to those things that are so well attested to have been performed by others, through the efficacious power of this wonderful faculty.

First, then, if we have a mind to make a tolerable guess which way Mr. Campbell came acquainted that the death of the beautiful young lady, Miss W—lw—d, was so near at hand, and that, though she was so universally admired, she would die unmarried, the accounts given of other second-sighted persons in the like cases, will put us in the most probable way of guessing right. This is explained by the seventh observation in this chapter, where it is said from Mr. Martin, that when a shroud is perceived about one, it is a sure prognostic of death: the time is judged according to the height of it about the person; for if it be not seen above the middle, death is not to be expected for the space of a year or longer; but as it comes nearer to the head, it is expected sooner; if to the very head, it is concluded to be at hand, within a few days, if not hours. Of this we have an example, of which Mr. Martin was an eye-witness concerning the death of his own acquaintance; but he did not in the least regard it, till the death of the person, about the time foretold, confirmed to him the certainty of the prediction.

Secondly, as to the ignominious death that Irwin came to, and which he predicted to his mother so long before, when she was in flourishing circumstances, and when there was no appearance that any of her children should be brought to a beggarly condition, and learn among base gangs of company to thieve, and be carried to the gallows: the story told in this chapter of some of the inhabitants of Harris, sailing round the Isle of Skye, and seeing the apparition of two men hanging by the ropes on the mast of their vessel, and when they came to the opposite mainland, finding two criminals just sentenced to death by Sir Donald Macdonald, and seeing their own very mast and ropes made choice of for their execution, clears up the manner how Mr. Campbell might predict this of Irwin likewise, by the force of the second-sight.

Thirdly, as to Mr. Campbell's telling Christallina, the belle and chief toast of the court, and Urbana, the reigning beauty of the city, that they should shortly be married, and who were to be their husbands, it is a thing he has done almost every day in his life to one woman or other, that comes to consult him about the man she is to be married to; the manner he probably takes in doing this may be likewise explained by the foregoing story in this chapter about the servants, who said they saw three men standing by the left hand of their master's daughter; and that he that was nearest would marry her first, whom they plainly and exactly described, though they had never seen him but in their vision, as appeared afterwards. For within some months after, the very man described did come to the house, and did marry her. *Vide* the eighth observation of the second-sight.

Fourthly, as to the predictions delivered by Mr. Campbell to the merchant, which are set down at length in the foregoing chapter, I know no better way at guessing the manner how the second-sight operated in him at that time, than by comparing them to these two instances, which I briefly repeat, because they are set down at length before, in this chapter. And first it may be asked, how did the second-sight operate in Mr Campbell, when it gave him to know that the merchant's ships, which repeated intelligences had in appearance confirmed to be lost, were at that time safe, and would return securely home into the

harbour designed? The best way of accounting for it, that I know, is by the story that Sir Norman Macleod is above affirmed to have told with his own mouth, concerning a servant of his, who rightly foretold his returning home and landing on the Isle of Bernera one night, where his residence is, when there was very little or no likelihood of it, because of the darkness of the night, and the danger of coming through the rocks that lie round the isle. When Sir Norman examined him about it, he answered that he knew it by a vision of the spirit Brownie; and hence it may be the most probably conjectured that Mr. Campbell's knowledge of the merchant's ships being safe came from a vision of his particular genius, or familiar spirit, which we spoke of before. What I have already instanced in, is, I think, sufficient with regard to the wonderful things which Mr. Campbell has performed, either by the intervention of a genius, or the power of a second-sight. But as he has frequently done a great many amazing performances, which seem to be of such a nature that they can't be well and clearly explained to have been done either by the intervention of his familiar spirit and genius, or by the power of the second-sighted faculty, we must have recourse to the third means by which only such predictions and practices can be compassed, before we expound these new mysteries, which appear like incredible riddles and enigmas at the first; and this third means which we must have recourse to for expounding these strange acts of his, is a due consideration of the force and power of natural magic, which, together with a narrative of the acts, which he seems magically to bring about, will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

But before we proceed to our disquisitions concerning the power and efficacy of natural magic, and examine what mysterious operations may be brought about and compassed by magical practices, and before we take a farther survey of what Mr. Campbell has performed in this kind, that relates to his profession and the public part of his life, which concerns other people as well as himself, I shall here relate some singular adventures that he passed through in his private life, and which regard only his own person. In order to this, I must return back to the year 1702, about which time some unaccountable turns of fortune attended him in his own private capacity, which must be very surprising and entertaining to my readers, when they find a man, whose foresight was always so great a help and assistance to others, who consulted him in their own future affairs, helpless (as it has been an observation concerning all such men in the account of the second-sight) and blind in his own future affairs, tossed up and down by inevitable and spiteful accidents of fortune, and made the May-game of chance and hazard, as if that wayward and inconstant goddess was resolved to punish him, when she catched him on the blind side, for having such a quick insight and penetrating faculty in other people's matters, and scrutinizing too narrowly into her mysteries, and so sometimes preventing those fatal intentions of hers, into which she would fain lead many mortals hoodwinked, and before they knew where they were. In this light, these mighty and famous seers seem to be born for the benefit and felicity of others, but at the same time to be born to unhappiness themselves. And certainly, inasmuch as we consider them as useful and beneficial often, but always satisfactory to persons who are curious in their inquiries about their fortunes, it will be natural to those of us who have the least share of generosity in our minds, to yield our pity and compassion to them when they are remarkably unfortunate themselves, especially when that calamity seems more particularly to light upon them for their ability, and endeavour to consult the good fortune of other folks.

About the above-mentioned year, 1702, Duncan Campbell grew a little tired of his profession; such a multitude of followers troubled him, several of whom were wild youths, and came to hector him, and many more too inquisitive females to tease him with endless impertinences, and who, the more he told them, had still the more to ask, and whose curiosity was never to be satisfied; and, besides this, he was so much envied, and had so many malicious artifices daily practised against him, that he resolved to leave off his profession. He had, I know, followed it pretty closely from the time I first saw him in London, which was, I think, in the beginning of the year 1698, till the year 1702, with very good success; and in those few years he had got together a pretty round sum of money. Our young man was now at man's estate, and had learned the notion that he was to be his own governor, so far as to be his own counsellor too in what road of life he was to take; and this consideration, no doubt, worked with a deeper impression on his mind than it usually does on others that are in the same blossoming pride of manhood, because it might appear more natural for him to believe that he had a sufficient ability to be his own proper adviser, who had given so many others, and some more aged than himself, counsel with very good success. Now every experienced person knows, that when manhood is yet green, it is still in the same dangerous condition as a young plant, which is liable to be warped by a thousand cross fortuitous accidents, if good measures be not taken to support it against all the contingent shocks it may meet with from the weather or otherwise. Now it was his misfortune to be made averse to business, which he loved before, by having too much of it, and to be so soured by meeting with numerous perplexities and malicious rubs laid in his way by invidious people (who are the useless and injurious busybodies that always repine at the good of others, and rejoice to do harm to the diligent and assiduous, though they reap no profit by it themselves), that he was disgusted, and deterred entirely from the prosecution of a profession by which he got not only a competent, but a copious and plentiful subsistence. Nay, indeed, this was another mischief arising to him from his having so much business, that he had got money enough to leave it off when the perplexities of it had made him willing to do so, and to live very comfortably and handsomely, like a gentleman, without it for a time; and we know the youngest men are not wont to look the farthest before them in matters that concern their own welfare. Now, inasmuch as he had thus taken a disgust to business and application, and was surfeited, as I may say, with the perplexities of it, it must be as natural for him, we know, to search for repose in the contrary extreme, viz. recreation and idleness, as it is for a man to seek rest after toil, to sleep after a day's labour, or to sit down after a long and tiresome walk. But there are two very distinct sorts of idleness, and two very different kinds of recreation; there is a shameful idleness, which is no better than

downright sloth; and there is a splendid kind of indolence, where a man having taken an aversion to the wearisomeness of a business which properly belongs to him, neglects not, however, to employ his thoughts, when they are vacant from what they ought more chiefly to be about, in other matters not entirely unprofitable in life, the exercise of which he finds he can follow with more abundant ease and satisfaction. There are some sorts of recreations, too, that are mean, sordid, and base; others that are very innocent, though very diverting, and that will give one the very next most valuable qualifications of a gentleman, after those which are obtained by a more serious application of the mind. The idea which I have already given my readers of our Duncan Campbell will easily make them judge, before I tell them, which way (in these two ways) his genius would naturally lead him; and that, when he grew an idle man, he would rather indulge himself with applying his mind to the shining trifles of life, than be wholly slothful and inactive; and that, when he diverted himself, he would not do it after a sordid, base manner, as having a better taste and a relish for good company, but that his recreations would still be the recreations of a gentleman. And just accordingly as my readers would naturally judge beforehand in his case, so it really happened. The moment he shook off business, and dismissed the thoughts of it, his genius led him to a very gallant way of life; in his lodgings, in his entertainments, in paying and receiving visits, in coffee-houses, in taverns, in fencing-schools, in balls, and other public assemblies; in all ways, in fine, both at home and abroad, Duncan Campbell was a well-comported and civil fine gentleman; he was a man of pleasure, and nothing of the man of business appeared about him. But a gentleman's life, without a gentleman's estate, however shining and pleasant it may be for a time, will certainly end in sorrow, if not in infamy; and comparing life, as moralists do, to a day, one may safely pronounce this truth to all the splendid idlers I have mentioned, that if they have sunshiny weather till noon, yet the afternoon of their life will be very stormy, rainy, and uncomfortable; and perhaps, just at the end of their journey (to carry on the metaphor throughout), close in the darkest kind of night. Of this, as I was a man of years, and more experienced in the world than he, I took upon me to forewarn Mr. Campbell, as soon as I perceived the first dangerous fit of this elegant idleness had seized him. But when will young men, by so much the more headstrong as they have less of the beard, be guided and brought to learn? and when shall we see that happy age in which the grey heads of old men shall be clapped upon the shoulders of youth? I told him, that in this one thing he ought to consult me, and acknowledge me to be a true prophet, if I told him the end of the seeming merry steps in life he was now taking would infallibly bring him to a labyrinth of difficulties, out of which, if he extricated himself at all, he would at least find it a laborious piece of work. His taste had been already vitiated with the sweets which lay at the top of the bitter draught of fortune; and my honest, rugged counsel came too late to prevail, when his fancy had decoyed and debauched his judgment, and carried it over into another interest. I remember I writ down to him the moral story, where vicious Pleasure and Virtue are pictured by the philosopher to appear before Hercules, to court him into two several paths. I told him more particularly, since he had not an estate to go through with the gentlemanly life, as he called it, that, if he followed the alluring pleasures which endeavoured to tempt Hercules, he would involve himself at last in a whole heap of miseries, out of which it would be more than a Herculean labour for him to disentangle himself again. If he had been a man that could have ever heard with either, I would have told the reader, in a very familiar idiom, that he turned the deaf ear to me; for he did not mind one syllable or tittle of the prescriptions I set down for him, no more than if he had never read them; but, varying the phrase a little, I may say at least, when he should have looked upon my counsel with all the eyes he had, he turned the blind side upon it. I was resolved to make use of the revenge natural to a man of years, and therefore applied that reproachful proverb to him which we ancients delight much in making use of to youths that follow their own false and hot imaginations, and will not heed the cooler dictates of age, experience, and wisdom. Accordingly, I wrote down to him these words, and left him in a seeming passion: 'I am very well assured, young man, you think me, that am old, to be a fool; but I that am old absolutely know you, who are a young fellow, to be a downright fool; and so I leave you to follow your own ways till sad and woful experience teaches you to know it your own self, and makes you come to me to own it of your own accord.' As I was going away, after this tart admonition and severe reprimand, I had a mind to observe his countenance, and I saw him smile; which I rightly construed to be done in contempt of the advice of age, and in the gaiety and fulness of conceit which youth entertains of its own fond opinions and hare-brained rash resolves. He was got into the company of a very pretty set of gentlemen, whose fortunes were far superior to his; but he followed the same genteel exercises, as fencing, &c., and made one at all their public entertainments; and so, being at an equal expense with those who could well afford to spend what they did out of their estates, he went on very pleasantly for a time, still spending and never getting, without ever considering that it must, by inevitable consequence, fall to his lot at last to be entirely reduced to a state of indigence and want. And what commonly heightens the misfortunes of such men (and so of all gentlemen's younger brothers,) who live upon the ready money that is given them for their portions is, that the prosperity they live in for a time gains them credit enough just to bring them in debt, and render them more miserable than those very wretches who never had either any money or credit at all. They run themselves into debt out of shame, and to put off the evil day of appearing ruined men as long as they can; and then, when their tempers are soured by adversity, they grow tired of their own lives, and then, in a quarrel, they or some other gentleman, may be, is run through; or else, being hunted by bailiffs, they exercise their swords upon those pursuers. Thus, where gentlemen will not consider their circumstances, their very prosperity is a cause of, and aggravates their misery; their very pride (which was a decent pride at first), in keeping up and maintaining their credit, subjects them too often to the lowest and the meanest acts; and their courage, which was of a laudable kind, turns into a brutish and savage rage; and all the fine, esteemed-flourishing and happy gentleman, ends, and is lost in the contemned, poor, and miserable desperado, whose portion at last is confinement and a gaol, and sometimes even worse, and what I shall not so much as name here. Into many of these calamities Mr. Campbell had brought himself before

it was long by his heedlessness, and running, according to the wild dictates of youth, counter to all sound and wholesome advice. He had, it seems, run himself into debt; and one day as he was at a coffee-house, the sign of the Three Crowns in Great Queen-street, in rushed four bailiffs upon him, who, being directed by the creditor's wife, had watched him into that house, and told him they had a warrant against him; and upon his not answering, they being unacquainted with his being deaf and dumb, offered to seize his sword. He startled at their offering of violence; and taking them for ruffians (which he had often met with), repelled the assaulters; and drawing his sword, as one man, more bold than the rest, closed in with him, he shortened his blade, and in the fall pinned the fellow through the shoulder, and himself through the leg, to the floor. After that, he stood at bay with all the four officers, when the most mischievous assailant of them all, the creditor's wife, ventured to step into the fray, and very barbarously took hold of that nameless part of the man, for which, as she was a married woman, nature, methinks, should have taught her to have a greater tenderness, and almost squeezed and crushed those vitals to death. But at last he got free from them all, and was going away as fast as he could, not knowing what consequences might ensue; but the woman, who aimed herself at committing murder, in the most savage and inhuman manner, ran out after him, crying out 'Murder! murder!' as loud as she could, and alarmed the whole street. The bailiff, following the woman, and being bloody from head to foot by means of the wound he received, gave credit to the outcry. The late Earl Rivers's footmen happening to be at the door, ran immediately to stop the supposed murderer; and they indeed did take him at last, but perceived their mistake, and discovered that instead of being assistants in taking a man whom they thought to be a murderer endeavouring to make his escape from the hands of justice, they had only been tricked in by that false cry to be adjutants to a bailiff in retaking a gentleman who, by so gallant a defence, had rescued himself from the dangers of a prison; and when they had discovered this their mistake, they were mighty sorry for what they had done. The most active and busy among the earl's footmen was a Dutchman; and the earl happening to be in a room next the street, and hearing the outcry of murder, stepped to the window, and seeing his own servants in the midst of the bustle, examined the Dutchman how the matter was; and being told it, he chid the man for being concerned in stopping a gentleman that was getting free from such troublesome companions. But the Dutchman excused himself, like a Dutchman, by making a very merry blunder for a reply. '*Sacramente!*' said he to his lord, 'if I had thought they were bailiffs, I would have fought for the poor dumb gentleman; but then why had he not told me they were bailiffs, my lord?'

In short, Duncan Campbell was carried off as their prisoner; but the bailiff that was wounded was led back to the coffee-house, where he pretended the wound was mortal, and that he despaired of living an hour. The proverb, however, was on the fellow's side, and he recovered sooner than other people expected he could. As soon as all danger was over, an action for damages and smart money, as their term is, was brought against Mr. Campbell. The damages were exaggerated, and the demand was so extravagant, that Duncan Campbell was neither able, just at that time, nor willing, had he been able, to pay so much, as he thought, in his own wrong; and having no bail, and being ashamed to make his case known to his better sort of friends, who were both able and willing to help him at a dead lift, he was hurried away to gaol by the bailiffs, who showed such a malignant and inebriat pleasure, as commonly attends powerful revenge, when they put him into the Marshalsea. There he lay in confinement six weeks, till at last four or five of his chief friends came by mere chance to hear of it. Immediately they consulted about his deliverance, and unanimously resolved to contribute for his enlargement; and they accordingly went across the water together, and procured it out of hand.

Two of his benefactors were officers, and were just then going over to Flanders. Duncan Campbell, to whom they communicated their design, was resolved to try his fortune in a military way, out of a roving kind of humour, rather in him partly by his having taken a sort of aversion to his own profession in town, and partly by his finding that he could not live without following a profession, as he had done, say longer. He, over a bottle, frankly imparted his mind to them at large. He signified to them that he hoped, since they had lately done him so great a favour in freeing him from one captivity, they would not think him too urgent if he proved for one favour farther upon natures so generous as theirs, by whom he took as great a pleasure in in being obliged as he could receive in being capable of obliging others. He wrote to them that the favour he meant was to redeem him from another captivity, almost as irksome to him as that out of which they had lately ransomed him. 'This captivity,' continued he, 'is being either forced to follow my old profession, which I have taken an entire disgust to, for a maintenance, or being forced to live in a narrower way than suits with my genius and the better taste I have of higher life. Such a state, gentlemen, you know, is more unpalatable than half-pay; it is like either being forced to go upon the forlorn hope, or else like a man's being an entirely cashiered and broken officer that had no younger brother's fortune, and no other support but his commission. Thus, though you have set my body at liberty, my soul is still under an imprisonment, and will be till I leave England, and can find means of visiting Flanders, which I can do no otherwise than by the advantage of having you for my convoy. I have a mighty longing to experience some part of a military life, and I fancy, if you will grant me your interest, and introduce me to the valiant young Lord Lorne, and be spokesman for a dumb man, I shall meet with a favourable reception; and as for you, gentlemen, after having named that great patron and pattern of courage and conduct in the field, I can't doubt but the very name I bear, if you had not known me, would have made you take me for a person of a military genius, and that I should do nothing but what would become a British soldier and a gentleman; nothing, in fine, that should make you repent the recommendation.'

These generous and gallant friends of his, it seems, complied with his request, and promised they would make application for him to the Lord Lorne; and Duncan Campbell had nothing to do but to get his bag and baggage ready, and provide himself with a pass. His baggage was not very long getting together, and he had it in tolerable good order; and as for his pass, a brother of the Lord Forbes was so kind as to procure him one upon the first application Duncan made to him.

Accordingly, in a few days afterwards, they went on board, and having a speedy and an easy passage, arrived soon at Rotterdam. Duncan met with some of his English acquaintance in that town; and his mind being pretty much bent upon rambling, and seeing all the curiosities, customs, and humours he could, in all the foreign places he was to pass through, he went, out of a frolic, with some gentlemen, next day, in a boat to an adjacent village, to make merry over a homely Dutch entertainment, the intended repast being to consist of what the boors there count a great delicacy, brown bread and white beer. He walked out of sight from his company, and they lost one another; and strolling about by himself at an unseasonable hour, as they call it there after the bell has tolled, Duncan Campbell, who neither knew their laws, nor if he had, was capable of being guided by the notice which their laws ordain, was taken into custody in the village for that night, and carried away the next day to Williamstadt, where he was taken for a spy, and put into a close imprisonment for three or four days.

But some Scotch gentlemen, who had been in company with Mr. Campbell at Mr. Cloysterman's, a painter in Covent-garden, made their application to the magistrate and got him released. He knew his friends the officers, that carried him over, were gone forward to the camp, and that there was no hope of finding them at Rotterdam, if he should go thither; and so he resolved, since he had had so many days' punishment in Williamstadt, to have three or four days' pleasure there too, by way of amends, before he would set out on his journey after his friends. But on the third night he got very much in drink; and as he went very boisterously and disorderly along, a sentinel challenged him; and the want of the sense of hearing had like to have occasioned the loss of his life. The sentinel fired at him and narrowly missed him; he was taken prisoner, not without some resistance, which was so far innocent, as that he knew not any reason why he should be seized, but very troublesome and unwarrantable in so orderly a town; so the governor's secretary, after the matter was examined into, judging it better for the unhappy gentleman's future safety, advised him to return home to his own country, and accordingly bespoke him a place in a Dutch ship called Yowfrow Catherine, for his passage to England.

Duncan Campbell had taken up this humour of rambling, first, of his own accord; and the troubles which he had run himself into by it, we may reasonably suppose, had pretty well cured him of that extravagant itch; and there is little doubt to be made but that he rejoiced very heartily when he was got on board the ship to return to England; and that in his new resolutions he had reconciled himself to the prosecution of his former profession, and intended to set up for a predictor again as soon as he could arrive at London. But now fortune had not a mind to let him go off so; he had had his own fancy for rambling, and now she was resolved to have hers, and to give him his bellyful of caprice. Accordingly, when the Dutch ship, called Yowfrow Catherine, was making the best of her road for London, and each person in the vessel was making merry, filled with the hopes of a quick and prosperous passage, a French privateer appeared in sight, crowding all the sails she could, and bearing towards them with all haste and diligence. The privateer was double-manned, and carried thirty guns; the Dutch vessel was defenceless in comparison; and the people on board had scarce time to think, and to deplore that they should be made a prey of, before they actually were so, and had reason enough given them for their sorrow. All the passengers, to a single man, were stripped, and had French seamen's jackets in exchange for their clothes. Duncan Campbell had now a taste given him of the fate of war, as well as of the humour of travelling, and wished himself again, I warrant him, among his greatest crowd of consulters, as tiresome as he thought business to be, instead of being in the middle of a crew of sea savages. The town where the dumb prisoner was at last confined was Denain. There happened to be some English friars there, who were told by the others who he was; and to them he applied himself in writing, and received from them a great deal of civil treatment. But a certain man of the order of *Recollects*, happening to see him there, who had known him in England, and what profession he followed, caused him to be called in question, as a man that made use of ill means to tell fortunes. When he was questioned by a whole society of these religious men, he made them such pertinent and satisfactory answers in writing, that he convinced them he had done nothing for which he deserved their reprimand; and they unanimously acquitted him. The heads of his defence, as I have been informed, were these:—

First, he alleged that the second-sight was inborn and inbred in some men; and that every country had had examples of it more or less; but that the country of Scotland, in which he was educated from an infant, abounded the most of any with those sort of people; and from thence he said he thought he might very naturally draw this conclusion, that a faculty that was inborn and inbred to men, and grown almost a national faculty among a people who were remarkably honest, upright, and well-meaning people, could not, without some impiety, be imputed to the possessors of it as a sin. And when one of the fathers rejoined that it was remarked by several writers of the second-sight, that it must be therefore sinful, because it remained no longer among the people when the doctrines of Christianity were fully propagated, and the light of the gospel increased among them; and that afterwards it affected none but persons of vicious lives and an ill character: to this objection Mr. Campbell replied, that he knew most (even ingenious) writers had made that remark concerning the second-sight, but begged leave to be excused, if he ventured to declare that it was no better than a vulgar and common error; and the reasons were these, which he alleged in his own behalf; and to confirm his assertion, he told them men of undoubted probity, virtue, and learning, both of their own religion, viz. the Roman Catholic, and also of the Reformed religion, and in several nations, had been affected, and continued all their lives to be affected, with this second-sighting power, and that there could be, therefore, no room to fix upon it the odious character of being a sinful and vicious (not to say that some called it still worse, a diabolical) talent. He said he would content himself with making but two instances, because he believed those two would be enough to give content to them, his judges too, in that case. In his first instance he told them that they might find somewhat relating to this in Nicolaus Hemingius, who, in his tract *De Superstitionibus Magicis*, printed at Copenhagen, anno 1575, informs the world, that Petrus Palladius, bishop of Seelandt, and professor of divinity at Copenhagen, could, from a part of his body affected, foretell from what part of the heavens tempests would come, and was seldom deceived.

One of the fathers immediately asked him if he understood Latin? To this Duncan Campbell replied, No. 'Oh!' said the friar then, 'I don't remember that book was ever translated into English, that you mention.' 'But,' rejoined Duncan Campbell, 'the passage I mentioned to you, I have read in an English book, and word for word, according to the best of my memory, as I have written it down to you.' 'In what English book?' said the friar. 'I don't remember the name of the book,' Duncan Campbell answered, 'but very well remember the passages, and that it was in a book of authority, and which bore a credit and good repute in the world; and you, being scholars, may, if you please, have recourse to the learned original, and I doubt not but you'll find what I say to be a truth.' For the second instance, he told them, that in Spain, there are those they call *Saludadores*, that have this kind of gift. 'There was,' continued he, in writing, 'one of your own religion, venerable fathers, and of a religious order, nay, a friar too, that had this gift. He was a noted Dominican,' said he, 'and though I forget his name, you may, by writing a letter to England, learn his name. He was a devout Portuguese, belonging to Queen Catharine Dowager's chapel, and had the second-sight to a great degree, and was famous and eminent for it.' They then asked him what was the full power he had to do by the second-sight. He answered, that as they had intimated that they had perused some of the skilful writers concerning the second-sight, he did not doubt but they had found, as well as he could tell them, that as to the extent of people's knowledge in that secret way, it reached both present, past, and future events. 'They foresee murders, drownings, weddings, burials, combats, manslaughters, &c., of all which there are many instances to be given. They commonly foresee sad events a little while before they happen; for instance, if a man's fatal end be hanging, they will see a gibbet, or rope about his neck; if beheading, they will see a man without a head; if drowning, they will see water up to his throat; if stabbing, they will see a dagger in his breast; if unexpected death in his bed, they will see a winding-sheet about his head. They foretell not only marriages, but of good children; what kind of life men shall lead, and in what condition they shall die; also riches, honours, preferments, peace, plenty, and good weather. It is likewise usual with persons that have lost anything to go to some of these men, by whom they are directed how, with what persons, and in what place they shall find their goods. It is also to be noted that these gifts bear a latitude, so that some have it in a far more eminent degree than others. And what I have here written down to you, you need not take as a truth from me; but as it concerned me so nearly, I remember the passage by heart, and you will find it very near word for word in Dr. Beaumont's book of Familiar Spirits.' 'Ay,' said the friars, 'but you have a genius too that attends you, as we are informed.' 'So,' replied Duncan Campbell, 'have all persons that have the second-sight in any eminent degree; and to prove this, I will bring no less a witness than King James I., who, in his *Demonology*, book the third, and chapter the second, mentions also a spirit called Brownie, that was wont formerly to haunt divers houses, without doing any evil, but doing, as it were, necessary turns up and down the house. He appeared like a rough man, nay, some believed that their house was all the "sonsier," as they called it, that is, the more lucky or fortunate, that such spirits resorted there.' With these replies the friars began to own they were very well satisfied, and acquiesced in the account he had given of himself as a very good, true, and honest account; but they told him they had still a further accusation against him, and that was, that he practised magic arts, and that he used, as they had been informed, unlawful incantations. To this he made answer, that there were two kinds of magic, of which he knew they that were men of learning could not be ignorant. 'The art magic, which is wicked and impious,' continued he, 'is that which is professed, and has been professed at all times in the world, by witches, magicians, diviners, enchanters, and such like notorious profligates; who, by having an unnatural commerce with the devil, do many strange, prodigious, and preternatural acts, above and beyond all human wisdom; and all the arguments I ever did, or ever will deduce,' continued he, 'from that black art, is a good and a shining argument. It is this, O fathers: I draw a reason from these prodigious practices of wizards, magicians, enchanters, &c., and from all the heathen idolatry and superstition, to prove that there is a Deity; for from these acts of theirs, being preternatural and above human wisdom, we may consequently infer that they proceed from a supernatural and immaterial cause, such as demons are. And this is all the knowledge I ever did or ever will draw from that black hellish art. But, fathers, there is another kind of art magic, called natural magic, which is directly opposite to theirs, and the object of which art is to do spiritual good to mankind, as the object of theirs is to torment them, and induce them to evil. They afflict people with torments, and my art relieves them from the torments they cause. The public profession of these magical arts has (as you know, fathers, it is a common distinction between black and white magic) been tolerated in some of the most famous universities of Christendom, though afterwards, for a very good reason in politics, making it a public study to such a degree was very wisely retrenched by prohibition. If this, therefore, be a fault in your own opinions, hear my accusers; but if not, you will not only excuse, but commend me.'

The friars were extremely well pleased with his defence; but one of them had a mind to frighten him a little if he could, and asked him what he would say if he could produce some witches lately seized, that would swear he had been frequently at their unlawful assemblies, where they were making their waxen images and other odd mischievous inventions in black magic, to torment folks? 'What if I can produce such evidence against you,' wrote the father to him, by way of strengthening the question, 'will you not own that we have convicted you then?' And when he had wrote the note, he gave it Duncan Campbell, with a look that seemed to express his warmth and earnestness in the expostulation. Duncan Campbell took the paper and read it, and far from being startled, returned this answer, with a smile continuing in his face while he wrote it. 'No,' said he, 'fathers, by your leave, they will only prove me a good magician by that oath, and themselves more plainly witches. They will prove their love to torment good folks, and only show their hatred to me, an innocent man, but wise enough to torment them by hindering them from tormenting others.' The fathers were well pleased with the shrewdness of the answer; but Duncan Campbell had a mind to exert his genius a little further with the good friar, who thought likewise he had put him a very shrewd question;

so, taking up another sheet of paper, 'Fathers,' said he, 'shall I entertain you with a story of what passed upon this head, between two religious fathers (as you all of you are) and a prince of Germany, in which you will find that mine ought to be reputed a full answer to the question the last learned father was pleased to propose to me? The story is somewhat long, but very much to the purpose, and entertaining. I remember it perfectly by heart; and if you will have patience while I am writing it, I do not doubt but that I shall not only satisfy you, but please you and oblige you with the relation. The author I found it in, quotes it from Fromannus (I think the man's name was so, and I am sure my author calls him a very learned man), in his third book of *Magical Incantation*, and though I do not understand the language the original is writ in, yet I dare venture to say, upon the credit of my English author, from whom I got the story by heart, that you will find me right, whenever you shall be pleased to search.'

The friars were earnest for the story, and expressed a desire that he would write it down for them to read, which he did in the following words. Note, that I have since compared Mr. Duncan Campbell's manuscript with the author's page out of which he took it, and find it word for word the same; which shows how incomparable a memory this deaf and dumb gentleman has got, besides his other extraordinary qualifications. The story is this.

'A prince of Germany invited two religious fathers, of eminent virtue and learning, to a dinner. The prince, at table, said to one of them, 'Father, think you we do right in hanging persons, who are accused by ten or twelve witches, to have appeared at their meetings or sabbaths? I somewhat fear we are imposed on by the devil, and that it is not a safe way to truth, that we walk in by these accusations; especially since many great and learned men everywhere begin to cry out against it, and to charge our consciences with it: tell me, therefore, your opinion.' To whom the fathers, being somewhat of an eager spirit, said, 'What should make us doubtful in this case? Or what should touch our consciences, being convicted by so many testimonies? Can we make it a scruple, whether God will permit innocent persons should be so traduced? There is no cause for a judge to stick at such a number of accusations, but he may proceed with safety.' To which, when the prince had replied, and much had been said *pro* and *con* on both sides about it, and the father seemed wholly to carry the point, the prince at length concluded the dispute, saying, 'I am sorry for you, father, that in a capital cause you have condemned yourself, and you cannot complain if I commit you to custody; for no less than fifteen witches have deposed that they have seen you—ay, start not! you, your own self, at their meetings. And to show you that I am not in jest, I will presently cause the public Acts to be brought for you to read them.' The father stood in a maze, and with a dejected countenance had nothing here to oppose but confusion and silence, for all his learned eloquence.'

As soon as Mr. Campbell had wrote down the story, the fathers perused it, and seemed mightily entertained with it. It put an end to all farther questions; and the man whom they had been trying for a conjuror, they joined in desiring, upon distinct pieces of paper under their several hands, to come frequently and visit them, as being not only a harmless and innocent, but an extraordinary well-meaning, good, and diverting companion. They treated him for some time afterwards, during his stay, with the friendship due to a countryman, with the civility that is owing to a gentleman, and with the assistance and support which belonged to a person of merit in distress. Money they had none themselves, it seems, to give him, being mendicants by their own profession; but they had interest enough to get him quite free from being prisoner. He participated of their eleemosynary table; had a cell allowed him among them in what they call their dormitory; he had an odd coat and a pair of trousers made out of some of their brown coarse habits, by the poor unfashionable tailor, or botcher, belonging to the convent; and at last they found means of recommending him to a master of a French vessel that was ready to set sail, to give him a cast over the Channel to England, and to provide him with the necessaries of life till he got to the port. This French vessel was luckier than the Dutch one had been before to our dumb gentleman; it had a quick and prosperous passage, and arrived at Portsmouth; and as soon as he landed there, he having experienced the misfortunes and casualties that a man in his condition, wanting both speech and hearing, was liable to in places where he was an utter stranger to everybody, resolved to make no stay, but move on as fast as he could towards London. When he came to Hampton-town, considering the indifferent figure he made in those odd kind of clothes which the poor friars had equipped him with, and that his long beard and an uncombed wig added much to the disguise, he was resolved to put on the best face he could in those awkward circumstances, and stepped into the first barber's shop he came at, to be trimmed and get his wig combed and powdered. This proved a very lucky thought to him; for as soon as he stepped into the barber's shop, who should prove to be the master of it but one Tobit Yeats, who had served him in the same capacity at London, and was but newly set up in the trade of a barber-surgeon at Hampton-town, and followed likewise the profession of schoolmaster. This Tobit Yeats had shaved him quite, before he knew him in that disguise; and Mr. Campbell, though he knew him presently, had a mind to try if he should be known himself first. At length the barber finding him to be a dumb man, by his ordering everything with motions of the hand and gestures of the body, looked at him very earnestly, remembered him, and in a great surprise called for pen, ink, and paper, and begged to know how he came to be in that disguise; whether he was under any misfortune, and apprehension of being discovered, that made him go in so poor and so clownish a habit, and tendered him any services, as far as his little capacity would reach, and desired him to be free, and command him, if he was able to assist him in anything. These were the most comfortable words that Duncan Campbell had read a great while. He took the pen and paper in his turn, related to him his whole story, gave the poor barber thanks for his good-natured offer, and said he would make so much use of it, as to be indebted to him for so much money as would pay the stage-coach, and bear him in his travelling expenses up to London, from whence he would speedily return the favour with interest. The poor honest fellow, out of gratitude to a master whose liberality he had formerly experienced, immediately furnished Mr. Duncan Campbell with that little supply, expressing the gladness of his heart that it lay in his power; and the stage-coach being to set out within but

a few hours, he ran instantly to the inn to see if he could get him a place. By good luck there was room, and but just room for one more, which pleased Duncan Campbell mightily, when he was acquainted with it by his true and trusty servant the barber; for he was as impatient to see London again, it seems, as he had been before to quit it. Well, he had his wish; and when he came to London, he had one wish more for Fortune to bestow upon him, which appeared to begin to grow kind again, after her fickle fit of cruelty was over; and this wish was, that he might find his former lodgings empty, and live in the same house as he did when he followed his profession. This too succeeded according to his desire, and he was happily fixed once more to his heart's content in his old residence, with the same people of the house round about him, who bore him all that respect and affection, and showed all that readiness and willingness to serve him on every occasion and at every turn, which could be expected from persons that let lodgings in town to a gentleman whom they esteemed the best tenant they ever had in their lives, or ever could have.

Immediately the tidings of the dumb gentleman's being returned home from beyond sea spread throughout all the neighbourhood, and it was noised about from one neighbourhood to another, till it went through all ranks and conditions, and was known as well in a day or two's time all the town over, as if he had been some great man belonging to the state, and his arrival had been notified to the public in the *Gazette*, as a person of the last importance. And such a person he appeared indeed to be taken for, especially among the fair sex, who thronged to his doors, crowd after crowd, to consult with him about their future occurrences in life.

These curious tribes of people were as various in their persons, sex, age, quality, profession, art, trade, as they were in the curiosity of their minds, and the questions they had intended to propound to this dumb predictor of strange events, that lay yet as embryos in the womb of time, and were not to come, some of them, to a maturity for birth, for very many years after, just as porcelain clay is stored up in the earth by good artificers, which their heirs make china of half a century, and sometimes more than an age afterwards.

These shoals of customers, who were to fee him well for his advice, as we may suppose, now he stood in need of raising a fresh stock, were unquestionably as welcome and as acceptable to him as they appeared too troublesome to him before, when he was in a state of more wealth and plenty.

Fortune, that does nothing moderately, seemed now resolved, as she had been extremely cruel before, to be extremely kind to him. He had nothing to do from early in the morning till late at night but to read questions, and resolve them as fast as much-frequented doctors write their prescriptions and recipes, and like them also to receive fees as fast. Fortune was indeed mightily indulgent to the wants she had so suddenly reduced him to, and relieved him as suddenly by these knots of *curiosos*, who brought him a glut of money. But one single fair lady, that was one of his very first consulters after his return, and who had received satisfactory answers from him in other points, before he went abroad, proved (so good fortune would have it) worth all the rest of his customers together, as numerous as they were, and as I have accordingly represented them.

This lady was the relict or widow of a gentleman of a good estate, and of a very good family, whose name was Digby, and a handsome jointure she had out of the estate. This lady, it seems, having been with him in former days, and seen him in a more shining way of life (for he had taken a humour to appear before all his company in that coarse odd dress made out of the friar's habit, and would not be persuaded by the people of the house to put on a nightgown till he could provide himself with a new suit), was so curious, among other questions, as to ask him whether he had met with any misfortunes, and how he came to be in so slovenly and wretched a habit? Here Mr. Campbell related the whole story of his travels to her, and the crosses and disappointments he had met with abroad. The tears, he observed, would start every now and then into her eyes when she came to any doleful passage, and she appeared to have a mighty compassionate kind of feeling when she read of any hardship more than ordinarily melancholy that had befallen him. Mr. Campbell, it is certain, had then a very good presence, and was a handsome and portly young man; and as a great many young gentlemen derive the seeming agreeableness of their persons from the tailor and perukemaker, the shoemaker and hosier, so Mr. Campbell's person, on the other hand, gave a good air and a good look to the awkward garb he had on; and I believe it was from seeing him in this odd trim, as they call it, the ladies first took up the humour of calling him 'the handsome slovenly.' Add to this that he looked his misfortune in the face with a jolly countenance, and smiled even while he was penning the relation of his calamities; all which are certainly circumstances that first soothe a generous mind into a state of compassion, and afterwards heighten it in the breast wherein it is conceived. Hence it came that this pretty and good-natured widow, Mrs. Digby, when she had expressed her commiseration of him by her looks, began to take the pen and express it in very tender terms. Neither did she think that expression in words a sufficient testimony of the compassion she bore to him; the generosity of her mind did lead her to express it in a more substantial manner still, and that was to show it plainly by a very generous action. She laid a purse of twenty guineas upon the table, and at the same time smiling, pointed to the gold, as signifying her desire that he would accept it, and running to the door, dropped a curtsey, and skuttled away: and by the same civil act as she obliged him, she put it out of his power to refuse being so obliged; so that, though the present was very handsome, the manner of giving it was still handsomer. If being a handsome young man of merit in distress, and bearing his misfortunes with an equal mind, are powerful motives to excite compassion in the mind of a generous lady, so the generosity of a young agreeable widow, expressed in so kind and so benevolous a way, to a young gentleman, when he had been tasting nothing but the bitter draughts of fortune before, must stir up an affection in a mind that had any sense of gratitude. And truly just such was the effect that this lady's civility had upon Mr. Duncan Campbell. He conceived from that moment a very great affection for her; and resolved to try whether he could gain her, which he had no small grounds to hope, from the esteem which she appeared to bear towards him already. I remember Mr. Dryden makes a very beautiful observation of the near alliance there is between the two passions of pity and love in a woman's

breast, in one of his plays. His words are these:

> For pity still foreruns approaching love,
> As lightning does the thunder.

Mr. Bruyere, a most ingenious member of the French Academy, has made another remark, which comes home to our present purpose. He says, that many women love their money better than their friends, but yet value their lovers more than their money. According to the two reflections of these fine writers upon the temper of the fair, Mr. Campbell had hopes enough to ground his courtship upon; and it appeared so in the end, by his proving successful: she, from being a very liberal and friendly client, became at last a most affectionate wife. He then began to be a housekeeper, and accordingly took a little neat one, and very commodious for his profession, in Monmouth-court. Here I must take leave to make this observation, that if Mr. Campbell inherited the talents of his second-sighted mother, he seemed likewise to be an heir to his father, Mr. Archibald Campbell, both in his strange and accidental sufferings by sea, and likewise in his being relieved from them after as accidental and strange a manner, by an unexpected marriage, just like his father's. And here we return again to take a new survey of him in the course of his public practice as a predictor. The accounts I shall give of his actions here will be very various in their nature from any I have yet presented to the reader. They are more mysterious in themselves, and yet I shall endeavour to make the manner of his operating in this kind as plain as I think I have the foregoing ones, and then I flatter myself they must afford a fresh entertainment for every reader that has any curiosity and a good taste for things of so extraordinary a kind. For what I have all along propounded to myself from the beginning, and in the progress to the end of this history, is to interweave entertaining and surprising narratives of what Mr. Campbell has done, with curious and instructive inquiries into the nature of those actions, for which he has rendered himself so singularly famous. It was not, therefore, suitable to my purpose to clog the reader with numerous adventures, almost all of the same kind; but out of a vast number of them to single some few of those that were most remarkable, and that were mysteries, but mysteries of very different sorts. I leave that method of swelling distorted and commented trifles into volumes to the writers of fable and romance. If I was to tell his adventures with regard, for example, to women that came to consult him, I might perhaps have not only written the stories of eleven thousand virgins that died maids, but have had relations to give of as many married women and widows, and the work would have been endless. All that I shall do therefore is to pick out one particular, each of a different kind, that there may be variety in the entertainment. Upon application to this dumb man, one is told in the middle of her health that she shall die at such a time; another, that she shall sicken, and upon the moment of her recovery, have a suitor and a husband; a third, who is a celebrated beauty with a multitude of admirers round about her, that she shall never become a wife; a fourth, that is married, when she shall get rid of an uneasy husband; a fifth, that hath lost her goods, who stole them, where and when they shall be restored; a sixth, that is a merchant, when he shall be undone, and how and when he shall recover his losses, and be as great on the Exchange as ever; a seventh, that is a gamester, which will be his winning and which his losing hour; *an eighth*, how he shall be involved in a law-suit, and whether the suit will have an adverse or a prosperous issue; a ninth, that is a woman, with choice of lovers, which she shall be most happy with for life; and so on to many others, where every prediction is perfectly new and surprising, and differs from the other in almost every circumstance. When a man has so extensive a genius as this at foretelling the future occurrences of life, one narrative of a sort is enough in conscience to present the reader with, and several of each kind would not, methinks, be entertaining, but tiresome; for he that can do one thing in these kinds by the power of prediction, can do ten thousand; and those who are obstinate in extenuating his talents, and calling his capacity in question, and that will not be convinced by one instance of his judgment, would not own the conviction if ten thousand instances were given them. The best passages I can recommend to their perusal are those where persons who came purposely to banter him under the colour of consulting him, and covered over their sly intentions with borrowed disguises, and came in masquerades, found all the jest turned upon themselves in the end, which they meant to our famous predictor, and had the discouragement of seeing their most concealed and deepest laid plots discovered, and all their most witty fetches and wily contrivances defeated, till they were compelled universally to acknowledge, that endeavouring to impose upon the judgment of our seer by any hidden artifice and cunning whatsoever, was effectually imposing upon their own. His unusual talent in this kind was so openly known, and so generally confessed, that his knowledge was celebrated in some of the most witty weekly papers that ever appeared in public. Isaac Bickerstaff, who diverted all the *beau monde* for a long space of time with his lucubrations, takes occasion in several of his papers to applaud the speculations of this dumb gentleman in an admirable vein of pleasantry and humour, peculiar to the writer, and to the subject he writ upon. And when that bright author, who joined the uttermost facetiousness with the most solid improvements of morality and learning in his works, laid aside the title of a *Tatler*, and assumed the name of a *Spectator* and censor of men's actions, he still, every now and then, thought our Duncan Campbell a subject worthy enough to employ his farther considerations upon. I must take notice of one letter sent concerning him to the *Spectator* in the year 1712, which was at a time when a lady wanted him, after he had removed from Monmouth-street to Drury-lane.

'MR. SPECTATOR,—

'About two years ago I was called upon by the younger part of a country family, by my mother's side related to me, to visit Mr. Campbell, the dumb man; for they told me that was chiefly what brought them to town, having heard wonders of him in Essex. I, who always wanted faith in such matters, was not easily prevailed on to go; but lest they should take it ill, I went with them, when, to my own surprise, Mr. Campbell related all their past life; in short, had he not been prevented, such a discovery would have come out, as would have ruined their next design of coming to town, viz. buying wedding clothes. Our names, though he had never heard of us before, and we endeavoured to conceal, were as familiar to him as to ourselves. To be sure, Mr. Spectator, he is a very learned and wise man. Being impatient to know my fortune, having paid my respects in a family Jacobus, he told me, after his manner, among several other

things, that in a year and nine months I should fall ill of a new fever, be given over by my physicians, but should with much difficulty recover; that the first time I took the air afterwards, I should be addressed to by a young gentleman of a plentiful fortune, good sense, and a generous spirit. Mr. Spectator, he is the purest man in the world, for all he said is come to pass, and I am the happiest she in Kent. I have been in quest of Mr. Campbell these three months, and cannot find him out. Now hearing you are a dumb man too, I thought you might correspond and be able to tell me something; for I think myself highly obliged to make his fortune, as he has mine. It is very possible your worship, who has spies all over this town, can inform me how to send to him: If you can, I beseech you be as speedy as possible, and you will highly oblige your constant reader and admirer,

'DULCIBELLA THANKLEY.'

THE SPECTATOR'S ANSWER.

'Ordered, That the inspector I employ about wonders, inquire at the Golden Lion opposite to the Half-Moon Tavern, in Drury-lane, into the merit of this silent sage, and report accordingly.' —*Vide* the 7th volume of *Spectators*, No. 474, being on Wednesday, September the 3d, 1712.

But now let us come to those passages of his life the most surprising of all, during the time that he enjoyed this reputation, and when he proved that he deserved the fame he enjoyed. Let us take a survey of him while he is wonderfully curing persons labouring under the misfortune of witchcraft, of which the following story will be an eminent instance, and likewise clear up how he came by his reputation in Essex, as mentioned in the above-mentioned letter to the *Spectator*.

In the year 1709, Susanna Johnson, daughter to one Captain Johnson, who lived at a place adjacent to Rumford in Essex, going one morning to that town to buy butter at the market, was met there by an old miserable-looking woman, just as she had taken some of her change of the market-woman in copper, and this old woman rather demanded than begged the gentlewoman to give her a penny. Miss Johnson, reputing her to be one of those hateful people that are called sturdy beggars, refused it her, as thinking it to be no act of charity, and that it would be rather gratifying and indulging her impudence, than supplying or satisfying her indigence. Upon the refusal, the old hag, with a face more wrinkled still, if possible, by anger, than it was by age, took upon her to storm at young Miss Johnson very loudly, and to threaten and menace her; but when she found her common threats and menaces were of no avail, she swore she would be revenged of the young creature in so signal a manner, that she should repent the denial of that penny from her heart before she got home, and that it should cost her many pounds to get rid of the consequences of that denial and her anger. The poor innocent girl despised these last words likewise, and, getting up on horseback, returned homewards; but just as she got about half way, her horse stopped, and no means that she could use would make him advance one single step; but she stayed awhile, to see if that would humour him to go on. At last the beast began to grow unruly, and snorted and trembled as if he had seen or smelt something that frightened him, and so fell a kicking desperately, till he threw the girl from the saddle, not being able to cling to it any longer, though a pretty good horsewoman of her years; so much were the horse's motions and plungings more than ordinarily violent.

As Providence would have it, she got not much harm by the fall, receiving only a little bruise in the right shoulder; but she was dreadfully frightened. This fear added wings to her feet, and brought her home as speedily of herself as she usually came on horseback. She immediately, without any other sign of illness than the pallid colour with which fear had disordered the complexion of her face, alarmed all the family at home with the story, took her bed upon it, complained of inward rackings of the belly, and was never at ease unless she lay doubled up together, her head to her knees, and her heels to her rump, just like a figure of 8. She could not be a single moment out of that posture without shrieking out with the violence of anxious torments and racking pains.

In this condition of misery, amidst this agony of suffering, and in this double posture, was the poor wretched young gentlewoman brought to town. Physicians were consulted about her, but in vain; she was carried to different hospitals for assistance, but their endeavours likewise proved ineffectual. At last she was conducted to the College of Physicians; and even the collective wisdom of the greatest sages and adepts in the science of physic was posed to give her any prescription that would do her service, and relieve her from the inexplicable malady she laboured under. The poor incurable creature was one constant subject of her complaining mother's discourse in every company she came into. It happened at last, and very providentially truly, that the mother was thus condoling the misfortune of her child among five or six ladies, and telling them, among other things, that by the most skilful persons she was looked upon to be bewitched, and that it was not within the power of physic to compass her recovery: They all having been acquainted with our Mr. Duncan Campbell, unanimously advised her to carry her daughter to his house, and consult with him about her. The mother was overjoyed at these tidings, and purposed to let no time slip where her child's health was so deeply concerned. She got the ladies to go with her and her child, to be eye-witnesses of so extraordinary a piece of practice, and so eminent a trial of skill.

As soon as this dismal object was brought into his room, Mr. Duncan Campbell lifted up her head and looked earnestly in her face, and in less than a minute's time signified to the company, that she was not only bewitched, but in as dreadful a condition almost as the man that had a legion of fiends within him.

At the reading of these words the unhappy creature raised up her head, turned her eyes upwards, and a smile (a thing she had been a stranger to for many months) overspread her whole face, and such a kind of colour as is the flushing of joy and gladness, and with an innocent tone of voice she said, she now had a firm belief she should shortly be delivered. The mother and the rest of the company were all in tears; but Mr. Campbell wrote to them that they should be of good heart, be easy and quiet for a few moments, and they should be convinced that it was witchcraft, but happily convinced by seeing her so suddenly well again. This brought the company into pretty good temper; and a little after, Mr. Campbell desired she might be led upstairs into his chamber and left there alone with him for a little while; this occasioned some small female speculation, and as much mirth as their late sorrow, alleviated with the hopes of her cure, would permit.

This, you may be sure, was but a snatch of mirth, just as the nature of the thing would allow of; and all sorts of waggery being laid instantly aside, and removed almost as soon as conceived, the poor young thing was carried in that double posture upstairs. She had not been much above half an hour there, when, by the help only of Mr. Campbell's arm, she was led down stairs, and descended into that room full of company as a miracle appearing in a machine from above; she was led backward and forward in the room, while all gazed at her for a while with joyful astonishment, for no arrow was ever more straight than she. Mr. Campbell then prevailed with her to drink a glass of wine, and immediately after she evacuated wind, which she had not done for some months before, and found herself still more amended and easy; and then the mother, making Mr. Campbell some small acknowledgment at that time, with the promise of more, and her daughter giving thanks, and all the company commending his skill, took their leave and departed, with great demonstrations of joy. I shall here, to cut the story short, signify, that she came frequently afterwards to make her testimonials of gratitude to him, and continues to enjoy her health to this very day, at Greenwich, where she now lives, and will at any time, if called upon, make oath of the truth of this little history, as she told me herself with her own mouth.

The next thing, therefore, it behoves me to do in this chapter, is to give some satisfactory account of magic, by which such seeming mysterious cures and operations are brought about.

This task I would perform in the most perspicuous and most convincing manner I can; for magic, I know, is held to be a very hard and difficult study by those learned, and universally unlawful and diabolical by those unlearned, who believe there is such a science attainable by human genius. On the other hand, by some learned men, who believe there is no such science, it is represented as an inconsistent system of superstitions and chimeras; and again laughed at as such by the unlearned, who are of an incredulous temper. What I would therefore undertake to do in this place, is to show the learned men, who believe there is such an art, that the attainment to a tolerable knowledge of the manner how magical practices may be brought about, is no such difficult matter as they have represented it to themselves; and by doing this I shall make the system of it so plain, that while the learned approve of it, the unlearned too, who are not of an unbelieving kind, may understand clearly what I say; and the learned men who have rejected this science as chimerical, may be clearly convinced it is real; and then there is nothing left but obstinate unbelieving ignorance, which I shall not here pretend by arguments to lead into sense, but leave it to the work of time. In fine, I will endeavour to induce men of sense to say, that what has been accounted mysterious, is delivered in a plain, easy, and convincing manner, and to own that they approve; while men of the lower class of understanding shall confess and acknowledge that they themselves understand it, and that what has hitherto been represented as arduous and difficult to a great genius, is adapted and rendered not only clear, but familiar to persons of middling talents. In this work, therefore, I shall follow the strictest order I can, which of all things render a discourse upon any subject the most clear; and that it may be plain to the commonest capacity, I will first set down what order I intend to follow.

First, I will speak of magic in general.

Secondly, Of magic under its several divisions and subdivisions.

Thirdly, Concerning the object of the art, as it is good or bad.

Fourthly, Of the persons exercising that art in either capacity of good or bad, and by what means they become capacitated to exercise it.

In the fifth place, I shall come to the several objections against the art of magic, and the refutation of those objections.

The first objection shall be against the existence of good and bad spirits; the refutation of which will consist in my proving the existence of spirits, both good and bad, by reason and by experience.

The second objection that will be brought, is to contain an allegation that there are no such person as witches now, and an argument to support that allegation, drawn from the incapacity and impossibility of anything's making, while itself is incarnate, a contract with a spirit. This objection will be answered by proving the reality of witches from almost universal experience, and by explaining rationally the manner how the devils hold commerce with witches; which explanation is backed and authorized by the opinion of the most eminent divines, and the most learned physicians.

From hence, sixthly and lastly, we shall conclude on the side of the good magic, that as there are witches on the one hand that may afflict and torment persons with demons, so, on the other hand, there are lawful and good magicians, that may cast out demons from people that are possessed with them.

And first, as to magic in general. Magic consists in the spirit by faith; for faith is that magnet of the magicians by which they draw spirits to them, and by which spirits they do great things, that appear like miracles.

Secondly, Magic is divided into three sorts, viz. divine, natural, and diabolical. And natural magic is again subdivided into two kinds, simple and compound; and natural compound magic is again likewise divided into two kinds, viz. natural-divine magic, and natural-diabolical magic. Now, to give the reader a clear and a distinct notion of each several species of magic here mentioned, I set down the following definitions: Divine magic is a celestial science, in which all operations that are wonderfully brought about, are performed by the Spirit of God. Natural magic is a science in which all the mysterious acts that are wrought, are compassed by natural spirits. But as this natural magic may be exercised about things either in a manner indifferent in themselves, or mere morally good, and then it is mere natural magic; or else about things theologically good, and transcendently bad; and then it is not merely natural magic, but mixed and compound. If natural magic be exercised about the most holy operations, it is then mixed with the divine, and may then be called, not improperly, natural-divine magic. But if natural magic troubles itself about compassing the wickedest practices, then is it promiscuous with the demoniacal, and may not improperly be called natural-diabolical magic.

Thirdly, The object of this art is doing wonders out of the ordinary appearing course of nature, which tend either to great good or bad, by the help and mediation of spirits good and bad.

Fourthly, As to the persons exercising that art in either way, whether good or bad, and by what means they become capacitated to act it, the notion of this may be easily deduced from the notions of the art itself, as considered above in

its each different species; for as all magic consists in a spirit, every magician acts by a spirit.

Divine magicians, that are of God, are spoken of in the sacred Book; and therefore I shall not mention the passages here, but pass them over (as I ought in a book like this) with a profound and reverential silence, as well as the other passages which speak of natural and demoniacal magicians; and in all I shall speak of them in this place, I shall only speak of them with regard to human reason and experience, and conclude this head with saying, that natural magicians work all things by the natural spirits of the elements; but that witches and demoniacal magicians, as Jannes and Jambres in Egypt were, work their magical performances by the spirit of demons; and it is by the means of these different spirits that these different magicians perform their different operations.

These things thus distinctly settled and explained, it is now we must come and ground the dispute between those who believe there are no such things as magicians of any kind, and those who assert there are of all the kinds above specified.

Those who contend there are, have recourse to experience, and relate many well-witnessed narratives, to prove that there have been in all times, and that there are still, magicians of all these kinds. But those who contend that there are no such persons, will give no ear to what the others call plain experience; they call the stories, let whatever witnesses appear to justify them, either fabulous legends invented by the authors, or else tricks of intellectual legerdemain imposed by the actors upon the relators of those actions. Since, therefore, they say, though the believers in magic brag of experience never so much, it may be but a fallible experience; they reasonably desire to know whether these gentlemen that stand for magic can answer the objections which they propose, to prove that the practice of magic, according to the system laid down, is inconsistent with reason, before they will yield their assent. Let the stories be never so numerous, appear never so credible, these unbelieving gentlemen desire to be tried by reason, and aver till that reason is given they will not be convinced by the number of stories, because, though numerous, they are stories still; neither will they believe them because they appear credible, because seeming so is not being so, and appearances, though never so fair, when they contradict reason, are not to be swallowed down with an implicit faith as so many realities. And thus far, no doubt, the gentlemen who are on the unbelieving side are very much in the right of it. The learned gentlemen, on the other hand, who are persuaded of this mighty mysterious power being lodged in the hands of magicians, answer, that they will take upon them to refute the most subtle objections brought by the learned unbelievers, and to reconcile the practicability of magical mysteries by the capacity of men who study that art to right rules and laws of reasoning, and to show that some stories, though never so prodigious, which are told of magicians, demand the belief of wise men on two accounts; because, as experience backs reason on the one hand, reason backs experience on the other; and so the issue of the whole argument, whether there are magicians or not, is thrown upon both experience and reason. These arguments on each side, I shall draw up fairly *pro* and *con*; for I do not pretend to be the inventor of them myself, they belong to other authors many years ago: be it enough for me to boast of, if I can draw them up in a better and closer form together than they have yet appeared in. In that I take upon myself a very great task; I erect myself as it were into a kind of a judge: I will sum up the evidences on both sides, and I shall, wherever I see occasion, intimate which side of the argument bears the most weight with me; but when I have enforced my opinion as far as I think needful, my readers, like a jury, are still at liberty to bring in their verdict just as they themselves shall see fit. And this naturally leads me, where I promised to come to in the 5th part of this discourse, to the several objections against the power of art magic, and the refutation of those objections.

The First Objection being against the Existence of Spirits, and the Refutations thereof.

The first objection which they who reject magic make use of, is, denying that there are any such things as spirits, about which, since those who defend the art say it entirely exerciseth itself, the objectors contend, that if they can make out that there are no such beings as spirits, all pretensions to the art must be entirely groundless, and for the future exploded.

To make this part out, that there are no spirits, the first man they produce on their side is undoubtedly one of very great credit and authority, inasmuch as he has justly borne for many centuries the title of a prince of philosophers. They say that Aristotle, in his book *De Mundo*, reasons thus against the existence of spirits, viz. that since God can do all things of himself, He doth not stand in need of ministering angels and demons: a multitude of servants showing the weakness of a prince.

The gentlemen who defend the science make this reply: They allow the credit and authority of Aristotle as much as the objectors; but as the objectors themselves deny all the authorities for the spirits, and desire that reason may be the only ground they go upon, so the refuters, on their parts, desire that Aristotle's *ipse dixit* may not be absolutely passed upon them for argument, but that his words may be brought to the same touchstone of reason, and proved if they are standard. 'If this argument,' say they, 'will hold good, Aristotle should not suppose intelligences moving the celestial spheres; for God sufficeth to move all without ministering spirits; nor would there be need of a sun in the world, for God can enlighten all things by himself; and so all second causes were to be taken away: therefore, there are angels and ministering spirits in the world, for the majesty of God, not for his want of them; and for order, not for his omnipotency.' And here, if the objectors return and say, 'Who told you that there are spirits? is not yours a precarious hypothesis?' may not we have leave to recriminate in this place, Pray, who told Aristotle that there were intelligences that moved the celestial spheres? Is not this hypothesis as precarious as any man may pretend that of spirits to be? And we believe there are few philosophers at present who agree with Aristotle in that opinion; and we dare pronounce this to be ours, that Aristotle took his intelligences from the Hebrews, who went according to the same whimsical, though pretty notion, which first gave rise to the fiction of the nine muses. But more than all this, it is a very great doubt among learned men, whether this book *De Mundo* be Aristotle's or no.

The next thing the objectors bring against the existence of spirits is, that it is nonsense for men to say that there are such beings, of which it is

impossible for a man to have any notion; and they insist upon it, that it is impossible for any man to form an idea of a spiritual substance. As to this part, the defendants rejoin, that they think our late most judicious Mr. Locke, in his elaborate and finished *Essay on the Human Understanding*, has fairly made out that men have as clear a notion of a spiritual substance as they have of any corporeal substance, matter, or body; and that there is as much reason for admitting the existence of the one, as of the other; for that if they admit the latter, it is but humour in them to deny the former. It is in book the 2d, chap. 29, where he reasons thus: 'If a man will examine himself concerning his notion of pure substance in general, he will find he has no other idea of it, but only a supposition of he knows not what support, of such qualities which are capable of producing simple ideas in us; which qualities are commonly called accidents. Thus, if we talk or think of any particular sort of corporeal substance, as horse, stone, &c., though the idea we have of either of them be but the complication or collection of those several simple ideas, or sensible qualities, which we use to find united in the thing called horse or stone; yet because we cannot conceive how they should subsist alone, not in one another, we suppose them to exist in, and be supported by some common bject; which support we denote by the name of substance, though it be certain we have no clear or distinct idea of that thing we suppose a support. The same happens concerning the operations of our mind, viz. thinking, reasoning, and fearing, &c., which we concluding not to subsist of themselves, and not apprehending how they can belong to body, we are apt to think these the actions of some substance, which we call spirit: whereby it is evident, that having no other notion of matter, but something wherein those many sensible qualities which affect our senses do subsist, by supposing a substance wherein thinking, knowing, doubting, and a power of moving, &c., do subsist, we have as clear a notion of the nature or substance of spirit, as we have of body: the one being supposed to be (without knowing what it is) the substratum to those simple ideas which we have from without; and the other supposed (with a like ignorance of what it is) to be the substratum of these operations which we experiment in ourselves within. It is plain, then, that the idea of corporeal substance in matter, is as remote from our conceptions and apprehensions as that of spiritual substance; and therefore, from our not having any notion of the substance of spirit, we can no more conclude its non-existence, than we can for the same reason deny the existence of body; it being as rational to affirm there is no body, because we cannot know its essence, as it is called, or have the idea of the substance of matter, as to say, there is no spirit, because we know not its essence, or have no idea of a spiritual substance.' Mr. Locke also, comparing our idea of spirit with our idea of body, thinks there may seem rather less obscurity in the former than the latter. Our idea of body he takes to be an extended solid substance, capable of communicating motion by impulse; and our idea of soul is a substance that thinks, and has a power of exciting motion in body by will or thought. Now, some perhaps will say they comprehend a thinking thing, which perhaps is true; but, he says, if they consider it well, they can no more comprehend an extended thing; and if they say, they know not what it is thinks in them, they mean they know not what the substance is of that thinking thing; no more, says he, do they know what the substance is of that solid thing; and if they say they know not how they think, he says, neither do they know how they are extended, how the solid parts are united, or where to make extension, &c.

The learned Monsieur le Clerc, who generally knows how far human reason can bear, argues consonantly to what is before delivered by Mr. Locke in his *Coronis*, added to the end of the fourth volume of his Philosophical Works, in the third edition of them, where he writes as followeth.

'When we contemplate the corporeal nature, we can see nothing in it but extension, divisibility, solidity, mobility, and various determinations of quantity, or figures; which being so, it were a rash thing, and contrary to the laws of right reasoning, to affirm other things of bodies; and consequently from mere body nothing can be deduced by us, which is not joined in a necessary connection with the said properties: therefore those who have thought the properties of perceiving by sense, of understanding, willing, imagining, remembering, and others the like, which have no affinity with corporeal things, to have risen from the body, have greatly transgressed in the method of right reasoning and philosophizing, which hath been done by Epicurus, and those who have thought as he did, having affirmed our minds to be composed of corporeal atoms. But whence shall we say they have had their rise? Truly, they do not owe their rise to matter, which is wholly destitute of sense and thought, nor are they spontaneously sprung up from nothing, it being an ontological maxim of most evident truth, that nothing springs from nothing.'

Having thus given the reader the primary objections made against the existence of spirits, and the refutations thereof, I must now frankly own on which side my opinion leans; and for my part, it seems manifest to me that there are two beings, we conceive very plainly and distinctly, viz. body and spirit, and that it would be as absurd and ridiculous to deny the existence of the one as of the other; and really, if the refuters have got the better in their way of reasoning, they have still a much greater advantage over the objectors, when they come to back these reasons with fresh arguments drawn from experience. Of this, there having been many undoubted narratives given in the foregoing pages, concerning the apparitions of spirits, I shall refer the reader back again to them, and only subjoin here one or two instances, which may, if required, be proved upon oath, of spirits seen by two persons of our Duncan Campbell's own acquaintance. In the year 1711, one Mrs. Stephens and her daughter were together with Mr. Campbell, at the house of Mr. Ramell, a very great and noted weaver at Haggerstone, where the rainy weather detained them till late at night. Just after the clock struck twelve, they all of them went to the door to see if the rain had ceased, being extremely desirous to get home. As soon as ever they had opened the door and were all got together, there appeared before them a thing all in white, the face seemed of a dismal pallid hue, but the eyes thereof fiery and flaming like beacons, and of a saucer size. It made its approaches to them till it came up within the space of about three yards of them, there it fixed and stood like a figure agaze for some minutes; and they all stood likewise stiff, like the figure, frozen with fear, motionless, and speechless; when all of a sudden it vanished from their eyes; and that apparition to the sight

was succeeded by a noise, or the appearance of a noise, like that which is occasioned by the fighting of twenty mastiff dogs.

Not long after, Mrs. Anne Stephens, who lived in Spitalfields, a woman well known by her great dealings with mercers upon Ludgate Hill, sitting in her house alone, and musing upon business, happened by accident to look behind her, and saw a dead corpse, to her thinking, lie extended upon the floor, just as a dead corpse should be, excepting that the foot of one leg was fixed on the ground, as it is in a bed when one lies with one knee up; she looked at it a long while, and by degrees at last stole her eyes from so unpleasing and unexpected an object. However, a strange kind of a curiosity overcame her fears, and she ventured a second time to turn her head that way, and saw it, as before, fixed for a considerable time longer, but durst not stir from her seat; she again withdrew her eyes from the horrible and melancholy spectacle, and resumed the courage, after a little reflection, of viewing it again, and resolving to ascertain herself if the vision was real, by getting up from her seat and going to it, but upon this third retrospection she found it vanished. This relation she writ down to Mr. Duncan Campbell, and has told before Mrs. Ramell, her own sister, and many other very creditable persons. Now as to these arguments from experience, I shall also deliver my opinion. I dispute not but that learned men, who have obstinate prepossessions, may produce plausible arguments why all things should be thought to be done by imposture which seem strange to them, and interfere with their belief; and truly thus far their humour may be indulged, that if only one person relates a very strange and surprising story, a man may be more apt to think it is possible for that person to lie, than that so strange a relation should be true; but if a considerable number of persons, of several countries, several religions, several professions, several ages, and those persons looked upon to be of as great sagacity as any the country afford, agree in relations of the same kind, though very strange, and are ready to vouch the truth of them upon oath, after having well considered circumstances, I think it a violation of the law of nature to reject all these relations as fabulous, merely upon a self-presuming conceit, unless a man can fairly show the things to be impossible, or can demonstrate wherein those persons were imposed on; for from hence I form the following conclusive argument. What is possible according to reason, grows probable according to belief, where the possibility is attested to have reduced itself into action by persons of known credit and integrity. Now, not only the possibility of the existence of spirits, but the actual existence thereof is proved above by logical demonstration; therefore are we to believe both by the course of logical reason and moral faith, that those existences have appeared to men of credit, who have attested the reality thereof upon oath.

Second Objection against the Existence of Witches.

These objectors go on to say, that provided they should allow there is an existence of spirits, yet that would be still no argument how magic should subsist, because they deny that it is possible for a man in his body to have a commerce, much less make a contract with spirits. But here again the refuters allege they have both experience and reason on their sides. As a *joint* argument of reason and experience, they tell you that the numerous witches which have in all countries been arraigned and condemned upon this occasion, are evident testimonies of this commerce and contract being held and made with spirits. They pretend to say that these objectors call not their (the refuters') judgment so much in question, who contend that there is a magic art, as they call in question the judgment of all the wisest legislative powers in Christendom, who have universally agreed in enacting penal laws against such capital offenders.

But here the objectors return and say, that it being impossible for us to show the manner how such a contract should be made, we can never, but without reason, believe a thing to be, of which we can form no perfect idea. The refuters, on the other hand, reply with the learned Father le Brune, it is manifest that we can see but two sorts of beings, spirits and bodies; and that since we can reason but according to our ideas, we ought to ascribe to spirits what cannot be produced by bodies. Indeed the author of the *Republic of Learning*, in the month of August, anno 1686, has given us a rough draught for writing a good tract of witchcraft, which he looks upon as a desideratum; where, among other things, he writes thus: 'Since this age is the true time of systems, one should be contrived concerning the commerce that may be betwixt demons and men.'

On this passage Father le Brune writes thus: 'Doubtless here the author complies with the language of a great many persons, who, for want of attention and light, would have us put all religion into systems. Whatever regard I ought to have for many of those persons, I must not be afraid to say that there is no system to be made of those truths, which we ought to learn distinctly by faith, because we must advance nothing here, but what we receive from the oracle. We must make a system to explain the effects of the loadstone, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, the motion of the planets; for that the cause of these effects is not evidently signified to us, and many may be conceived by us; and to determine us, we have need of a great number of observations, which by an exact induction may lead us to a cause that may satisfy all the phenomena. It is not the same in the truths of religion; we come not at them by groping; it were to be wished men spoke not of them, but after a decisive and infallible authority. It is thus we should speak of the power of demons, and of the commerce they have with men; it is of faith, that they have power, and that they attack men, and try to seduce them divers ways. It is true, indeed, they are sometimes permitted to have it over the just, though they have it not ordinarily, but over those that want faith, or fear not to partake of their works; and that to the last particularly, the disordered intelligences try to make exactly succeed what they wish; inspiring them to have recourse to certain practices by which those seducing spirits enter into commerce with men.' Thus far Father le Brune. But still these objectors demand to know by what means this commerce may be held between demons and men, and urge us to describe the manner; or pretend that they have still reason to refuse coming into the belief of a thing which we would impose upon them, though wholly ignorant of it ourselves. To that the refuters answer thus: That both Christian divines and physicians agree (as to the manner how, which they are so curious in inquiring after) that demons stir up raptures and ecstasies in men, binding or loosing the exterior senses, and that either by stopping the pores of the brain, so that the spirits cannot pass forth (as it is done naturally by sleep), or by recalling

the sensitive spirits from the outward senses to the inward organs, which he there retains; so the devil renders women-witches ecstatical and magicians, who, while they lie fast asleep in one place, think they have been in divers places and done many things. This, the learned objectors say, proceeds from no demon, but from the disease called an epilepsy. But, on the other hand, the more learned refuters insist upon it, that these ecstasies are not epileptic seizures. This, say they, appears from Bodin, in his *Theatre of Universal Nature*, where he says, That those who are wrapt by the devil feel neither stripes nor cuttings, nor no wresting of their limbs, nor burning tortures, nor the application of a red-hot iron; nay, nor is the beat of the pulse, nor the motion of the heart perceived in them; but afterwards, returning to themselves, they feel most bitter pains of the wounds received, and tell of things done at six hundred miles distance, and affirm themselves to have seen them done. The ingenious Dr. Ader makes an admirable physical distinction between this kind of ecstasy and a syncope, or stupor caused by narcotic medicines. Sennertus, in his *Institutio Medica*, writes of the demoniacal sopor of witches, who think they are carried through the air, dance, feast, and have copulation with the devil, and do other things in their sleep, and afterwards believe the same things waking. Now, he says, 'whether they are really so carried in the air, &c., or being in a profound sleep, or only dream they are so carried, and persist in that opinion after they are awake, these facts or dreams cannot be natural; for it cannot be that there should be so great an agreement in dreams, of persons differing in place, temperament, age, sex, and studies, that in one night, and at the same hour, they should, in concert, dream of one and the same such meeting, and should agree as to the place, number, and quality of the persons, and the like circumstances; but such dreams are suggested from a preternatural cause, viz. from the devil to his confederate, by the divine permission of an Almighty power, where punishments are to be permitted to be inflicted upon reprobate sinners.'

Whence also, to those witches sincerely converted, and refusing to be any more present at those diabolical meetings, those dreams no longer happen, which is a proof that they proceeded not before from a natural cause.

Here begins the great point of the dispute as to that branch of magic which we call natural magic. The objectors may tell us that they will freely own that there may be an existence of spirits; that there may be an existence of witches; that by a divine power men may be influenced so far as to have a communication with good spirits, and that from thence they may become spiritual-divine magicians. They will likewise, perhaps, as freely grant that, by the intervention of a demon, things preternatural may be brought about by persons who have studied the demoniacal magic; but then what they principally insist upon is, that it must be contradictory to all human reason to imagine that there can be such a thing as natural magicians: and thus far they may form their argument. They say that the persons who contend for the magic art own that all that is brought about by magic is by the assistance and help of a spirit, and that consequently what is effected by it must be preternatural. Now, say they, it is a thing inconsistent, by a natural power, to bring about a preternatural effect; therefore there can be no such thing as natural magic, which has within itself the efficacy of destroying those acts done by magicians in the diabolical.

To this the refuters take leave to reply, that the foundation upon which the argument is built is wrong grounded: they have admitted that, in diabolical art magic, there may be a commerce held between men and spirits, by which several preternatural effects may be brought about; and the reason they assign for it there is, because there is a preternatural agent concerned therein, the devil; but then, say they, in natural magic you can pretend to no such agent, and therefore to no such preternatural effect. This argument contains within it two fallacies: First, as to the commerce held between a man and a demon, there is nothing preternatural in getting the acquaintance: the will of the man is entirely natural, either naturally good, or naturally corrupted. The black spirit that converseth with him, it is acknowledged is not so; but it is from the will of the man, not from the power vested in the devil, that the acquaintance first grows, therefore the acquaintance itself is natural, though it arises from the last corruption and depravations of nature; but being made with a preternatural existence, though the cause of the acquaintance be corruptedly natural, yet the intermediate cause or means after that acquaintance is not so, and therefore the effect of that intermediate cause may be wonderful, and seem to be out of the ordinary course of nature. Now, since it is generally allowed that there are natural spirits of the elements, as well as divine and infernal, what we have to prove is only this, that man by natural magic may have a commerce with natural spirits of their elements, as witches may have with the spirits or demons. Now, as we said before, the commerce itself depends upon the will of the person, and is therefore natural, and consequently may as well subsist between the one as the other; for the devil cannot force a man to hold a commerce with him whether he will or no. The second fallacy is calling the effect preternatural, no otherwise than as it connotates the agent that brought it about, which is a spiritual agent; for the effect is, in itself considered, natural, and brought about by second causes that are natural, by the devil's penetration, who is subtle enough to make use of them for such and such ends. Now men, by natural spirits, which are of a faculty thoroughly subtle, may as well with natural second causes compass the remedy of an evil spirit, as the devil is able to infect men with it. From these speculations a farther plain consequence may be deduced, how a man may, by the pure force of natural magic, cure a person that is infested with evils by a demon; for how is it that a demon infests anybody with his evil motions? It is true, he is a preternatural agent; but the evil effect he does is brought about by natural causes. For how does a demon stir up raptures or ecstasies in men? Why, he does it, as we are told above, by binding or loosing the exterior senses, by stopping the pores of the brain, so that the spirits cannot pass forth; and this the art of physic can compass by its drugs, and sleep causes the same thing very naturally of itself; therefore, as the evil itself is natural, the remedy, that is natural, will certainly overcome it. But then, say you, why cannot those persons be cured by physicians? I answer, not because their remedies are not in themselves sufficient to cure the evils themselves, but because generally physicians do not administer their drugs as Christians, but as physicians; and when they prescribe them to the sick, they generally prescribe to them only, purely considered as patients, not as Christians; and therein they come to fail: because the agent, the devil, is a subtle spirit, that

brings the evil, and alters its situation before the remedy, which would master it otherwise, can take any effect; which agent, the devil, is employed by the horrible and impious faith of the antiphysician, viz. the black magician. But if the physician would act the Christian at the same time, so far as to have a faith that things ordained in the course of nature for the good of man, would have its effects in spite of a devil, if taken with a good faith by the patient; that all good things ordained to be for the natural recovery of men, if they took it with thankfulness to the sender, would have due effect; why then the natural spirits of the elements would resist the farther agency of the demoniacal spirit, and then nothing but the natural evil, caused at first by the demon, remaining in the person, without the farther superintendency of the demon, might demonstratively be taken away by the mere natural remedy or medicine. And thus good and pious physicians, making use of such proper remedies as their skill teaches them, and having an honest faith, that the goods of nature, intended for the use and benefit of man, if received by the patient with the same good faith, is above the power of the devil to frustrate, may not improperly be called natural magicians. These arguments of mine I shall now take leave to back by experience.

Besides what we have urged from reason, concerning the power of natural magic, we shall only subjoin, that divines themselves hold that natural magic, and also natural divinations and prophecies, are proved by quotations from that venerable writ which is their guide; and bring proofs from the same also, that by natural magic demons are also cast forth, but not all kinds of demons, and so many works of efficacy are wrought by natural magic: they tell you, such was the Pythonissa that raised the apparition to Saul, which appeared in a body of wind and air. Thus, if a person by natural magic should cast out demons, it does not follow that this was also from divine magic; and if demons are cast out by natural magic, by one that is in the fear of God, it does not follow that he is a true magician of God, but if it exorbitates to demoniacal, then it is condemned; and when natural magic keeps within its bounds, the divines tell us it is not condemned in the venerable book which is the Christian's sure guide. But, inasmuch as the lawfulness even of natural magic has been called in question by others, I shall, in an appendix joined to this treatise, examine that matter, both according to the reasons of our English laws, and according to the best stated rules of casuistry that I am a master of; still submitting my judgment to the superior judgment of those who are professed divines and lawyers; and if my opinions prove erroneous, I am willing to retract them. And therefore, in this place, there remains nothing farther for me to do, but only, as I have shown, on the one hand, how natural magic, and its powerful operations, are proved by reason; to show, on the other hand, how far reason in these cases is likewise backed and supported by well-evidenced practice, and notorious experience. And to do this, after having mentioned one memorable instance, which I refer the reader to in the body of the book, concerning the performances of Mr. Greatrix, to which the Lord Orrery was a witness in Ireland; I shall, to avoid prolixity, bring the other testimonials of practice, from the success which our Duncan Campbell himself has had in this way on other occasions.

In the year 1713, lived in Fenchurch-street, one Mr. Coates, a tobacco merchant, who had been for many years sorely tormented in his body, and had had recourse for a cure to all the most eminent physicians of the age, even up to the great Dr. Ratcliff himself; but all this mighty application for relief was still in vain: each doctor owned him a wonder and a mystery to physic, and left him as much a wonder as they found him. Neither could the professors of surgery guess at his ailment, or resolve the riddle of his distemper; and after having spent, from first to last, above a thousand pounds in search of proper remedies, they found the search ineffectual; the learned all agreed that it could proceed from nothing else than witchcraft. They had now indeed guessed the source of his illness; but it was an illness of such a kind that, when they had found it out, they thought themselves not the proper persons to prescribe to him any remedies. That task was reserved, it seems, for our Duncan Campbell, who, upon somebody's information or other, was sent for to the bewitched patient Mr. Coates, who found him the wonder that the others had left him, but did wonders in undertaking and compassing his cure. I remember one of the ingredients made use of was boiling his own water, but I cannot tell how it was used; and, upon turning over the books of some great physicians since, I have found that they themselves have formerly delivered that as one part of the prescriptions for the cure of patients in like cases. But as there are other things which Mr. Campbell performs, that seem to require a mixture of the second-sight, and of this natural magic, before they can be brought about, I will entertain the reader with one or two passages of that sort likewise, and so conclude the history of this so singular a man's life and adventures.

In the year 1710, a gentlewoman lost about six pounds' worth of Flanders lace, and inasmuch as it was a present made to her husband, she was concerned as much as if it had been of twenty times the value; and a lady of her acquaintance coming to visit her, to whom she unfolded, among other things in discourse, this little disaster, the lady, smiling, replied with this question, 'Did you never hear, madam, of Mr. Duncan Campbell? It is but making your application to him, things that are lost are immediately found; the power of his knowledge exceeds even the power of laws; they but restrain, and frighten, and punish robbers, but he makes thieves expiate their guilt by the more virtuous way of turning restorers of the goods they have stolen.' 'Madam,' rejoined the losing gentlewoman, 'you smile when you tell me this; but really, as much a trifle as it is, since it was a present to my husband, I cannot help being sensibly concerned at it; a moment's disappointment to him in the least thing in nature, creates in me a greater uneasiness than the greatest disappointment to my single self could do in things of moment and importance.' 'What makes me smile,' said the lady, 'when I speak of it, or think of it, is the oddness and peculiarity of this man's talent in helping one to such things; but, without the least jest, I assure you that I know by experience these things come within the compass of his knowledge; and I must seriously tell you, for your farther satisfaction, that he has helped me, and several of my friends, to the finding again things lost, which were of great value.' 'And is this, without laughing, true?' said the losing fair, very gravely and demurely, like a person half believing, and desirous to be fully confirmed in such a belief. The lady she advised with did then ascertain her of the truth of the matter, alleging that, for a single half-guinea, he would inform her of her things, and describe the person that conveyed them away

No sooner was this gentlewoman convinced, but she was eager for the trial; solicited her friend to conduct her to Mr. Campbell; and, upon the first word of consent, she was hooded and scarfed immediately, and they coached it away in a trice to Mr. Campbell's house, whom they luckily found within.

The ladies had not been long seated before he wrote down the name of this new client of his, exactly as it was, viz. Mrs. Saxon. Then she was in good hopes, and with much confidence propounded to him the question about the lace. He paused but a very little while upon the matter before he described the person that took it, and satisfied her that in two or three days she would be mistress of her lace again, and find it in some book or corner of her room. She presented him a half-guinea, and was very contentedly going away; but Mr. Campbell very kindly stopped her, and signified to her that, if she had no more to offer him, he had something of more importance to reveal to her. She sat full of expectation while he wrote this new matter; and the paper he delivered to her contained the following account: 'As for the loss of a little bit of lace, it is a mere trifle; you have lost a great many hundreds of pounds, which your aunt (naming her name) left you, but you are bubbled out of that large sum. For while you was artfully required down stairs about some pretended business or other, one Mr. H—tt—n conveyed your aunt's will out of the desk, and several other things of value.' And writing down the names of all the persons concerned, which put Mrs. Saxon in a great consternation, he concluded this paper with bidding her go home with a contented mind, she should find her lace in a few days; and as she found that prediction prove true, she should afterwards come and consult about the rest.

When she came home, it seems, big at first with the thoughts of what she had been told, she rifled and ransacked every corner, but no lace was to be met with; all the next day she hunted in the like manner, but frightened the whole time as if she thought the devil was the only person could bring it, but all to no purpose; the third day her curiosity abated, she gave over the hopes of it, and took the prediction as a vain delusion, and that what she gave for it was only more money thrown away after what had been lost before. That very day, as it commonly happens in such cases, when she least dreamt of it, she lighted on it by accident and surprise. She ran with it in her hand immediately to her husband, and now she had recovered it again, told him of the loss of it, and the whole story of her having been at Mr. Campbell's about it; and then, amplifying the discourse about what he had told her besides, as to more considerable affairs, she said she resolved to go and consult him a little farther about them, and begged her husband to accompany her. He would fain have laughed her out of that opinion and intent, but the end was she persuaded him into it, and prevailed upon him to seem at least very serious about the matter, and go with her to the oracle, assuring him there was no room for doubting the same success.

Well, to Mr. Campbell's they accordingly came; and after Mr. Saxon, in deference to his wife's desire, had paid our predictor a handsome compliment of gold, Mr. Duncan Campbell saluted him in as grateful a manner, with the assurance that there was in Kent a little country house, with some lands appertaining to it, that was his in right of his wife; that he had the house, as it were, before his eyes; that though he had never substantially seen it, nor been near the place where it stood, he had seen it figuratively as if in exact painting and sculpture; that particularly it had four green trees before the door, from whence he was positive, that if Mr. Saxon went with him in quest of it, he should find it out, and know it as well the moment he came near to it, as if he had been an inhabitant in it all his life.

Mr. Saxon, though somewhat of an unbeliever, yet must naturally wish to find it true, you may be sure; and yet partly doubting the event, and partly pleased with the visionary promise of a fortune he never expected, laughed very heartily at the oddness of the adventure, and said he would consider whether it would not savour too much of Quixotism to be at the expense of a journey on such frolics, and on such a chimerical foundation of airy hopes, and that then he would call again and let Mr. Campbell know his mind upon that point.

In every company he came into it served for laughter and diversion; they all, however, agreed it was worth his while, since the journey would not be very expensive, to go it by way of frolic. His wife, one morning, saying that she did remember some talk of a house, and such things as Mr. Campbell had described, put him forward upon the adventure; and upon Mr. Saxon's proposing it to his brother Barnard, Mr. Barnard favoured the proposal as a joke, and agreed upon the country ramble. They came on horseback to Mr. Campbell's with a third horse, on which the dumb predictor was mounted, and so on they jogged into Kent, towards Sevenoaks, being the place which he described. The first day they set out was on a Saturday morning in June, and about five that afternoon they arrived at the Black Bull, at Sevenoaks, in Kent. It being a delicate evening, they took an agreeable walk up a fine hill, gracefully adorned with woods, to an old seat of the Earl of Dorset. Meeting by the way with an old servant of the earl, one Perkin, he offered Mr. Barnard, who it seems was his old acquaintance, to give them all a sight of the fine ancient seat.

After they had pleased themselves with viewing the antique nobility of that stately structure, this Perkin went back with them to their inn, the Bull, at Sevenoaks. They that could talk were very merry in chat; and the dumb gentleman, who saw them laugh and wear all the signs of alacrity in their countenances, was resolved not to be behind with their tongues, and by dint of pen, ink, and paper, that he made signs should be brought in, was resolved, if one might be said to crack without noise, to crack his jest as well as the best of them; for it may be truly said of him, that he seldom comes into any even diverting company, where he is not the most diverting man there, and the head, though we cannot call him the mouth, of the cheerful society. After having eyed this Perkin a little, and being grown by his art, as we may suppose, as familiar with the man's humour as if he had known him as many years as Mr. Barnard, 'Pray, Mr. Barnard,' quoth he, in writing, 'how comes it, you, that are so stanch and so stiff a Whig, should be so acquainted and so particularly familiar with such an old Papist, and so violent a Jacobite, as I know that Mr. Perkin (whom I never saw nor had any notice of in my life) to be?' 'And pray,' replied Mr. Barnard, 'what reason have you beyond a pun to take him for a Jacobite? Must he be so because his name is Perkin? I do assure you in this you show yourself but little of a conjuror; if you can tell no more of houses than you do of men, we may give over the search after the house you spoke of.' (Here the reader must

understand they discoursed on their fingers, and wrote by turns.) Mr. Campbell replied, seriously, 'Laying a wager is no argument in other things, I own, but in this I know it is, because I am sure, after we have laid the wager, he will fairly confess it among friends, since it will go no farther; and I,' said Mr. Campbell, 'will lay what wager you will apiece with you all round.' Hereupon Mr. Barnard, who had known him a great many years, was the first that laid; and many more, to the number of five or six, followed his example. The decision of the matter was deferred till next day at the return of the old man to the inn, they being about to break up that night and go to bed.

The next day being Sunday, the landlord carried his guests to see the country, and, after a handsome walk, they came through the churchyard. They were poring upon the tombs; no delight can be greater to Mr. Campbell than that; and really, by the frequent walks he usually takes in Westminster Abbey, and the churchyards adjacent to this metropolis, one would imagine he takes delight to stalk along by himself on that dumb silent ground, where the characters of the persons are only to be known, as his own meaning is, by writings and inscriptions on the marble. When they had sufficiently surveyed the churchyard, it grew near dinner time, and they went homewards; but before they had got many yards out of the churchyard Mr. Campbell makes a full stop, pointing up to a house; and stopping his friends a little, he pulls out of his pocket a pencil and paper, and notes down the following words: 'That, that is the house my vision presented to me; I could swear it to be the same, I know it to be the same, I am certain of it.' The gentlemen with him remarked it, would not take any farther notice at that time, intending to inquire into it with secrecy, and so went on to the inn to dinner.

As merry as they had been the night before after supper, they were still more innocently cheerful this day after dinner, till the time of service began. When the duty of the day was performed and over, they returned to divert and unbend their minds with pleasant but harmless conversation. I suppose nobody but a set of very great formalists will be offended with scandal or scruples, that to travellers just ready to depart the town, Mr. Perkin came on that good day and decided the wagers, by owning to all the company (secrecy being first enjoined) that he was a Roman Catholic, though nobody of the family knew it in so many years as he had lived there, which was before Mr. Campbell was born. This and other innocent speeches afforded as much cheerfulness as the Lord's day would allow of.

On the next day, being Monday, they sent for one Mr. Toland Toler, an attorney of the place, to find out to whom that house belonged; but by all the inquiry that could possibly be made, with convenient secrecy, nobody could find it out for a long time; but at last it came to light, and appeared to be justly to a tittle as Mr. Campbell had predicted.

Being now satisfied, the next day our three travellers returned for London; and the two vocal men were very jocular upon their adventure, and by their outward gesticulations gave the prophetical mute his share of diversion. Mr. Barnard, as they passed into a farmhouse-yard, remarked that all the hogs fell a grunting and squeaking more and more as Mr. Campbell came nearer (who, poor man! could know nothing of the jest, nor the cause of it, till they alighted and told it him by signs and writing), and said to Mr. Saxon, laughing, 'Now we have found out our house, we shall have only Mr. Campbell home again by himself; we have no farther need of the devil, that accompanied him to the country, up to town with us; there are other devils enow to be met with there, he knows; and so this, according to the fashion of his predecessor devils, is entered into the herd of swine.'

However, the event of this journey, to cut the story short, procured Mr. Saxon a great insight, upon inquiry, into several affairs belonging to him, of which he would otherwise have had no knowledge; and he is now engaged in a Chancery suit to do himself justice, and in a fair way of recovering great sums of money which, without the consultation he had with this dumb gentleman, he had in all likelihood never dreamt of.

In the year 1711, a gentleman, whose name shall be, in this place, Amandus, famed for his exquisite talents in all arts and sciences, but particularly for his gentlemanlike and entertaining manner of conversation, whose company was affected by all men of wit, who grew his friends, and courted by all ladies of an elegant taste, who grew his admirers; this accomplished gentleman, I say, came to Mr. Campbell, in order to propound a question to him, which was so very intricate, and so difficult to answer, that, if he did answer it, it might administer to himself, and the ladies he brought with him, the pleasure of admiration in seeing a thing so wonderful in itself performed; or, on the other hand, if he did not make a satisfactory reply to it, then it might afford him and the ladies a very great delight, in being the first that puzzled a man, who had had the reputation for so many years of being capable of baffling all the wittiest devices and shrewd stratagems that had been from time to time invented, to baffle his skill and explode his penetration in the second-sight, and the arts which he pretended to. The persons whom Amandus brought with him were the illustrious Lady Delphina, distinguished for her great quality, but still more celebrated for her beauty; his own lady, the admired Amabella, and a young blooming pretty virgin, whom we will call by the name of Adeodata; about which last lady the question was to be put to Mr. Campbell. Adeodata, it seems, was the natural daughter of this very fine gentleman, who had never let her into the knowledge of her own birth, but had bred her up from her infancy under a borrowed name, in the notion that she was a relation's daughter, and recommended to his care in her infancy. Now the man that had the second-sight was to be tried; it was now to be put to the proof if he could tell names or no? Amandus was so much an unbeliever as to be willing to hazard the discovery. Amabella and Delphina were strangers to her real name, and asked Duncan Campbell, not doubting but he would set down that which she ordinarily went by. Amabella had indeed been told by Amandus that Adeodata was the natural daughter of a near friend of his, but who this near friend was remained a secret; that was the point which lay upon our Duncan Campbell to discover. When the question was proposed to him, what her name was, he looked at her very stedfastly, and shook his head, and after some time he wrote down that it would be a very difficult name for him to fix upon. And truly so it proved; he toiled for every letter till he sweated; and the ladies laughed incontinently, imagining that he was in an agony of shame and confusion at find-

ing himself posed. He desired Amandus to withdraw a little, for that he could not so well take a full and proper survey of ladies' faces when a gentleman was by. This disturbance and perplexity of his afforded them still more subject of mirth; and that excuse was taken as a pretence and a put-off to cover his shame the better, and hide from one, at least, that he was but a downright bungler in what he pretended to be so wonderful an artist. However, after two hours hard sweat and labour, and viewing the face in different shades and lights (for I must observe to the reader that there is a vast deal of difference; some he can tell in a minute or two with ease, some not in less than four or five hours, and that with great trouble), he undeceived them with regard to his capacity. He wrote down that Adeodata's real name was Amanda, as being the natural daughter of Amandus. Delphina and Amabella were surprised at the discovery; and Amandus, when he was called in, owning it a truth, his wife Amabella applauded the curious way of her coming by such a discovery, when Adeodata was just marriageable, took a liking to her as if her own daughter, and everything ended with profit, mirth, and cheerfulness. I could add a thousand more adventures of Mr. Campbell's life, but that would prove tedious; and as the town has made a great demand for the book, it was thought more proper to conclude it here. The most diverting of all are to be found best to the life in original letters that passed between Mr. Campbell and his correspondents, some select ones of which will be shortly published in a little pocket volume for the farther entertainment of such readers as shall relish this treatise; in which the author hopes he shall be esteemed to have endeavoured at the intermingling of some curious disquisitions of learning with entertaining passages, and to have ended all the merriest passages with a sober, instructive, and edifying moral, which, even to those who are not willing to believe the stories, is reckoned sufficient to recommend even fables themselves.

APPENDIX.

It is not that Mr. Duncan Campbell stands in need of my arguments to prove that he is in no respect liable to the Acts of Parliament made against fortune-tellers, &c., that I undertake the writing of this appendix, the true reason thereof being the more completely to finish this undertaking; for having, in the body of the book itself, fully proved a second-sight, and that the same frequently happens to persons, some of them eminently remarkable for piety and learning, and have from thence accounted for the manner of Mr. Campbell's performing those things he professes, to the great surprise and no less satisfaction of all the curious who are pleased to consult him; and at the same time proved the lawfulness of such his performances from the opinions of some of the most learned in holy science; I thought it not improper to add the following short appendix (being a summary of several Acts of Parliament made against fortune-tellers, conjurors, Egyptians, sorcerers, pretenders to prophecy, &c., with some proper remarks suited to our present purpose), as well to satisfy them who are fantastically wise, and obstinately shut their eyes against the most refulgent reason, and are wilfully deaf to the most convincing and persuasive arguments, and thereupon cry out that Mr. Campbell is either an impostor and a cheat, or at least a person who acts by the assistance of unlawful powers; as also to put to silence the no less waspish curs who are always snarling at such whom Providence has distinguished by more excellent talents than their neighbours. True merit is always the mark against which traducers level their keenest darts; and wit and invention oftentimes join hands with ignorance and malice to foil those who excel. Art has no greater enemy than ignorance; and were there no such thing as vice, virtue would not shine with half its lustre. Did Mr. Campbell perform those wonderful things he is so deservedly famous for, as these cavillers say, by holding intelligence with infernal powers, or by any unjustifiable means, I am of opinion he would find very few in this atheistical age who would open their mouths against him, since none love to act counter to the interest of that master they industriously serve. And did he, on the other hand, put the cheat upon the world, as they maliciously assert, I fancy he would then be more generally admired, especially in a country where the game is so universally, artfully, and no less profitably played, and that with applause, since those pretenders to wisdom merrily divide the whole species of mankind into the two classes of knaves and fools, fixing the appellation of folly only upon those whom they think not wise, that is, wicked enough to have a share with them in the profitable guilt.

Our laws are as well intended by their wise makers to screen the innocent, as to punish the guilty; and where their penalties are remarkably severe, the guilt they punish is of a proportionable size. Art, which is a man's property when acquired, claims a protection from those very laws which false pretenders thereto are to be tried and punished by, or else all science would soon have an end; for no man would dare make use of any talent Providence had lent him, and his own industrious application had improved, should he be immediately tried and condemned by those statutes which are made to suppress villains, by every conceited and half-learned pedant.

It is true, indeed, those excellent statutes, which are made against a sort of people who pretend to fortune-telling and the like, are such as are well warranted, as being built upon the best foundation, viz. religion and policy; and were Mr. Campbell guilty of any such practice as those are made to punish, I openly declare that I should be so far from endeavouring to defend his cause, that I would be one of the first that should aggravate his crime, thereby to enforce the speedier execution of those laws upon him which are made against such offenders. But when he is so far from acting, that he doth not even pretend to any such practice, or for countenancing the same in others, as is manifest from the many detections he has made of that sort of villany which the book furnishes us with, I think myself sufficiently justified for thus pleading in his defence.

I cannot but take notice, in reading the statutes made against such offenders, our wise legislature hath not in any part of them seemed so much as to imply that there are in reality any such wicked persons as they are made against, to wit, conjurors, etc., but that they are only pretenders to those infernal arts, as may reasonably be inferred from the nature of the penalties they inflict; for our first laws of that sort only inflicted a penalty which affected the goods and liberty of the guilty, and not their lives, though indeed they were afterwards forced to heighten the punishment with a halter; not that they were better convinced, as I humbly conceive, but because the

criminals were most commonly persons who had no goods to forfeit, and to whom their liberty was no otherwise valuable but as it gave them the opportunity of doing mischief. Indeed, our law-books do furnish us with many instances of persons who have been tried and executed for witchcraft and sorcery; but then the wiser part of mankind have taken the liberty to condemn the magistrate, at that time of day, of too much inconsideration, and the juries of an equal share of credulity; and those who have suffered for such crimes have been commonly persons of the lowest rank, whose poverty might occasion a dislike of them in their fellow-creatures, and their too artless defence subject them to their mistaken justice; so that, upon the whole, I take the liberty to conclude, and I hope not without good grounds, that those laws were made to deter men from an idle pretence to mysterious and unjustifiable arts, which, if too closely pursued, commonly lead them into the darkest villany, not only that of deceiving others, but, as far as in them lie, making themselves slaves to the devil, and not to prevent and hinder men from useful inquiries, and from the practice of such arts, which, though they are in themselves mysterious, yet are and may be lawful.

I would not, however, be thought, in contradiction to my former arguments, to assert that there never were, or that there now are, no persons such as wizards, sorcerers, &c.; for by so doing I should be as liable to be censured for my incredulity as those who defame Mr. Campbell on that account are for their want of reason and common honesty. Holy and profane writ, I confess, furnishes us with many instances of such persons; but we must not from thence hastily infer that all those men are such who are spitefully branded with the odious guilt; for were it in the devil's power to make every wicked man a wizard, and woman a witch, he soon would have agents enough to shake this lower world to atoms; but the Almighty who restrains him, likewise restrains those.

Having premised thus much, I shall now proceed to consider some of the Acts of Parliament themselves, the persons against whom they were made, and the necessity of making the same. And some of the first Acts we meet with were those which were made against a sort of people called Egyptians, persons who, if in reality such, might, if any, be suspected of practising what we call the black art, the same having been for many ages encouraged in their country; nay, so much has it been by them favoured, that it was introduced into their superstitious religion (if I may without an absurdity call it so), and made an essential part thereof; and I believe Mohammedanism has not much mended the matter, since it has imperiously reigned there, or in any respect reformed that idolatrous nation. Now the mischief these persons might do (being so much in the devil's power) among the unwary, was thought too considerable not to be provided against; and therefore our wise legislature, the more effectually to prevent the same, by striking at the very foundation, made an Act in 22 Henry VIII. 8: That if any calling themselves Egyptians do come into this realm, they shall forfeit all their goods; and being demanded, shall depart the realm within fifteen days, upon pain of imprisonment; and the importers of them, by another Act, were made liable to a heavy penalty. This Act was continued by the 1 Philip and Mary. Conjuration, witchcraft, enchantment, and sorcery, to get money, or consume any person in his body, members, or goods, or to provoke any person to unlawful love, was by the 33 Henry VIII. 14, and the 5 Elizabeth 16, and the 1 James I. 12, made felony; and by the same 33 Henry VIII. 14, it was made felony to declare to another any false prophecies upon arms, &c.; but this Act was repealed by the 1 Edward VI. 12, but by another Act of the 3 and 4 of Edward VI. 15, it was again enacted, That all such persons who should pretend to prophecies, &c., should, upon conviction, for the first offence forfeit ten pounds, and one year's imprisonment; and for the second offence, all his goods, and imprisonment for life. And by the 7 Edward VI. 11, the same was made to continue but till the then next sessions of Parliament. And by the 5 Elizabeth 15, the same Act was again renewed against fantastical prophesiers, &c.; but both those Acts were repealed by the 1 James I. 12.

Thus far we find, that for reasons of state, and for the punishment of particular persons, those Acts were made and repealed, as occasion required, and not kept on foot, nor indeed were they ever made use of, as I can remember in my reading, against any persons whose studies led them into a useful inquiry into the nature of things, or a lawful search into the workings of nature itself, by which means many things are foretold long before they come to pass, as eclipses and the like, which astrologers successfully do, whose art has been in all ages held in so great esteem that the first monarchs of the East made it their peculiar study, by which means they deservedly acquired to themselves the name of Magi, or wise men; but, on the contrary, were provided against persons profligate and loose, who, under a pretence and mask of science, commit vile and roguish cheats; and this will the more plainly appear, if we consider the letter and express meaning of the following Acts, wherein the persons I am speaking of are described by such characters which sufficiently prove the assertion; for in the 39 of Elizabeth 4 it was enacted, That all persons calling themselves scholars, going about begging, seafaring men pretending losses of their ships and goods at sea, and going about the country begging, or using any subtle craft, feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or any other the like crafty science, or pretending that they can tell destinies, fortunes, or such like fantastical imaginations, shall be taken and deemed rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and shall be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and whipped till his or her body be bloody. And by the 1 James I. 12, for the better restraining of the said offences, and for the further punishing the same, it was further enacted, That any person or persons using witchcraft, sorcery, &c., and all their aiders, abettors, and counsellors, being convicted and attainted of the same offences, shall suffer pain of death, as felons, without the benefit of clergy; or to tell and declare in what place any treasure of gold and silver should or might be found in the earth, or other secret places; or where goods or things lost or stolen should be found or become; or to provoke any person to unlawful love, such offender to suffer imprisonment for one whole year without bail or mainprise, and once in every quarter of the said year shall in some market-town, or upon the market-day, or at any such time as any fair shall be kept there, stand openly in the pillory by the space of six hours, and there shall openly confess his or their offence; and for the second offence shall suffer death as felons without the benefit of clergy.

That these laws were made against a set of villains, whose natural antipathy to honesty and

labour furnished them with pretensions to an uncommon skill, thereby the more easily to gull and cheat the superstitiously credulous, and by that means discover from them some such secrets that might farther them in perpetrating the more consummate villany, is plain from the very words and expressions of the very Acts themselves, and the description of the persons they are made against; and not, as I before observed, to prevent and hinder men from the lawful inquiry after useful, delightful, and profitable knowledge.

Mr. Campbell, who has been long a settled and reputable inhabitant in many eminent parts of the city of London, cannot, I am sure, be looked upon as one of those these Acts of Parliament were made against, unless we first strip the Acts themselves of their own natural, express, and plain meaning, and clothe them with that which is more obscure, unnatural, forced, and constrained a practice; which, if allowed, would make them wound the innocent and clear the guilty, and render them not our defence but our greatest evil; they would, by that means, become a perfect enigma, and be so far from being admired for their plainness, that they would be even exploded like the oracles of the heathen for their double meaning.

If Mr. Campbell has the second-sight, as is unquestionable, from the allowed maxim, that what has been may be again, and by that means can take a view of contingencies and future events, so long as he confines these notices of approaching occurrences to a good purpose, and makes use of them only innocently and charitably to warn persons from doing such things, that according to his conceptions would lead them into misfortune, or else in putting them upon such arts that may be of use and benefit to themselves and posterity, always having a strict regard to morality and religion, to which he truly adheres, certainly I think he ought so much the more to be admired for the same, by how much the more this his excellent knowledge is surpassing that of other men, and not be therefore unjustly upbraided with the injurious character of a cheat, or an ill man. However, this I will presume to affirm, and I doubt not but to have my opinion confirmed by the learned sages of the law, that this his innocent practice, and I venture to add, honest one too, doth by no means entitle him to the penalties of the before-mentioned laws against fortune-tellers, and such sort of profligate wretches; which it is as great an absurdity to decry, as it would be to call him, who is a settled and reputable inhabitant, a stroller or wandering beggar.

Again, it is true that Mr. Campbell has relieved many that have been supposed to have been bewitched, as is related and well attested in the book of his life; but will any one from thence argue that he himself is a real conjuror, or wizard, because he breaks the chains by which those unhappy wretches were bound? No, surely; for if that were the case, we might then as well indict the physician who drives away a malignant distemper, and roots out its latent cause by his mysterious skill in plants and drugs; or conclude that the judge, who condemns a criminal, is for the same reason guilty of the self-same crime for which the offender is so by him condemned. Persons who delight in such unnatural conclusions, must certainly be in love with the greatest absurdities, and must entirely abandon their natural reason before they can be brought to conclude that the Prince of Darkness would assist men in destroying his own power.

The best answer I can afford those men is silence; for if they will not argue upon the principles of reason, or be guided by her dictates, I think them no more fit to be contended with in a rational and decent manner than bedlamites, and such who are bereft of all understanding. A rod is the best argument for the back of a fool, and contempt the best usage that ought to be shown to every headstrong and ignorant opponent.

In a word, I know of no branch of Mr. Campbell's practice that bears the least resemblance to those crimes mentioned in the foregoing Acts. That he can and doth tell people's names at first sight, though perfect strangers to him, is confessed by all who have made the curious inquiry at his hands; but what part of the Acts, I would fain know, is that against? Knowledge, and a clear sight into things not common, is not only an allowable, but a commendable qualification; and whether this knowledge in him be inherent, accidental, or the result of a long study, the case is still the same; since we are assured he doth it by no unlawful intelligence, or makes use of the same to any ill purpose, and therefore is undoubtedly as lawful as to draw natural conclusions from right premises. Hard is the fate of any man to be ignorant, but much harder would his lot be if he were to be punished for being wise, and, like Mr. Campbell, excelling others in this kind of knowledge.

Much more might be said in defence of Mr. Campbell and the art he professeth, but as the arguments which are brought against him by his enemies on the one hand, are trivial and ill-grounded, I therefore think they deserve no farther refutation; so, on the other, his innocency is too clear to require it.

After having thus taken a survey of Mr. Campbell's acts, with regard to their legality according to the statutes and the laws of the nation wherein he lives, we will consider next, whether, according to the stated rules of casuistry, among the great divines eminent for their authority, it may be lawful for Mr. Campbell to predict, or for good Christian persons to visit his house, and consult him about his predictions. I have upon this head examined all the learned casuists I could meet with in ancient times, for I cannot meet, in my reading, with any moderns that treat thoroughly upon this case, or I should rather have chosen them, because, perhaps, the second-sight was less known in those ancient days than it has been since, and so might escape their notice.

My design is first to give the reader a distinct summary of all that has been said of this matter, and to do it as succinctly and briefly as possible, and then to argue myself from what they agree upon as to this man's particular case.

That every one may have recourse to the authors themselves, if they have a curiosity, and find that I do not go about to impose upon their judgments, I will here tell the reader where he may find the whole contents of the following little abstract of divinity and casuistry; because it would be a tedious piece of work to set down the words of each of them distinctly, and quote them every one round at the end of their several different sentences, which tend to the same meaning, but I will strictly keep to the sense of them all; and I here give the reader their names, and the places, that he may consult them himself, if his inclination leads him to be so curious: Thomas Aquinas, iv. *Distin.* 34. *Quæstio* 1. *Art.* 3; Bona, ii. *Dist.* 7. *Art.* 2. *Quæst.* 1; Joannes Major, iv. *Dist.* 34. *Quæst.* 2; Sylvester, *Verbo Malefico, Quæst.* 8; Rosella, *Verb. Impedimentum*, xv. cap. 18; Tabiena, Verb. Impedimentum, 12 vers.; Cajetan, tom. ii. Opusc. 12. de Malefic.; Alphonsus, a

Cast. lib. x. *de Justâ Hæreticorum Punitione*, cap. 15; Cosmus Philiarchus, *de Offic. Sacerdot.* p. 2. lib. iii. cap. 11; Toletus, *in Summa*, lib. iv. cap. 16; Spineus, *in Tract. de Strigibus;* Petrus Binsfield, *in Tract. de Confessionibus Maleficorum.*

These divines have generally written upon impious arts of magic, which they call by the name of divination; and this divination, as they term it, they divide into two kinds: the one, in which the devil is expressly invoked, to teach hidden and occult things; the other, in which he is tacitly called upon to do the same. An express invocation is made by word or deed, by which a real pact is actually made with the devil, and that is a sin that affects the death of the soul, according to the laws of theology, and ought to affect the death of the body, according to civil and political laws. The tacit invocation of demons is then only, when a man busies himself so far with such persons, that it is meet and just that the devil should be permitted to have to do with him, though it was opposite to the intention of the man.

But then this express invocation is again subdivided into several species, according to the divers manners by which the devil instructs these men.

The first is enchantment, which I need not describe, and of which I will speak no more, because it is what everybody knows to be detestable, and nobody ought to know the art thereof.

The second is divination by dreams, when any instructions are expected from the devil by way of dream, which is a capital crime.

The third is called necromancy, which is, when by the use of blood and writing, or speaking certain verses, the dead seem to rise again, and speak and teach future things. For though the devil cannot recall a soul departed, yet he can, as some have thought, take the shape of the dead corpse, himself actuate it by his subtlety, as if it was informed with a soul. And some affirm, that by the divine permission the devil can do this, and spake so in the case of Samuel and Saul. But divines of a more solid genius attribute that power only to the Deity, and say, with reason, that it is beyond the devil's capacity. But it is certain this was a divination done in dead animals by the use of their blood, and therefore the word is derived from the Greek νεκρὸς, which signifies dead, and Μαντεία, which signifies divination.

The fourth species is called divination by the Pythians, which was taken from Apollo, the first diviner, as Thomas Aquinas says in his *Secundâ Secundæ, Quæst.* 95. *Art.* 3.

The fifth is called geomancy, which is when the devil teaches anything by certain signs appearing in the earthly bodies, as in wood, iron, or polished stones, beryls, or glass.

The sixth is named hydromancy, as when a demon teaches anything by appearances in the water.

The seventh is styled aeromancy; which is when he informs people of such things by figures in the air.

The eighth is entituled pyromancy; that is, when it instructs people by forms appearing in the fire.

The ninth is termed aruspicy; which is when, by signs appearing in the bowels of sacrificed animals, the demon predicts at altars.

Thus far as to express divination, or invocation of the devil, which is detestable; and the very consulting of persons that use such unlawful means is, according to the judgment of all casuists, the high road to eternal damnation.

Now as to tacit divination, or invocation of the devil, that is divided into two subaltern kinds. The first kind is, when for the sake of knowing hidden things, they make use of a vain and superstitious disposition existing in things to judge from; which disposition is not of a sufficient virtue to lead them to any real judgment. The second kind of tacit divination is, when that knowledge is sought by the disposition of those things which men effect on purpose and of their own accord, in order to come by and acquire that knowledge.

Both these kinds of tacit divination are again subdivided into several species, as are particularly mentioned by St. Thomas Aquin., *Secundâ Secundæ, Quæst.* 95, *Art.* 3; Gregory de Valentine, tom. iii. *Disput.* 6. *Quæst.* 12. *Puncto* 2; Toletus, *in Summâ*, lib. iv. cap. 15; and Michael Medina, lib. ii. *de Rectâ in Deum fide: post Sanctum Augustinum*, lib. ii. *de Doct. Christ.* cap. 19. et seq.

The first of these kinds of tacit divination contains under it the following several species.

The first species is called Genethliacal, which is, when from the movement or situation of the stars, men's nativities are calculated and inquired into so far, as that from such a search they pretend to deduce the knowledge of human effects, and the contingent events that are to attend them. This Thomas Aquinas and Sixtus Quintus condemns; but I shall, with humility and submission to greater judgments, inquire hereafter into their reasons, and give my opinion why I think this no evil art; but I submit my opinion, if, after it is given, it is thought erroneous.

The second is augury, when anything is predicted from the chattering of birds, or the voice of animals, and this may be either lawful or unlawful. If it comes from natural instinct (for brutes having only a sensitive soul, have their organs subject to the disposition of the greater bodies in which they are contained, and principally of all to the celestial bodies), his augury is not amiss. For if, when crows are remarked to caw, as the vulgar phrase is, more than ordinary, it is judging according to the instinct of their nature, if we expect rain, and we may reasonably depend upon it, we shall be right if we foretell rain to be at hand. But sometimes the devils actuate those brute animals to excite vain ideas in men, contrary to what the instinct of their nature compels them to. This is superstitious and unlawful, and forbid in holy writ.

The third is aruspicy, when, from the flight of birds, or any other motion of any animals whatsoever, persons pretend to have an insight and a penetrative knowledge into occult and hidden matters.

The fourth consists in omens, when, for example, a man from any words which others may have spoken on purpose, or by accident, pretends to gather a way of looking into and knowing anything of futurity.

The fifth is chiromancy, which consists in making a pretence to the knowledge of future things by the figures and the lines of the hands; and if it be by consulting the shoulder bones of any beast, it goes by the name of spatulamancy.

As the first kind of divination, by a tacit invocation of the devil, is divided into the five species above mentioned; so also is the second kind of tacit divination, or invocation of the devil, divided into two species by St. Thomas of Aquin. *Secunda Secundæ, quæstione nonagesima quinta articulo tertio*, and too tedious to insert here.

Now all these ways are by these divines accounted wicked, and I set them down that people

may avoid them. For how many gypsies and pretenders to chiromancy have we in London and in the country? How many that are for hydromancy, that pretend in water to show men mighty mysteries? And how many in geomancy, with their beryls and their glasses, that, if they are not under the instigation of the devil, propagate the scandal at least by being cheats, and who ought to be punished to the utmost severity, as our English laws enact? Mr. Campbell, who hates, contemns, and abhors these ways, ought, methinks, to be encouraged by their being restrained; and people of curious tempers, who always receive from him moral and good instructions, which make them happy in the conduct of life, should be animated in a public manner to consult him, in order to divert the curious itch of their humours from consulting such wicked impostors, or diabolical practisers, as too frequently abound in this nation, by reason of the inquisitive vulgar, who are more numerous in our climate, than any I ever read of.

But now to argue the case of conscience with regard to his particular practice by way of the second-sight, whether, *in foro conscientiæ*, it is lawful for him to follow it, or others to consult him? The divines above-mentioned having never had any notice of that faculty in all likelihood, or if they had, never mentioned it, makes it a point more difficult for me to discuss; but I think they have stated some cases, by the making of which my premises, I can deduce from all the learned men I have above quoted, a conclusion in favour of our Mr. Duncan Campbell, and of those who consult him; but my opinion shall be always corrected by those who are wiser than myself, and to whom I owe entire submission. I take leave to fix these premises from them first, and to form my argument from them afterwards in the following manner.

First, It is allowed by all these divines, that a knowledge which one may have of future things within the order of nature, is and may be lawful.

Secondly, They imply, that where justice is not violated, it is lawful both to predict and to consult.

Thirdly, Many of them, but particularly Aureolus, puts this question: Is it lawful to go to one that deals in the black art, to persuade them to cure any innocent body that another necromancer or dealer in the black art may have maliciously afflicted and tormented with pains? And some of these casuists, particularly Aureolus, say, it is lawful on such an occasion to go to such a conjuror, because the end is not conjuration, but freeing a person from it.

But I take leave to dissent from these great men, and think they are in a double mistake; first, in stating the question, and then in making such an answer, provided the question had been stated right.

The question is founded upon this supposition, which is passed by as granted, viz. that one necromancer could release a person bewitched by another, which is absolutely false; for it is against the nature of the devil to be made an instrument to undo his own works of impiety. But admitting and not granting this to be possible, and the question to be rightly stated, why, still these casuists are out in their answer. It is lawful, reply they, because the end of going to the conjurors is not conjuration, but freeing a good person from it; but the end is not the point here to be considered, it is the medium, which is bad, that is to be considered. It is by conjuration, according to their hypothesis, the other conjuration is to be dissolved; and does not the common rule, that a man must not do evil that good may come of it, forbid this practice? And to speak my opinion plainly in that case, the friend that should consult a conjuror for that end, would be only so kind to put his own soul in danger of being guilty of hell torments, to relieve his afflicted friend from some bodily pains, which it would be a virtue in him to suffer with patience and resignation.

Others, almost all divines, indeed agree that it is and may be lawful to go to a conjuror that torments another, and give him money not to afflict the patient any longer; because that is only feeing him to desist from acting after his conjuring manner.

These premises thus settled, if we allow the second-sight to be inborn and inbred, and natural and common to some families, which is proved in the book; and if all that Mr. Campbell has predicted in that second-sighted way terminates with moral advice, and the profit of the consulter, and without the violation of justice to others, as the book shows all throughout; if he can relieve from witchcraft, as it seems oath is to be had he can, which no one that deals in the black art can do, why then I need not draw the conclusion, every reader will do it naturally; they will avow all the strictest laws of casuistry and morality to be in favour of Mr. Campbell and his consulters.

JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.

A Journal of the Plague Year: being Observations or Memorials of the most remarkable Occurrences, as well public as private, which happened in London during the last great Visitation in 1665. *Written by a Citizen, who continued all the while in London. Never made public before. London: E. Nutt.* 1722.

['*The History of the Great Plague in London,*' says Sir Walter Scott, 'is one of that particular class of compositions which hovers between romance and history. Undoubtedly Defoe embodied a number of traditions upon this subject with what he might actually have read, or of which he might otherwise have received direct evidence. This dreadful disease, which, in the language of Scripture, might be described as "the pestilence which walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day," was indeed a fit subject for a pencil so veracious as that of Defoe. Had he not been the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, Defoe would have deserved immortality for the genius which he has displayed in this work.'

The following remarks on this wonderful production are from the pen of Mr. Wilson, Defoe's biographer:—

'A subject so uninviting as that of the Plague, is one of the last from which we might expect pleasure in the contemplation. Yet Defoe has founded upon it one of the most ingenious of his productions; one that never can be read without the deepest interest; and read it will continue to be, as long as the memory of that awful event shall remain upon record. It is written with all the characteristic traits of the author's genius; excessive minuteness, rich natural pathos, and exquisite moral feeling. Whilst it is impossible to read his description without the keenest sensations of sorrow, the attention is riveted by the constant succession of incidents that crowd upon the scene. . . . No one can take up the book without believing that it is the saddler of Whitechapel who is telling his own story; and that he was an eye-witness to all that he relates; that he actually saw the blazing star which portended the calamity; that he witnessed the grass growing in the streets, reading the inscriptions upon the doors of the infected houses; heard the bellmen crying, "Bring out your dead!" saw the dead-carts conveying the people to their graves, and was present at the digging of the pits in which they were deposited. In this, indeed, consists the charm of the narrative. It is not merely a record of the transactions that happened during the calamity, nor even of private circumstances that would escape the public eye; it is rather the familiar recital of a man's own observations upon all that passed before him, possessing all the minuteness of a log-book, without its dulness. . . . So faithful is the portrait of that distressing calamity, so entire its accordance with what has been delivered by other writers, so probable the circumstances of all the stories, and so artless the style in which they are delivered, that it would baffle the ingenuity of any one but Defoe to frame a history with so many attributes of truth upon the basis of fiction. It is no wonder that a work so gravely written should have deceived Dr. Mead, who considered it an authentic history, and quoted it as such in his *Treatise upon the Plague*. . . .

'As Defoe was a mere child when the calamity happened, he could have no personal

knowledge of the matters he has recorded. But the feelings arising from so awful a visitation would not subside suddenly. It would continue to be the talk of those who witnessed it for years afterwards, so that he must have been familiarized with the subject from his childhood; and as curiosity is most alive and the impressions strongest at that period, there can be no doubt that he treasured up many things in his memory, from the report of his parents and others, which he converted into useful materials as they passed through the operation of his own lively fancy. . . .

'Of the plague in London, the only authentic accounts published at the time were those of Dr. Hodges and Dr. Sydenham; but they are chiefly of a professional nature, and contain few historical facts. A work of more general interest, is that of Thomas Vincent, entitled *God's Terrible Voice in the City*, published in 1667. The author was one of those noble-minded men who remained at their post during the calamity, administering to the relief of the sufferers. In the house where he resided, three persons were cut off, yet he escaped the infection.

'The recent distemper at Marseilles occasioned the revival of those pieces, and the publication of others, and no doubt suggested to Defoe the idea of his present work. It was his peculiar talent to seize upon any popular subject, and convert it, by his inimitable genius, into a fruitful source of amusement and instruction. From his history of the plague, notwithstanding its fictitious origin, we may derive more information than from all the other publications upon the subject put together. He has collected all the facts attending the rise, progress, and termination of the malady, an accurate report of the number of deaths as published by authority, a faithful account of the regulations adopted to arrest and mitigate its fury, and numerous cases of infection, whether real or imaginary. But that which imparts life to the whole, and forms its distinguishing feature, is its descriptive imagery. The author's object is not so much to detail the deadly consequences of the disorder, as to delineate its effects upon the frighted minds of the inhabitants. These are depicted with all the gennine pathos of nature, without any aim at effect, but with the ease and simplicity of real life. The numerous incidents that follow in rapid succession, fraught as they are with human misery, present, at the same time, an accurate picture of life and manners in the metropolis at the period referred to.'

Mr. E. W. Brayley, editor of an excellent edition of Defoe's *Journal*, is of opinion that the work is not a fiction, and that great injustice is done to the author's memory so to represent it. 'Most of the circumstances which it records can be traced to different publications to which the writer had access, and which are still accessible; and it is extremely probable that a part of his information was actually derived from some diary, or manuscript observations, communicated to him by an individual of his own family, and to whom he probably refers by the initials H. F., which are attached to the end of his *Journal*.' According to Mr. Brayley, the chief printed sources of Defoe's work were the 'Collection' of all the Bills of Mortality for 1665, published under the title of *London's Dreadful Visitation*; the *Loimologia* of Dr. Hodges; and *God's Terrible Voice in the City*, by the Rev. Thomas Vincent, which appeared in 1667. Mr. Wilson says, 'Amongst the publications of the times, was the following pamphlet, which Defoe perhaps might have found of some use in compiling his narrative. "A Collection of very Valuable and Scarce Pieces relating to the last Plague, in the year 1665; viz. I. Orders drawn up and published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, to prevent the spreading of the Infection. II. An Account of the first Rise, Progress, Symptoms, and Cure of the Plague; being the Substance of a Letter from Doctor Hodges to a Person of Quality. III. Necessary Directions for the Prevention and Cure of the Plague, with divers Remedies of small Charge, by the College of Physicians. IV. Reflections on the Weekly Bills of Mortality, so far as they relate to all the Plagues which have happened in London, from the year 1592, to the Great Plague in 1665, and some other particular Diseases. With a Preface, shewing the Usefulness of this Collection; some Errors of Dr. Mead; and his Misrepresentations of Dr. Hodges and some authors. To which is added, An Account of the Plague at Naples in 1656, of which there died, in one day, 20,000 Persons; with the Symptoms that appeared upon Dissection, and the approved Method of Cure. The Second Edition. London: printed for J. Roberts. 1721." 8vo. pp. 88.'

One is apt to imagine, from a perusal of the *Journal*, that the plague entirely ceased in London early in 1666; but this was not the case, for in that year London lost nearly 2000 people by its ravages; and it did not entirely cease to infect the metropolis till 1679.]

It was about the beginning of September 1664, that I, among the rest of my neighbours, heard, in ordinary discourse, that the plague was returned again in Holland; for it had been very violent there, and particularly at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in the year 1663, whither, they say, it was brought, some said from Italy, others from the Levant, among some goods which were brought home by their Turkey fleet; others said it was brought from Candia; others from Cyprus. It mattered not from whence it came; but all agreed it was come into Holland again.

We had no such thing as printed newspapers in those days, to spread rumours and reports of things, and to improve them by the invention of men, as I have lived to see practised since. But such things as those were gathered from the letters of merchants, and others, who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by word of mouth only; so that things did not spread instantly over the whole nation, as they do now. But it seems that the government had a true account of it, and several councils were held about ways to prevent its coming over, but all was kept very private. Hence it was, that this rumour died off again, and people began to forget it, as a thing we were very little concerned in, and that we hoped was not true; till the latter end of November, or the beginning of December 1664, when two men, said to be Frenchmen, died of the plague in Long-acre, or rather at the upper end of Drury-lane. The family they were in, endeavoured to conceal it as much as possible; but as it had gotten some vent in the discourse of the neighbourhood, the secretaries of state got knowledge of it; and concerning themselves to inquire about it, in order to be certain of the truth, two physicians and a surgeon were ordered to go to the house, and make inspection. This they did, and finding evident tokens of the sickness upon both the bodies that were dead, they gave their opinions publicly, that they died of the plague; whereupon it was given in to the parish clerk, and he also returned them to the hall; and it was printed in the weekly bill of mortality in the usual manner, thus:

PLAGUE, 2. PARISHES INFECTED, 1.

The people showed a great concern at this, and began to be alarmed all over the town, and the more, because in the last week in December 1664, another man died in the same house, and of the same distemper; and then we were easy again for about six weeks, when none having died with any marks of infection, it was said the distemper was gone; but after that, I think it was about the 12th of February, another died in another house, but in the same parish, and in the same manner.

This turned the people's eyes pretty much towards that end of the town; and the weekly bills showing an increase of burials in St. Giles's parish more than usual, it began to be suspected that the plague was among the people at that end of the town; and that many had died of it, though they had taken care to keep it as much from the knowledge of the public as possible. This possessed the heads of the people very much, and few cared to go through Drury-lane, or the other streets suspected, unless they had extraordinary business, that obliged them to it.

This increase of the bills stood thus: the usual number of burials in a week in the parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields, and St. Andrew's, Holborn, were from twelve to seventeen or nineteen each, few more or less; but from the time that the plague first began in St. Giles's parish, it was observed that the ordinary burials increased in number considerably. For example:—

From Dec. 27, to Jan. 3,	St. Giles's	16
	St. Andrew's	17
Jan. 3, to Jan. 10,	St. Giles's	12
	St. Andrew's	23
Jan. 10, to Jan. 17,	St. Giles's	18
	St. Andrew's	18
Jan. 17, to Jan. 24,	St. Giles's	23
	St. Andrew's	16
Jan. 24, to Jan. 31,	St. Giles's	24
	St. Andrew's	15
Jan. 31, to Feb. 7,	St. Giles's	21
	St. Andrew's	23
Feb. 7, to Feb. 14,	St. Giles's	24
Whereof 1 of the plague.		

The like increase of the bills was observed in the parish of St. Bride's, adjoining on one side of Holborn parish, and in the parish of St. James', Clerkenwell, adjoining on the other side of Holborn; in both which parishes the usual numbers that died weekly were from four to six or eight, whereas at that time they were increased as follows:—

From Dec. 20, to Dec. 27,	St. Bride's	6
	St. James'	8
Dec. 27, to Jan. 3,	St. Bride's	6
	St. James'	9
Jan. 3, to Jan. 10,	St. Bride's	11
	St. James'	7
Jan. 10, to Jan. 17,	St. Bride's	12
	St. James'	9
Jan. 17, to Jan. 24,	St. Bride's	9
	St. James'	15
Jan. 24, to Jan. 31,	St. Bride's	8
	St. James'	12
Jan. 31, to Feb. 7,	St. Bride's	13
	St. James'	5
Feb. 7, to Feb. 14,	St. Bride's	12
	St. James'	6

Besides this, it was observed with great uneasiness by the people, that the weekly bills in general increased very much during these weeks, although it was at a time of the year when usually the bills are very moderate.

The usual number of burials within the bills of mortality for a week was from about 240, or thereabouts, to 300. The last was esteemed a pretty high bill; but after this we found the bills successively increasing, as follows:—

	Buried.	Increased.
From Dec. 20, to Dec. 27,	291	
Dec. 27, to Jan. 3,	349	58
Jan. 3, to Jan. 10,	394	45
Jan. 10, to Jan. 17,	415	21
Jan. 17, to Jan. 24,	474	59

This last bill was really frightful, being a higher number than had been known to have been buried in one week, since the preceding visitation of 1636.

However, all this went off again; and the weather proving cold, and the frost, which began in December, still continuing very severe, even till near the end of February, attended with sharp though moderate winds, the bills decreased again, and the city grew healthy, and everybody began to look upon the danger as good as over; only that still the burials in St. Giles's continued high; from the beginning of April, especially, they stood at twenty-five each week, till the week from the 18th to the 25th, when there was buried in St. Giles's parish thirty, whereof two of the plague, and eight of the spotted fever, which was looked upon as the same thing; likewise the number that died of the spotted fever in the whole increased, being eight the week before, and twelve the week above named.

This alarmed us all again, and terrible apprehensions were among the people, especially the weather being now changed and growing warm, and the summer being at hand. However, the next week there seemed to be some hopes again; the bills were low; the number of the dead in all was but 388; there was none of the plague, and but four of the spotted fever.

But the following week it returned again, and the distemper was spread into two or three other parishes, viz. St. Andrew's-Holborn, St. Clement's-Danes, and, to the great affliction of the city, one died within the walls, in the parish of St. Mary Wool-Church, that is to say, in Bearbinder-lane, near Stocks-market; in all there were nine of the plague, and six of the spotted fever. It was, however, upon inquiry, found that this Frenchman, who died in Bearbinder-lane, was one who, having lived in Long-acre, near the infected houses, had removed for fear of the distemper, not knowing that he was already infected.

This was the beginning of May, yet the weather was temperate, variable, and cool enough, and people had still some hopes. That which encouraged them was, that the city was healthy, the whole ninety-seven parishes buried but fifty-four; and we began to hope, that as it was chiefly among the people at that end of the town, it might go no further; and the rather, because the next week, which was from the 9th of May to the 16th, there died but three, of which not one within the whole city or liberties, and St. Andrew's buried but fifteen, which was very low. It is true, St. Giles's buried two-and-thirty; but still, as there was but one of the plague, people began to be easy: the whole bill also was very low, for the week before the bill was but 347, and the week above mentioned but 343. We continued in these hopes for a few days. But it was but for a few, for the people were no more to be deceived thus: they searched the houses, and found that the plague was really spread every way, and that many died of it every day; so that now all our extenuations abated, and it was no more to be concealed, nay, it quickly appeared that the infection had spread itself beyond all hopes of abatement; that in the parish of St. Giles's it was gotten into several streets, and several families lay all sick together; and, accordingly, in the weekly bill for the next week, the thing began to show itself. There was, indeed, but fourteen set down of the plague, but this was all knavery and collusion; for St. Giles's parish, they buried forty in all, whereof it was certain most of them died of the plague, though they were set down of other distempers; and though the number of all the burials were not increased above thirty-two, and the whole bill being but 385, yet there was fourteen of the spotted fever, as well as fourteen of the plague; and we took it for granted upon the whole, that there were fifty died that week of the plague.

The next bill was from the 23d of May to the 30th, when the number of the plague was seventeen; but the burials in St. Giles's were fifty-three, a frightful number! of whom they set down but nine of the plague: but on an examination more strictly by the justices of the peace, and at the Lord Mayor's request, it was found there were twenty more who were really dead of the plague in that parish, but had been set down of the spotted fever, or other distempers, besides others concealed.

But those were trifling things to what followed immediately after; for now the weather set in hot, and from the first week in June the infection spread in a dreadful manner, and the bills rise high; the articles of the fever, spotted fever, and teeth, began to swell; for all that could conceal their distempers, did it to prevent their neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them; and also to prevent authority shutting up their houses, which though it was not yet practised, yet was threatened, and people were extremely terrified at the thoughts of it.

The second week in June, the parish of St. Giles's, where still the weight of the infection lay, buried 120, whereof, though the bills said but sixty-eight of the plague, everybody said there had been 100 at least, calculating it from the usual number of funerals in that parish as above.

Till this week the city continued free, there having never any died except that one Frenchman, who I mentioned before, within the whole ninety-seven parishes. Now there died four within the city, one in Wood-street, one in Fenchurch-street, and two in Crooked-lane. Southwark was entirely free, having not one yet died on that side of the water.

I lived without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate church and Whitechapel Bars, on the left hand or north side of the street; and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued very easy: but at the other end of the town their consternation was very great, and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the city, thronged out of town, with their families and servants, in an unusual manner; and this was more particularly seen in Whitechapel; that is to say, the Broad-street where I lived. Indeed, nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c.; coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away. Then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who it was apparent were returning, or sent from the country to fetch more people: besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and, generally speaking, all loaded with baggage and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance.

This was a very terrible and melancholy thing to see; and as it was a sight which I could not but look on from morning to night, for indeed there was nothing else of moment to be seen, it filled me with very serious thoughts of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those that would be left in it.

This hurry of the people was such for some weeks, that there was no getting at the Lord

Mayor's door without exceeding difficulty; there was such pressing and crowding there to get passes and certificates of health, for such as travelled abroad; for, without these, there was no being admitted to pass through the towns upon the road, or to lodge in any inn. Now, as there had none died in the city for all this time, my Lord Mayor gave certificates of health without any difficulty to all those who lived in the 97 parishes, and to those within the liberties too, for a while.

This hurry, I say, continued some weeks, that is to say, all the months of May and June, and the more because it was rumoured that an order of the government was to be issued out, to place turnpikes and barriers on the road, to prevent people's travelling; and that the towns on the road would not suffer people from London to pass, for fear of bringing the infection along with them; though neither of these rumours had any foundation, but in the imagination, especially at first.

I now began to consider seriously with myself, concerning my own case, and how I should dispose of myself; that is to say, whether I should resolve to stay in London, or shut up my house and flee, as many of my neighbours did. I have set this particular down so fully, because I know not but it may be of moment to those who come after me, if they come to be brought to the same distress, and to the same manner of making their choice; and therefore I desire this account may pass with them rather for a direction to themselves to act by, than a history of my actings, seeing it may not be of one farthing value to them to note what became of me.

I had two important things before me; the one was the carrying on my business and shop, which was considerable, and in which was embarked all my effects in the world; and the other was the preservation of my life in so dismal a calamity, as I saw apparently was coming upon the whole city; and which, however great it was, my fears perhaps, as well as other people's, represented to be much greater than it could be.

The first consideration was of great moment to me; my trade was a saddler's, and as my dealings were chiefly not by a shop or chance trade, but among the merchants trading to the English colonies in America, so my effects lay very much in the hands of such. I was a single man, it is true; but I had a family of servants, who I kept at my business; had a house, shop, and warehouses filled with goods; and, in short, to leave them all, as things in such a case must be left, that is to say, without any overseer or person fit to be trusted with them, had been to hazard the loss not only of my trade, but of my goods, and indeed of all I had in the world.

I had an elder brother at the same time in London, and not many years before come over from Portugal; and, advising with him, his answer was in the three words, the same that was given in another case quite different, viz. 'Master, save thyself.' In a word, he was for my retiring into the country, as he resolved to do himself, with his family; telling me, what he had, it seems, heard abroad, that the best preparation for the plague was to run away from it. As to my argument of losing my trade, my goods, or debts, he quite confuted me. He told me the same thing which I argued for my staying, viz. That I would trust God with my safety and health, was the strongest repulse to my pretensions of losing my trade and my goods; 'For,' *says he*, 'is it not as reasonable that you should trust God with the chance or risk of losing your trade, as that you should stay in so eminent a point of danger, and trust Him with your life?'

I could not argue that I was in any strait, as to a place where to go, having several friends and relations in Northamptonshire, whence our family first came from; and particularly, I had an only sister in Lincolnshire, very willing to receive and entertain me.

My brother, who had already sent his wife and two children into Bedfordshire, and resolved to follow them, pressed my going very earnestly; and I had once resolved to comply with his desires, but at that time could get no horse: for though it is true, all the people did not go out of the city of London; yet I may venture to say, that in a manner all the horses did; for there was hardly a horse to be bought or hired in the whole city, for some weeks. Once I resolved to travel on foot with one servant; and, as many did, lie at no inn, but carry a soldier's tent with us, and so lie in the fields, the weather being very warm, and no danger from taking cold. I say, as many did, because several did so at last, especially those who had been in the armies, in the war which had not been many years past; and I must needs say, that speaking of second causes, had most of the people that travelled done so, the plague had not been carried into so many country towns and houses as it was, to the great damage, and indeed to the ruin, of abundance of people.

But then my servant, who I had intended to take down with me, deceived me, and being frighted at the increase of the distemper, and not knowing when I should go, he took other measures, and left me; so I was put off for that time; and one way or other, I always found that to appoint to go away, was always crossed by some accident or other, so as to disappoint and put it off again; and this brings in a story which otherwise might be thought a needless digression, viz. about these disappointments being from Heaven.

I mention this story also, as the best method I can advise any person to take in such a case, especially if he be one that makes conscience of his duty, and would be directed what to do in it; namely, that he should keep his eye upon the particular providences which occur at that time, and look upon them complexly, as they regard one another, and as all together regard the question before him, and then I think he may safely take them for intimations from Heaven of what is his unquestioned duty to do in such a case; I mean as to going away from or staying in the place where we dwell, when visited with an infectious distemper.

It came very warmly into my mind one morning, as I was musing on this particular thing, that as nothing attended us without the direction or permission of Divine Power, so these disappointments must have something in them extraordinary; and I ought to consider whether it did not evidently point out or intimate to me that it was the will of Heaven I should not go. It immediately followed in my thoughts, that if it really was from God that I should stay, He was able effectually to preserve me in the midst of all the death and danger that would surround me; and that if I attempted to secure myself by fleeing from my habitation, and acted contrary to these intimations, which I believed to be divine, it was a kind of flying from God, and that He could cause his justice to overtake me when and where He thought fit.

These thoughts quite turned my resolutions again; and when I came to discourse with my brother again, I told him that I inclined to stay

and take my lot in that station in which God had placed me; and that it seemed to be made more especially my duty, on the account of what I have said.

My brother, though a very religious man himself, laughed at all I had suggested about its being an intimation from Heaven, and told me several stories of such foolhardy people, as he called them, as I was; that I ought indeed to submit to it as a work of Heaven, if I had been any way disabled by distempers or diseases; and that then not being able to go, I ought to acquiesce in the direction of Him who, having been my Maker, had an undisputed right of sovereignty in disposing of me; and that then there had been no difficulty to determine which was the call of his providence, and which was not. But that I should take it as an intimation from Heaven that I should not go out of town, only because I could not hire a horse to go, or my fellow was run away that was to attend me, was ridiculous, since at the same time I had my health and limbs, and other servants, and might with ease travel a day or two on foot; and having a good certificate of being in perfect health, might either hire a horse or take post on the road, as I thought fit.

Then he proceeded to tell me of the mischievous consequences which attend the presumption of the Turks and Mohammedans in Asia, and in other places where he had been (for my brother being a merchant, was a few years before, as I have already observed, returned from abroad, coming last from Lisbon), and how, presuming upon their professed predestinating notions, and of every man's end being predetermined and unalterably beforehand decreed, they would go unconcerned into infected places, and converse with infected persons, by which means they died at the rate of ten or fifteen thousand a week; whereas the Europeans, or Christian merchants, who kept themselves retired and reserved, generally escaped the contagion.

Upon these arguments my brother changed my resolutions again, and I began to resolve to go, and accordingly made all things ready; for, in short, the infection increased round me, and the bills were risen to almost 700 a week, and my brother told me he would venture to stay no longer. I desired him to let me consider of it but till the next day, and I would resolve; and as I had already prepared everything as well as I could as to my business, and who to entrust my affairs with, I had little to do but to resolve.

I went home that evening greatly oppressed in my mind, irresolute, and not knowing what to do. I had set the evening wholly apart to consider seriously about it, and was all alone; for already people had, as it were by a general consent, taken up the custom of not going out of doors after sunset, the reasons I shall have occasion to say more of by and by.

In the retirement of this evening I endeavoured to resolve, first, what was my duty to do; and I stated the arguments with which my brother had pressed me to go into the country, and I set against them the strong impressions which I had on my mind for staying; the visible call I seemed to have from the particular circumstance of my calling, and the care due from me for the preservation of my effects, which were, as I might say, my estate; also the intimations which I thought I had from Heaven, that to me signified a kind of direction to venture, and it occurred to me, that if I had what I call a direction to stay, I ought to suppose it contained a promise of being preserved, if I obeyed.

This lay close to me, and my mind seemed more and more encouraged to stay than ever, and supported with a secret satisfaction that I should be kept. Add to this, that turning over the Bible, which lay before me, and while my thoughts were more than ordinary serious upon the question, I cried out, 'Well, I know not what to do, Lord direct me!' and the like; and at that juncture I happened to stop turning over the book at the 91st Psalm, and casting my eye on the second verse, I read to the seventh verse exclusive; and after that, included the 10th, as follows: 'I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge, and my fortress, my God, in Him will I trust. Surely He shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust; his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day: nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation, there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling,' &c.

I scarce need tell the reader, that from that moment I resolved that I would stay in the town, and casting myself entirely upon the goodness and protection of the Almighty, would not seek any other shelter whatever; and that as my times were in his hands, He was as able to keep me in a time of the infection, as in a time of health; and if He did not think fit to deliver me, still I was in his hands, and it was meet He should do with me as should seem good to Him.

With this resolution I went to bed; and I was farther confirmed in it the next day, by the woman being taken ill with whom I had intended to entrust my house and all my affairs. But I had a farther obligation laid on me on the same side, for the next day I found myself very much out of order also; so that if I would have gone away, I could not, and I continued ill three or four days, and this entirely determined my stay; so I took my leave of my brother, who went away to Dorking in Surrey, and afterwards fetched a round farther into Buckinghamshire, or Bedfordshire, to a retreat he had found out there for his family.

It was a very ill time to be sick in, for if any one complained, it was immediately said he had the plague; and though I had indeed no symptoms of that distemper, yet being very ill, both in my head and in my stomach, I was not without apprehension that I really was infected; but in about three days I grew better, the third night I rested well, sweated a little, and was much refreshed; the apprehensions of its being the infection went also quite away with my illness, and I went about my business as usual.

These things, however, put off all my thoughts of going into the country; and my brother also being gone, I had no more debate either with him, or with myself on that subject.

It was now mid-July, and the plague, which had chiefly raged at the other end of the town, and, as I said before, in the parishes of St. Giles's, St. Andrew's-Holborn, and towards Westminster, began now to come eastward, towards the part where I lived. It was to be observed indeed, that it did not come straight on towards us; for the city, that is to say within the walls, was indifer-

ent healthy still; nor was it got then very much over the water into Southwark; for though there died that week 1268 of all distempers, whereof it might be supposed above 900 died of the plague, yet there was but twenty-eight in the whole city, within the walls, and but nineteen in Southwark, Lambeth parish included; whereas in the parishes of St. Giles's, and St. Martin's in the Fields alone, there died 421.

But we perceived the infection kept chiefly in the out parishes, which being very populous, and fuller also of poor, the distemper found more to prey upon than in the city, as I shall observe afterward; we perceived, I say, the distemper to draw our way, viz. by the parishes of Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, and Bishopsgate; which last two parishes joining to Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, the infection came at length to spread its utmost rage and violence in those parts, even when it abated at the western parishes where it began.

It was very strange to observe, that in this particular week, from the 4th to the 11th of July, when, as I have observed, there died near 400 of the plague in the two parishes of St. Martin's, and St. Giles's in the Fields only, there died in the parish of Aldgate but four, in the parish of Whitechapel three, in the parish of Stepney but one.

Likewise in the next week, from the 11th of July to the 18th, when the week's bill was 1761, yet there died no more of the plague, on the whole Southwark side of the water, than sixteen.

But this face of things soon changed, and it began to thicken in Cripplegate parish especially, and in Clerkenwell; so that by the second week in August, Cripplegate parish alone buried 886, and Clerkenwell 155; of the first, 850 might well be reckoned to die of the plague; and of the last, the bill itself said, 145 were of the plague.

During the month of July, and while, as I have observed, our part of the town seemed to be spared in comparison of the west part, I went ordinarily about the streets, as my business required, and particularly went generally once in a day, or in two days, into the city, to my brother's house, which he had given me charge of, and to see it was safe; and having the key in my pocket, I used to go into the house, and over most of the rooms, to see that all was well; for though it be something wonderful to tell, that any should have hearts so hardened, in the midst of such a calamity, as to rob and steal; yet certain it is, that all sorts of villanies, and even levities and debaucheries, were then practised in the town, as openly as ever, I will not say quite as frequently, because the number of people were many ways lessened.

But the city itself began now to be visited too, I mean within the walls; but the number of people there were, indeed, extremely lessened, by so great a multitude having been gone into the country; and even all this month of July, they continued to flee, though not in such multitudes as formerly. In August, indeed, they fled in such a manner, that I began to think there would be really none but magistrates and servants left in the city.

As they fled now out of the city, so I should observe, that the court removed early, viz. in the month of June, and went to Oxford, where it pleased God to preserve them; and the distemper did not, as I heard of, so much as touch them; for which I cannot say, that I ever saw they showed any great token of thankfulness, and hardly anything of reformation, though they did not want being told that their crying vices might, without breach of charity, be said to have gone far in bringing that terrible judgment upon the whole nation.

The face of London was now indeed strangely altered, I mean the whole mass of buildings, city, liberties, suburbs, Westminster, Southwark, and all together; for as to the particular part called the city, or within the walls, that was not yet much infected; but in the whole, the face of things, I say, was much altered; sorrow and sadness sat upon every face, and though some part were not yet overwhelmed, yet all looked deeply concerned; and as we saw it apparently coming on, so every one looked on himself, and his family, as in the utmost danger. Were it possible to represent those times exactly, to those that did not see them, and give the reader due ideas of the horror that everywhere presented itself, it must make just impressions upon their minds, and fill them with surprise. London might well be said to be all in tears; the mourners did not go about the streets indeed, for nobody put on black, or made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest friends; but the voice of mourning was truly heard in the streets; the shrieks of women and children at the windows and doors of their houses, where their nearest relations were, perhaps dying, or just dead, were so frequent to be heard, as we passed the streets, that it was enough to pierce the stoutest heart in the world to hear them. Tears and lamentations were seen almost in every house, especially in the first part of the visitation; for towards the latter end, men's hearts were hardened, and death was so always before their eyes, that they did not much concern themselves for the loss of their friends, expecting that themselves should be summoned the next hour.

Business led me out sometimes to the other end of the town, even when the sickness was chiefly there; and as the thing was new to me, as well as to everybody else, it was a most surprising thing to see those streets, which were usually so thronged, now grown desolate, and so few people to be seen in them, that if I had been a stranger, and at a loss for my way, I might sometimes have gone the length of a whole street, I mean of the by-streets, and seen nobody to direct me, except watchmen set at the doors of such houses as were shut up; of which I shall speak presently.

One day, being at that part of the town on some special business, curiosity led me to observe things more than usually; and indeed I walked a great way where I had no business. I went up Holborn: and there the street was full of people; but they walked in the middle of the great street, neither on one side or other, because, as I suppose, they would not mingle with anybody that came out of houses, or meet with smells and scents from houses that might be infected.

The Inns of Court were all shut up, nor were very many of the lawyers in the Temple, or Lincoln's-inn, or Gray's-inn, to be seen there. Everybody was at peace, there was no occasion for lawyers; besides, it being in the time of the vacation too, they were generally gone into the country. Whole rows of houses in some places were shut close up, the inhabitants all fled, and only a watchman or two left.

When I speak of rows of houses being shut up, I do not mean shut up by the magistrates, but that great numbers of persons followed the court, by the necessity of their employments, and other dependencies; and as others retired, really frighted with the distemper, it was a mere desolating of some of the streets. But the fright was not yet near so great in the city, abstractly so called; and particularly because, though they were at first in a most inexpressible consternation, yet

as I have observed that the distemper intermitted often at first, so they were, as it were, alarmed, and unalarmed again, and this several times, till it began to be familiar to them; and that even when it appeared violent, yet seeing it did not presently spread into the city, or the east or south parts, the people began to take courage, and to be, as I may say, a little hardened. It is true, a vast many people fled, as I have observed; yet they were chiefly from the west end of the town, and from that we call the heart of the city, that is to say, among the wealthiest of the people, and such persons as were unencumbered with trades and business. But of the rest, the generality stayed, and seemed to abide the worst; so that in the place we call the liberties, and in the suburbs, in Southwark, and in the east part, such as Wapping, Ratcliff, Stepney, Rotherhithe, and the like, the people generally stayed, except here and there a few wealthy families, who, as above, did not depend upon their business.

It must not be forgotten here, that the city and suburbs were prodigiously full of people at the time of this visitation, I mean at the time that it began; for though I have lived to see a farther increase, and mighty throngs of people settling in London more than ever, yet we had always a notion that numbers of people, which, the wars being over, the armies disbanded, and the royal family and the monarchy being restored, had flocked to London to settle in business, or to depend upon and attend the court for rewards of services, preferments, and the like, was such, that the town was computed to have in it above a hundred thousand people more than ever it held before; nay, some took upon them to say it had twice as many, because all the ruined families of the royal party flocked hither; all the soldiers set up trades here, and abundance of families settled here. Again, the court brought with it a great flux of pride and new fashions; all people were gay and luxurious, and the joy of the restoration had brought a vast many families to London.

I often thought, that as Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans, when the Jews were assembled together to celebrate the Passover, by which means an incredible number of people were surprised there, who would otherwise have been in other countries; so the plague entered London, when an incredible increase of people had happened occasionally by the particular circumstances above named. As this conflux of the people to a youthful and gay court made a great trade in the city, especially in everything that belonged to fashion and finery, so it drew, by consequence, a great number of workmen, manufacturers, and the like, being mostly poor people, who depended upon their labour; and I remember, in particular, that in a representation to my Lord Mayor of the condition of the poor, it was estimated that there were no less than a hundred thousand riband-weavers in and about the city, the chiefest number of whom lived then in the parishes of Shoreditch, Stepney, Whitechapel, and Bishopsgate; namely, about Spitalfields; that is to say, as Spitalfields was then, for it was not so large as now by one-fifth part.

By this, however, the number of people in the whole may be judged of; and indeed I often wondered that, after the prodigious numbers of people that went away at first, there was yet so great a multitude left as it appeared there was.

But I must go back again to the beginning of this surprising time:—while the fears of the people were young, they were increased strangely by several odd accidents, which, put all together, it was really a wonder the whole body of the people did not rise as one man and abandon their dwellings, leaving the place as a space of ground designed by Heaven for an *Akeldama*, doomed to be destroyed from the face of the earth, and that all that would be found in it would perish with it. I shall name but a few of these things; but sure they were so many, and so many wizards and cunning people propagating them, that I have often wondered there was any (women especially) left behind.

In the first place, a blazing star or comet appeared for several months before the plague, as there did the year after; another, a little before the fire. The old women, and the phlegmatic hypochondriac part of the other sex, whom I could almost call old women too, remarked (especially afterward, though not till both those judgments were over) that those two comets passed directly over the city, and that so very near the houses, that it was plain they imported something peculiar to the city alone: that the comet before the pestilence was of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow; but that the comet before the fire was bright and sparkling, or, as others said, flaming, and its motion swift and furious; and that, accordingly, one foretold a heavy judgment, slow but severe, terrible and frightful as was the plague. But the other foretold a stroke, sudden, swift, and fiery as was the conflagration; nay, so particular some people were, that as they looked upon that comet preceding the fire, they fancied that they not only saw it pass swiftly and fiercely, and could perceive the motion with their eye, but even they heard it; that it made a rushing mighty noise, fierce and terrible, though at a distance, and but just perceivable.

I saw both these stars, and, I must confess, had had so much of the common notion of such things in my head, that I was apt to look upon them as the forerunners and warnings of God's judgments; and especially when the plague had followed the first, I yet saw another of the like kind, I could not but say, God had not yet sufficiently scourged the city.

But let my thoughts and the thoughts of the philosophers be, or have been, what they will, these things had a more than ordinary influence upon the minds of the common people, and they had almost universal melancholy apprehensions of some dreadful calamity and judgment coming upon the city; and this principally from the sight of this comet, and of the alarm that was given in December by two people dying at St. Giles's, as above.

But I could not at the same time carry these things to the height that others did, knowing too that natural causes are assigned by the astronomers for such things; and that their motions, and even their revolutions, are calculated, or pretended to be calculated; so that they cannot be so perfectly called the forerunners, or foretellers, much less the procurers of such events, as pestilence, war, fire, and the like.

The apprehensions of the people were likewise strangely increased by the error of the times; in which, I think, the people, from what principle I cannot imagine, were more addicted to prophecies and astrological conjurations, dreams and old wives' tales, than ever they were before or since. Whether this unhappy temper was originally raised by the follies of some people who got money by it, that is to say, by printing predictions and prognostications, I know not; but certain it is, books frighted them terribly; such as Lilly's Almanack, Gadbury's Astrological Pre-

dictions, Poor Robin's Almanack, and the like; also several pretended religious books, one entitled, 'Come out of her, my People, lest ye be partaker of her Plagues;' another called, 'Fair Warning;' another, 'Britain's Remembrancer,' and many such; all or most part of which foretold, directly or covertly, the ruin of the city; nay, some were so enthusiastically bold, as to run about the streets with their oral predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the city; and one in particular, who, like Jonah to Nineveh, cried in the streets, 'Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed.' I will not be positive whether he said yet forty days, or yet a few days. Another ran about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, 'Woe to Jerusalem!' a little before the destruction of that city; so this poor naked creature cried, 'Oh! the great and the dreadful God!' and said no more, but repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace; and nobody could ever find him to stop or rest, or take any sustenance, at least that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into speech with me or any one else, but kept on his dismal cries continually.

These things terrified the people to the last degree; and especially when two or three times, as I have mentioned already, they found one or two in the bills dead of the plague at St. Giles's.

Next to these public things were the dreams of old women, or, I should say, the interpretation of old women upon other people's dreams; and these put abundance of people even out of their wits. Some heard voices warning them to be gone, for that there would be such a plague in London, so that the living would not be able to bury the dead; others saw apparitions in the air; and I must be allowed to say of both, I hope without breach of charity, that they heard voices that never spake, and saw sights that never appeared. But the imagination of the people was really turned wayward and possessed; and no wonder if they who were poring continually at the clouds saw shapes and figures, representations and appearances, which had nothing in them but air and vapour. Here, they told us, they saw a flaming sword held in a hand, coming out of a cloud, with a point hanging directly over the city; there they saw hearses and coffins in the air carrying to be buried; and there again heaps of dead bodies lying unburied, and the like, just as the imagination of the poor terrified people furnished them with matter to work upon.

> 'So hypochondriac fancies represent
> Ships, armies, battles in the firmament;
> Till steady eyes the exhalations solve,
> And all to its first matter, cloud, resolve.'

I could fill this account with the strange relations such people give every day of what they have seen; and every one was so positive of their having seen what they pretended to see, that there was no contradicting them, without breach of friendship, or being accounted rude and unmannerly on the one hand, and profane and impenetrable on the other. One time before the plague was begun (otherwise than as I have said in St. Giles's), I think it was in March, seeing a crowd of people in the street, I joined with them to satisfy my curiosity, and found them all staring up into the air to see what a woman told them appeared plain to her, which was an angel clothed in white, with a fiery sword in his hand, waving it or brandishing it over his head. She described every part of the figure to the life, showed them the motion and the form, and the poor people came into it so eagerly and with so much readiness: 'Yes! I see it all plainly,' says one; 'there's the sword as plain as can be.' Another saw the angel; one saw his very face, and cried out, 'What a glorious creature he was!' One saw one thing, and one another. I looked as earnestly as the rest, but, perhaps, not with so much willingness to be imposed upon, and I said, indeed, that I could see nothing but a white cloud, bright on one side by the shining of the sun upon the other part. The woman endeavoured to show it me, but could not make me confess that I saw it, which, indeed, if I had, I must have lied; but the woman turning to me looked me in the face and fancied I laughed, in which her imagination deceived her too, for I really did not laugh, but was seriously reflecting how the poor people were terrified by the force of their own imagination. However, she turned to me, called me profane fellow, and a scoffer, told me that it was a time of God's anger, and dreadful judgments were approaching, and that despisers, such as I, should wander and perish.

The people about her seemed disgusted as well as she, and I found there was no persuading them that I did not laugh at them, and that I should be rather mobbed by them than be able to undeceive them. So I left them, and this appearance passed for as real as the blazing star itself.

Another encounter I had in the open day also; and this was in going through a narrow passage from Petty-France into Bishopsgate churchyard, by a row of almshouses; there are two churchyards to Bishopsgate church or parish, one we go over to pass from the place called Petty-France into Bishopsgate-street, coming out just by the church door, the other is on the side of the narrow passage where the almshouses are on the left, and a dwarf wall with a palisade on it on the right hand, and the city wall on the other side more to the right.

In this narrow passage stands a man looking through the palisades into the burying-place, and as many people as the narrowness of the place would admit to stop without hindering the passage of others, and he was talking mighty eagerly to them, and pointing now to one place, then to another, and affirming that he saw a ghost walking upon such a gravestone there; he described the shape, the posture, and the movement of it so exactly, that it was the greatest amazement to him in the world that everybody did not see it as well as he. On a sudden he would cry, 'There it is—now it comes this way;' then, ''Tis turned back;' till at length he persuaded the people into so firm a belief of it, that one fancied he saw it; and thus he came every day making a strange hubbub, considering it was so narrow a passage, till Bishopsgate clock struck eleven, and then the ghost would seem to start, and, as if he were called away, disappeared on a sudden.

I looked earnestly every way and at the very moment that this man directed, but could not see the least appearance of anything; but so positive was this poor man that he gave them vapours in abundance, and sent them away trembling and frightened, till at length few people that knew of it cared to go through that passage, and hardly anybody by night on any account whatever.

This ghost, as the poor man affirmed, made signs to the houses, and to the ground, and to the people, plainly intimating, or else they so understanding it, that abundance of people should come

to be buried in that churchyard, as indeed happened; but then he saw such aspects, I must acknowledge I never believed, nor could I see anything of it myself, though I looked most earnestly to see it if possible.

These things serve to show how far the people were really overcome with delusions; and as they had a notion of the approach of a visitation, all their predictions ran upon a most dreadful plague, which should lay the whole city, and even the kingdom waste, and should destroy almost all the nation, both man and beast.

To this, as I said before, the astrologers added stories of the conjunctions of planets in a malignant manner, and with a mischievous influence; one of which conjunctions was to happen, and did happen in October, and the other in November; and they filled the people's heads with predictions on these signs of the heavens, intimating that those conjunctions foretold drought, famine, and pestilence. In the two first of them, however, they were entirely mistaken; for we had no droughty season, but in the beginning of the year a hard frost, which lasted from December almost to March; and after that moderate weather, rather warm than hot, with refreshing winds; and, in short, very seasonable weather, and also several very great rains.

Some endeavours were used to suppress the printing of such books as terrified the people, and to frighten the dispersers of them, some of whom were taken up, but nothing done in it, as I am informed, the government being unwilling to exasperate the people, who were, as I may say, all out of their wits already.

Neither can I acquit those ministers that, in their sermons, rather sunk than lifted up the hearts of their hearers: many of them, I doubt not, did it for the strengthening the resolution of the people, and especially for quickening them to repentance; but it certainly answered not their end, at least not in proportion to the injury it did another way.

But we had some good men, and that of all persuasions and opinions, whose discourses were full of terror; who spake nothing but dismal things; and as they brought the people together with a kind of horror, sent them away in tears, prophesying nothing but evil tidings; terrifying the people with the apprehensions of being utterly destroyed; not guiding them, at least not enough, to cry to Heaven for mercy.

It was indeed a time of very unhappy breaches among us in matters of religion. Innumerable sects, and divisions, and separate opinions, prevailed among the people. The Church of England was restored, indeed, with the restoration of the monarchy, about four years before; but the ministers and preachers of the Presbyterians, and Independents, and of all the other sorts of professions, had begun to gather separate societies, and erect altar against altar; and all those had their meetings for worship apart, as they have now, but not so many then, the Dissenters being not thoroughly formed into a body as they are since; and those congregations which were thus gathered together were yet but few; and even those that were, the government did not allow, but endeavoured to suppress them, and shut up their meetings.

But the visitation reconciled them again, at least for a time, and many of the best and most valuable ministers and preachers of the Dissenters were suffered to go into the churches where the incumbents were fled away, as many were, not being able to stand it; and the people flocked without distinction to hear them preach, not much inquiring who or what opinion they were of; but after the sickness was over, that spirit of charity abated, and every church being again supplied with its own ministers, or others presented where the minister was dead, things returned to their old channel again.

One mischief always introduces another. These terrors and apprehensions of the people led them to a thousand weak, foolish, and wicked things, which they wanted not a sort of people really wicked to encourage them to, and this was running about to fortune-tellers, cunning men, and astrologers, to know their fortunes, or, as it is vulgarly expressed, to have their fortunes told them, their nativities calculated, and the like; and this folly presently made the town swarm with a wicked generation of pretenders to magic—to the black art, as they called it, and I know not what; nay, to a thousand worse dealings with the devil than they were really guilty of; and this trade grew so open and so generally practised, that it became common to have signs and inscriptions set up at doors,—'Here lives a fortune-teller,' 'Here lives an astrologer,' 'Here you may have your nativity calculated,'—and the like; and Friar Bacon's Brazen Head, which was the usual sign of these people's dwellings, was to be seen almost in every street, or else the sign of Mother Shipton, or of Merlin's head, and the like.

With what blind, absurd, and ridiculous stuff these oracles of the devil pleased and satisfied the people, I really know not, but certain it is, that innumerable attendants crowded about their doors every day: and if but a grave fellow in a velvet jacket, a band, and a black cloak, which was the habit those quack-conjurors generally went in, was but seen in the streets, the people would follow them in crowds and ask them questions as they went along.

I need not mention what a horrid delusion this was, or what it tended to; but there was no remedy for it, till the plague itself put an end to it all, and I supposed cleared the town of most of those calculators themselves. One mischief was, that if the poor people asked these mock astrologers whether there would be a plague or no, they all agreed in the general to answer 'Yes;' for that kept up their trade; and had the people not been kept in a fright about that, the wizards would presently have been rendered useless, and their craft had been at an end. But they always talked to them 'of such and such influences of the stars, of the conjunctions of such and such planets, which must necessarily bring sickness and distempers, and consequently the plague;' and some had the assurance to tell them the plague was begun already, which was too true, though they that said so knew nothing of the matter.

The ministers, to do them justice, and preachers of most sorts, that were serious and understanding persons, thundered against these and other wicked practices, and exposed the folly as well as the wickedness of them together; and the most sober and judicious people despised and abhorred them. But it was impossible to make any impression upon the middling people and the working labouring poor; their fears were predominant over all their passions, and they threw away their money in a most distracted manner upon those whimsies. Maid-servants especially, and men-servants, were the chief of their customers; and their question generally was, after the first demand of, 'Will there be a plague?' I say the next question was, 'Oh! sir, for the Lord's sake, what will become of me? Will my mistress keep me, or will she turn me

off? Will she stay here, or will she go into the country? And if she goes into the country, will she take me with her, or leave me here to be starved and undone?' And the like of men-servants.

The truth is, the case of poor servants was very dismal, as I shall have occasion to mention again, by and by; for it was apparent a prodigious number of them would be turned away, and it was so, and of them abundance perished, and particularly those whom these false prophets flattered with hopes that they should be kept in their services and carried with their masters and mistresses into the country; and had not public charity provided for these poor creatures, whose number was exceeding great—and in all cases of this nature must be so,—they would have been in the worst condition of any people in the city.

These things agitated the minds of the common people for many months while the first apprehensions were upon them, and while the plague was not, as I may say, yet broken out; but I must also not forget that the more serious part of the inhabitants behaved after another manner: the government encouraged their devotion, and appointed public prayers and days of fasting and humiliation, to make public confession of sin, and implore the mercy of God to avert the dreadful judgment which hangs over their heads; and it is not to be expressed with what alacrity the people of all persuasions embraced the occasion, how they flocked to the churches and meetings, and they were all so thronged that there was often no coming near, even to the very doors of the largest churches: also, there were daily prayers appointed morning and evening at several churches, and days of private praying at other places, at all which the people attended, I say, with an uncommon devotion; several private families also, as well of one opinion as another, kept family fasts, to which they admitted their near relations only; so that, in a word, those people who were really serious and religious, applied themselves in a truly Christian manner to the proper work of repentance and humiliation, as a Christian people ought to do.

Again, the public showed that they would bear their share in these things; the very court, which was then gay and luxurious, put on a face of just concern for the public danger. All the plays and interludes, which, after the manner of the French court, had been set up and began to increase among us, were forbid to act; the gaming-tables, public dancing-rooms, and music houses, which multiplied and began to debauch the manners of the people, were shut up and suppressed; and the jack-puddings, merry-andrews, puppet-shows, rope-dancers, and such-like doings, which had bewitched the common people, shut their shops, finding indeed no trade, for the minds of the people were agitated with other things, and a kind of sadness and horror at these things sat upon the countenances even of the common people; death was before their eyes, and everybody began to think of their graves, not of mirth and diversions.

But even these wholesome reflections, which, rightly managed, would have most happily led the people to fall upon their knees, make confession of their sins, and look up to their merciful Saviour for pardon, imploring his compassion on them in such a time of their distress, by which we might have been as a second Nineveh, had a quite contrary extreme in the common people; who, ignorant and stupid in their reflections, as they were brutishly wicked and thoughtless before, were now led by their fright to extremes of folly; and, as I said before, that they ran to conjurors and witches and all sorts of deceivers, to know what should become of them, who fed their fears and kept them always alarmed and awake, on purpose to delude them and pick their pockets, so they were as mad upon their running after quacks and mountebanks, and every pretising old woman for medicines and remedies, storing themselves with such multitudes of pills, potions and preservatives, as they were called, that they not only spent their money but poisoned themselves beforehand for fear of the poison of the infection, and prepared their bodies for the plague instead of preserving them against it. On the other hand, it was incredible, and scarce to be imagined, how the posts of houses and corners of streets were plastered over with doctors' bills, and papers of ignorant fellows quacking and tampering in physic, and inviting people to come to them for remedies, which was generally set off with such flourishes as these, viz.: INFALLIBLE PREVENTATIVE PILLS against the plague; NEVER-FAILING PRESERVATIVES against the infection; SOVEREIGN CORDIALS against the corruption of air; EXACT REGULATIONS for the conduct of the body in case of infection; ANTI-PESTILENTIAL PILLS; INCOMPARABLE DRINK against the plague, never found out before; AN UNIVERSAL REMEDY for the plague; THE ONLY TRUE PLAGUE-WATER; the ROYAL ANTIDOTE against all kinds of infection: and such a number more that I cannot reckon up, and if I could, would fill a book of themselves to set them down.

Others set up bills to summon people to their lodgings for direction and advice in the case of infection; these had spacious titles also, such as these:—

An eminent High-Dutch physician, newly come over from Holland, where he resided during all the time of the great plague, last year in Amsterdam, and cured multitudes of people that actually had the plague upon them.

An Italian gentlewoman, just arrived from Naples, having a choice secret to prevent infection, which she found out by her great experience, and did wonderful cures with it in the late plague there, wherein there died 20,000 in one day.

An ancient gentlewoman having practised with great success in the late plague in this city, anno 1636, gives her advice only to the female sex. To be spoken with, etc.

An experienced physician, who has long studied the doctrine of antidotes against all sorts of poison and infection, has, after forty years' practice, arrived at such skill as may, with God's blessing, direct persons how to prevent being touched by any contagious distemper. He directs the poor gratis.

I take notice of these by way of specimen; I could give you two or three dozen of the like, and yet have abundance left behind. It is sufficient from these to apprise any one of the humour of those times, and how a set of thieves and pickpockets not only robbed and cheated the poor people of their money, but poisoned their bodies with odious and fatal preparations; some with mercury and some with other things as bad, perfectly remote from the thing pretended to, and rather hurtful than serviceable to the body in case an infection followed.

I cannot omit a subtlety of one of those quack operators with which he gulled the poor people to crowd about him, but did nothing for them without money. He had, it seems, added to his bills, which he gave out in the streets,

this advertisement in capital letters, viz. 'HE GIVES ADVICE TO THE POOR FOR NOTHING.'

Abundance of people came to him accordingly, to whom he made a great many fine speeches, examined them of the state of their health, and of the constitution of their bodies, and told them many good things to do which were of no great moment; but the issue and conclusion of all was, that he had a preparation, which, if they took such a quantity of every morning, he would pawn his life that they should never have the plague, no, though they lived in the house with people that were infected. This made the people all resolve to have it, but then the price of that was so much, I think it was half-a-crown. 'But, sir,' says one poor woman, 'I am a poor almswoman, and am kept by the parish, and your bills say you give the poor your help for nothing.' 'Ay, good woman,' says the doctor, 'so I do; as I published there, I give my advice but not my physic!' 'Alas, sir,' says she, 'that is a snare laid for the poor then, for you give them your advice for nothing; that is to say, you advise them gratis to buy your physic for their money; so does every shopkeeper with his wares.' Here the woman began to give him ill words, and stood at his door all that day, telling her tale to all the people that came, till the doctor, finding she turned away his customers, was obliged to call her upstairs again and give her his box of physic for nothing, which, perhaps too, was good for nothing when she had it.

But to return to the people, whose confusions fitted them to be imposed upon by all sorts of pretenders, and by every mountebank. There is no doubt but these quacking sort of fellows raised great gains out of the miserable people, for we daily found the crowds that ran after them were infinitely greater, and their doors were more thronged than those of Dr. Brooks, Dr. Upton, Dr. Hodges, Dr. Berwick, or any, though the most famous men of the time; and I was told that some of them got £5 a day by their physic.

But there was still another madness beyond all this, which may serve to give an idea of the distracted humour of the poor people at that time, and this was their following a worse sort of deceivers than any of these, for these petty thieves only deluded them to pick their pockets and get their money, in which their wickedness, whatever it was, lay chiefly on the side of the deceiver's deceiving, not upon the deceived. But in this part I am going to mention, it lay chiefly in the people deceived, or equally in both; and this was in wearing charms, philters, exorcisms, amulets, and I know not what preparations, to fortify the body against the plague, as if the plague was not the hand of God, but a kind of a possession of an evil spirit, and it was to be kept off with crossings, signs of the zodiac, papers tied up with so many knots, and certain words or figures written on them, as particularly the word Abracadabra, formed in triangle or pyramid, thus:

ABRACADABRA
ABRACADABR
ABRACADAB
ABRACADA
ABRACAD
ABRACA
ABRAC
ABRA
ABR
AB
A

Others had the Jesuits' mark in a cross:
I H
S

Others had nothing but this mark thus:
+

I might spend a great deal of my time in exclamations against the follies, and indeed the wickednesses of those things, in a time of such danger, in a matter of such consequence as this of a national infection; but my memorandums of these things relate rather to take notice of the fact, and mention only that it was so. How the poor people found the insufficiency of those things, and how many of them were afterwards carried away in the dead-carts, and thrown into the common graves of every parish with these hellish charms and trumpery hanging about their necks, remains to be spoken of as we go along.

All this was the effect of the hurry the people were in, after the first notion of the plague being at hand was among them, and which may be said to be from about Michaelmas 1664, but more particularly after the two men died in St. Giles's in the beginning of December; and again, after another alarm in February, for when the plague evidently spreads itself they soon began to see the folly of trusting to these unperforming creatures, who had gulled them of their money, and then their fears worked another way, namely, to amazement and stupidity, not knowing what course to take or what to do, either to help or to relieve themselves, but they ran about from one neighbour's house to another, and even in the streets, from one door to another, with repeated cries of, 'Lord, have mercy upon us! what shall we do?'

Indeed, the poor people were to be pitied in one particular thing, in which they had little or no relief, and which I desire to mention with a serious awe and reflection, which, perhaps, every one that reads this may not relish; namely, that whereas death now began not, as we may say, to hover over every one's head only, but to look into their houses and chambers, and stare in their faces; though there might be some stupidity and dulness of the mind, and there was so a great deal, yet there was a great deal of just alarm, sounded in the very inmost soul, if I may so say, of others. Many consciences were awakened, many hard hearts melted into tears, and many a penitent confession was made of crimes long concealed. It would have wounded the soul of any Christian to have heard the dying groans of many a despairing creature, and none durst come near to comfort them. Many a robbery, many a murder was then confessed aloud, and nobody surviving to record the accounts of it. People might be heard, even in the streets as we passed along, calling upon God for mercy, through Jesus Christ, and saying, 'I have been a thief; I have been an adulterer; I have been a murderer,' and the like; and none durst stop to make the least inquiry into such things, or to administer comfort to the poor creatures, that in the anguish both of soul and body thus cried out. Some of the ministers did visit the sick at first, and for a little while, but it was not to be done; it would have been present death to have gone into some houses. The very buryers of the dead, who were the most hardened creatures in town, were sometimes beaten back, and so terrified that they durst not go into the houses where whole families were swept away together, and where the circumstances were more particularly horrible, as some were; but this was, indeed, at the first heat of the distemper.

Time inured them to it all; and they ventured everywhere afterwards, without hesitation, as I shall have occasion to mention at large hereafter.

I am supposing now the plague to have begun, as I have said, and that the magistrates began to take the condition of the people into their serious

consideration. What they did as to the regulation of the inhabitants, and of infected families, I shall speak to by itself; but as to the affair of health, it is proper to mention here, my having seen the foolish humour of the people in running after quacks, mountebanks, wizards, and fortune-tellers, which they did as above, even to madness. The Lord Mayor, a very sober and religious gentleman, appointed physicians and surgeons for the relief of the poor, I mean the diseased poor, and, in particular, ordered the College of Physicians to publish directions for cheap remedies for the poor in all the circumstances of the distemper. This, indeed, was one of the most charitable and judicious things that could be done at that time, for this drove the people from haunting the doors of every disperser of bills, and from taking down blindly and without consideration, poison for physic, and death instead of life.

This direction of the physicians was done by a consultation of the whole college; and as it was particularly calculated for the use of the poor, and for cheap medicines, it was made public, so that everybody might see it, and copies were given gratis to all that desired it. But as it is public and to be seen on all occasions, I need not give the reader of this the trouble of it.

I shall not be supposed to lessen the authority or capacity of the physicians when I say that the violence of the distemper, when it came to its extremity, was like the fire the next year. The fire, which consumed what the plague could not touch, defied all the application of remedies. The fire-engines were broken, the buckets thrown away, and the power of man was baffled and brought to an end. So the plague defied all medicines. The very physicians were seized with it, with their preservatives in their mouths; and men went about prescribing to others, and telling them what to do, till the tokens were upon them, and they dropped down dead; destroyed by that very enemy they directed others to oppose. This was the case of several physicians, even some of them the most eminent, and of several of the most skilful surgeons. Abundance of quacks too died, who had the folly to trust to their own medicines, which, they must needs be conscious to themselves, were good for nothing; and who rather ought, like other sorts of thieves, to have ran away, sensible of their guilt, from the justice that they could not but expect should punish them, as they knew they had deserved.

Not that it is any derogation from the labour or application of the physicians, to say they fell in the common calamity; nor is it so intended by me. It rather is to their praise that they ventured their lives so far as even to lose them in the service of mankind. They endeavoured to do good, and to save the lives of others; but we were not to expect that the physicians could stop God's judgments, or prevent a distemper eminently armed from Heaven, from executing the errand it was sent about.

Doubtless the physicians assisted many by their skill, and by their prudence and applications, to the saving of their lives and restoring their health; but it is not lessening their character or their skill to say they could not cure those that had the tokens upon them, or those who were mortally infected before the physicians were sent for, as was frequently the case.

It remains to be mentioned now what public measures were taken by the magistrates for the general safety, and to prevent the spreading of the distemper when it broke out. I shall have frequent occasion to speak of the prudence of the magistrates, their charity, their vigilance for the poor, and for preserving good order, furnishing provisions, and the like, when the plague was increased as it afterwards was. But I am now upon the order and regulations which they published for the government of infected families.

I mentioned above shutting of houses up, and it is needful to say something particularly to that; for this part of the history of the plague is very melancholy; but the most grievous story must be told.

About June, the Lord Mayor of London, and the court of aldermen, as I have said, began more particularly to concern themselves for the regulation of the city.

The justices of the peace for Middlesex, by direction of the Secretary of State, had begun to shut up houses in the parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields, St Martin's, St. Clement's Danes, &c., and it was with good success, for in several streets where the plague broke out, upon strict guarding the houses that were infected, and taking care to bury those that died as soon as they were known to be dead, the plague ceased in those streets. It was also observed that the plague decreased sooner in those parishes after they had been visited to the full, than it did in the parishes of Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Aldgate, Whitechapel, Stepney, and others; the early care taken in that manner being a great means to the putting a check to it.

This shutting up of the houses was a method first taken, as I understand, in the plague which happened in 1603, at the coming of King James I. to the crown, and the power of shutting people up in their own houses was granted by Act of Parliament, entitled, 'An Act for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with plague.' On which Act of Parliament the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city of London founded the order they made at this time, and which took place the 1st of July 1665, when the numbers of infected within the city were but few, the last bill for the ninety-two parishes being but four, and some houses having been shut up in the city, and some people being removed to the pesthouse beyond Bunhill Fields, in the way to Islington. I say, by these means, when there died near 1000 a week in the whole, the number in the city was but twenty-eight; and the city was preserved more healthy in proportion, than any other place all the time of the infection.

These orders of my Lord Mayor's were published, as I have said, the latter end of June, and took place from the 1st of July, and were as follow, viz.:

ORDERS CONCEIVED AND PUBLISHED BY THE LORD MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF LONDON, CONCERNING THE INFECTION OF THE PLAGUE, 1665.

'WHEREAS in the reign of our late sovereign King James, of happy memory, an Act was made for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague, whereby authority was given to justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers, to appoint within their several limits examiners, searchers, watchmen, keepers, and buriers, for the persons and places infected, and to minister unto them oaths for the performance of their offices; and the same statute did also authorize the giving of their directions, as unto them for other present necessity should seem good in their discretions: It is now, upon special consideration, thought very expedient for preventing and avoiding of infection of sickness (if it shall please Almighty God), that these officers follow-

ing be appointed, and these orders hereafter duly observed.'

Examiners to be appointed to every Parish.

'First, it is thought requisite, and so ordered, that in every parish there be one, two, or more persons of good sort and credit chosen by the alderman, his deputy, and common-council of every ward, by the name of examiners, to continue in that office for the space of two months at least; and if any fit person so appointed, shall refuse to undertake the same, the said parties so refusing to be committed to prison until they shall conform themselves accordingly.'

The Examiner's Office.

'That these examiners be sworn by the aldermen to inquire and learn from time to time what houses in every parish be visited, and what persons be sick, and of what diseases, as near as they can inform themselves, and, upon doubt in that case, to command restraint of access until it appear what the disease shall prove; and if they find any person sick of the infection, to give order to the constable that the house be shut up; and if the constable shall be found remiss and negligent, to give notice thereof to the alderman of the ward.'

Watchmen.

'That to every infected house there be appointed two watchmen, one for every day, and the other for the night, and that these watchmen have a special care that no person go in or out of such infected houses whereof they have the charge, upon pain of severe punishment. And the said watchmen to do such further offices as the sick house shall need and require; and if the watchman be sent upon any business, to lock up the house and take the key with him; and the watchman by day to attend until ten o'clock at night, and the watchman by night until six in the morning.'

Searchers.

'That there be a special care to appoint women-searchers in every parish, such as are of honest reputation, and of the best sort as can be got in this kind; and these to be sworn to make due search and true report to the utmost of their knowledge, whether the persons whose bodies they are appointed to search do die of the infection, or of what other diseases, as near as they can; and that the physicians who shall be appointed for the cure and prevention of the infection, do call before them the said searchers, who are, or shall be appointed for the several parishes under their respective cares, to the end they may consider whether they be fitly qualified for that employment, and charge them from time to time, as they shall see cause, if they appear defective in their duties.

'That no searcher, during this time of visitation, be permitted to use any public work or employment, or keep a shop or stall, or be employed as a laundress, or in any other common employment whatsoever.'

Chirurgeons.

'For better assistance of the searchers, forasmuch as there has been heretofore great abuse in misreporting the disease, to the further spreading of the infection, it is therefore ordered that there be chosen and appointed able and discreet chirurgeons besides those that do already belong to the pesthouse; amongst whom the city and liberties to be quartered as they lie most apt and convenient, and every of these to have one quarter for his limit; and the said chirurgeons in every of their limits to join with the searchers for the view of the body, to the end there may be a true report made of the disease.

'And further, that the said chirurgeons shall visit and search such like persons as shall either send for them, or be named and directed unto them by the examiners of every parish, and inform themselves of the disease of the said parties.

'And forasmuch as the said chirurgeons are to be sequestrated from all other cures, and kept only to this disease of the infection, it is ordered that every of the said chirurgeons shall have twelvepence a body searched by them, to be paid out of the goods of the party searched, if he be able, or otherwise by the parish.'

Nurse-keepers.

'If any nurse-keeper shall remove herself out of any infected house before twenty-eight days after the decease of any peason dying of the infection, the house to which the said nurse-keeper doth so remove herself, shall be shut up until the said twenty-eight days shall be expired.'

ORDERS CONCERNING INFECTED HOUSES, AND PERSONS SICK OF THE PLAGUE.

Notice to be given of the Sickness.

'The master of every house, as soon as any one in his house complaineth, either of botch, or purple, or swelling in any part of his body, or falleth otherwise dangerously sick without apparent cause of some other disease, shall give notice thereof to the examiner of health, within two hours after the said sign shall appear.'

Sequestration of the Sick.

'As soon as any man shall be found by this examiner, chirurgeon, or searcher, to be sick of the plague, he shall the same night be sequestered in the same house, and in case he be so sequestered, then, though he die not, the house wherein he sickened, shall be shut up for a month after the use of the due preservatives taken by the rest.'

Airing the Stuff.

'For sequestration of the goods and stuff of the infection, their bedding, and apparel, and hangings of chambers, must be well aired with fire, and such perfumes as are requisite, within the infected house, before they be taken again to use. This is to be done by the appointment of the examiner.'

Shutting up of the House.

'If any person shall visit any man known to be infected of the plague, or entereth willingly into any known infected house, being not allowed, the house wherein he inhabiteth shall be shut up for certain days by the examiner's direction.'

None to be removed out of Infected Houses, but, &c.

'Item, That none be removed out of the house where he falleth sick of the infection, into any other house in the city (except it be to the pesthouse or a tent, or unto some such house, which the owner of the said house holdeth in his own hands, and occupieth by his own servants), and so as security be given to the said parish whither such remove is made, that the attendance and charge about the said visited persons shall be observed and charged in all the particularities before expressed, without any cost of that parish to which any such remove shall happen to be made, and this remove to be done by night; and it

shall be lawful to any person that hath two houses, to remove either his sound or his infected people to his spare house at his choice, so as if he send away first his sound, he do not after send thither the sick; nor again unto the sick, the sound; and that the same which he sendeth be for one week, at the least, shut up, and secluded from company, for the fear of some infection at first not appearing.'

Burial of the Dead.

'That the burial of the dead by this visitation be at most convenient hours, always before sunrising, or after sun-setting, with the privity of the church-wardens, or constable, and not otherwise; and that no neighbours nor friends be suffered to accompany the corpse to church, or to enter the house visited, upon pain of having his house shut up, or be imprisoned.

'And, that no corpse dying of the infection shall be buried, or remain in any church in time of common prayer, sermon, or lecture. And that no children be suffered at time of burial of any corpse, in any church, churchyard, or burying-place, to come near the corpse, coffin, or grave; and, that all graves be at least six feet deep.

'And further, all public assemblies at other burials are to be forborne during the continuance of this visitation.'

No Infected Stuff to be Uttered.

'That no clothes, stuff, bedding, or garments, be suffered to be carried or conveyed out of any infected houses, and that the criers and carriers abroad of bedding or old apparel to be sold or pawned, be utterly prohibited and restrained, and no brokers of bedding or old apparel be permitted to make any public show, or hang forth on their stalls, shop-boards, or windows towards any street, lane, common way, or passage, any old bedding or apparel to be sold, upon pain of imprisonment. And if any broker or other person shall buy any bedding, apparel, or other stuff out of any infected house, within two months after the infection hath been there, his house shall be shut up as infected, and so shall continue shut up twenty days at the least.'

No Person to be conveyed out of any Infected House.

'If any person visited do fortune by negligent looking unto, or by any other means, to come or be conveyed from a place infected to any other place, the parish from whence such party had come, or been conveyed, upon notice thereof given, shall, at their charge, cause the said party so visited and escaped, to be carried and brought back again by night, and the parties in this case offending to be punished at the direction of the alderman of the ward, and the house of the receiver of such visited person to be shut up for twenty days.'

Every Visited House to be marked.

'That every house visited be marked with a red cross of a foot long, in the middle of the door, evident to be seen, and with these usual printed words, that is to say, "Lord have mercy upon us," to be set close over the same cross, there to continue until lawful opening of the same house.'

Every House to be watched.

'That the constables see every house shut up, and to be attended with watchmen, which may keep in, and minister necessaries to them at their own charges, if they be able, or at the common charge if they be unable. The shutting up to be for the space of four weeks after all is whole.

'That precise order be taken that the searchers, chirurgeons, keepers and buriers, are not to pass the streets without holding a red rod or wand of three foot in length in their hands, open and evident to be seen, and are not to go into any other house than into their own, or into that whereunto they are directed or sent for, but to forbear and abstain from company, especially when they have been lately used in any such business or attendance.'

Inmates.

'That where several inmates are in one and the same house, and any person in that house happens to be infected, no other person or family of such house shall be suffered to remove him or themselves without a certificate from the examiners of the health of that parish; or, in default thereof, the house whither she or they remove shall be shut up, as is in case of visitation.'

Hackney-Coaches.

'That care be taken of hackney-coachmen, that they may not, as some of them have been observed to do after carrying of infected persons to the pesthouse, and other places, be admitted to common use till their coaches be well aired, and have stood unemployed by the space of five or six days after such service.'

ORDERS FOR CLEANSING AND KEEPING OF THE STREETS SWEPT.

The Streets to be kept clean.

'First, it is thought necessary and so ordered, that every householder do cause the street to be daily prepared before his door, and so to keep it clean swept all the week long.'

That Rakers take it from out the Houses.

'That the sweeping and filth of houses be daily carried away by the rakers, and that the raker shall give notice of his coming by the blowing of a horn, as hitherto hath been done.'

Lay-stalls to be made far off from the City.

'That the lay-stalls be removed as far as may be out of the city and common passages, and that no nightman or other be suffered to empty a vault into any garden near about the city.'

Care to be had of unwholesome Fish or Flesh, and of musty Corn.

'That special care be taken that no stinking fish, or unwholesome flesh, or musty corn, or other corrupt fruits, of what sort soever, be suffered to be sold about the city, or any part of the same.

'That the brewers and tippling-houses be looked unto for musty and unwholesome casks.

'That no hogs, dogs, or cats, or tame pigeons, or conies, be suffered to be kept within any part of the city, or any swine to be or stray in the streets or lanes, but that such swine be impounded by the beadle or any other officer, and the owner punished according to the act of common-council, and that the dogs be killed by the dog-killers appointed for that purpose.'

ORDERS CONCERNING LOOSE PERSONS AND IDLE ASSEMBLIES.

Beggars.

'Forasmuch as nothing is more complained of than the multitude of rogues and wandering

beggars that swarm about in every place about the city, being a great cause of the spreading of the infection, and will not be avoided notwithstanding any orders that have been given to the contrary: it is therefore now ordered that such constables and others, whom this matter may any way concern, take special care that no wandering beggars be suffered in the streets of this city, in any fashion or manner whatsoever, upon the penalty provided by law to be duly and severely executed upon them.'

Plays.

'That all plays, bear-baitings, games, singing of ballads, buckler play, or such-like causes of assemblies of people be utterly prohibited, and the parties offending severely punished, by every alderman in his ward.'

Feasting prohibited.

'That all public feasting, and particularly by the Companies of this city, and dinners in taverns, ale-houses, and other places of public entertainment, be forborne till farther order and allowance, and that the money thereby spared be preserved, and employed for the benefit and relief of the poor visited with the infection.'

Tippling-Houses.

'That disorderly tippling in taverns, ale-houses, coffee-houses, and cellars, be severely looked unto as the common sin of the time, and greatest occasion of dispersing the plague. And that no company or person be suffered to remain or come into any tavern, ale-house, or coffee-house, to drink, after nine of the clock in the evening, according to the ancient law and custom of this city, upon the penalties ordained by law.

'And for the better execution of these orders, and such other rules and directions as upon farther consideration shall be found needful, it is ordered and enjoined that the aldermen, deputies, and common-councilmen shall meet together weekly, once, twice, thrice, or oftener, as cause shall require, at some one general place accustomed in their respective wards, being clear from infection of the plague, to consult how the said orders may be put in execution, not intending that any, dwelling in or near places infected, shall come to the said meeting while their coming may be doubtful. And the said aldermen, deputies, and common-councilmen, in their several wards, may put in execution any other orders, that by them, at their said meetings, shall be conceived and devised for the preservation of his majesty's subjects from the infection.'

Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, Lord Mayor.
Sir GEORGE WATERMAN, } Sheriffs.
Sir CHARLES DOE, }

I need not say, that these orders extended only to such places as were within the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction: so it is requisite to observe, that the justices of peace, within those parishes and places as were called the hamlets and out-parts, took the same methods. As I remember, the orders for shutting up of houses did not take place so soon on our side, because, as I said before, the plague did not reach to this eastern part of the town at least, nor begin to be violent till the beginning of August. For example, the whole bill from the 11th to the 18th of July was 1761, yet there died but seventy-one of the plague in all those parishes we call the Tower-hamlets; and they were as follows:—

Aldgate,	14		34		65
Stepney,	33	the next	58	and to the	76
Whitechapel,	21	week was	48	1st. of Aug.	79
St. Kath. Tower,	2	thus:	4	thus:	4
Trin. Minories,	1		1		4
	71		145		228

It was indeed coming on amain; for the burials that same week were, in the next adjoining parishes, thus:—

St. L. Shoreditch,	64	the next week	84	to the 1st	110
St. Bot. Bishopsg.	65	prodigiously	105	of August	116
St. Giles's Crippl.	213	increased, as	421	thus:	554
	342		610		780

This shutting up of houses was at first counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations. Complaints of the severity of it were also brought to my Lord Mayor, of houses causelessly, and some maliciously shut up. I cannot say, but upon inquiry, many that complained so loudly were found in a condition to be continued; and others again, inspection being made upon the sick person, and the sickness not appearing infectious, or, if uncertain, yet, on his being content to be carried to the pesthouse, was released.

As I went along Houndsditch one morning about eight o'clock, there was a great noise. It is true, indeed, there was not much crowd, because the people were not very free to gather together, or to stay long together when they were there, nor did I stay long there; but the outcry was loud enough to prompt my curiosity, and I called to one, who looked out of a window, and asked what was the matter.

A watchman, it seems, had been employed to keep his post at the door of a house which was infected, or said to be infected, and was shut up. He had been there all night, for two nights together, as he told his story, and the day watchman had been there one day, and was now come to relieve him. All this while no noise had been heard in the house, no light had been seen, they called for nothing, had sent him no errands, which used to be the chief business of the watchmen, neither had they given him any disturbance, as he said, from Monday afternoon, when he heard a great crying and screaming in the house, which, as he supposed, was occasioned by some of the family dying just at that time. It seems the night before, the dead-cart, as it was called, had been stopped there, and a servant-maid had been brought down to the door dead, and the buriers or bearers, as they were called, put her into the cart, wrapped only in a green rug, and carried her away.

The watchman had knocked at the door, it seems, when he heard that noise and crying, as above, and nobody answered a great while; but at last one looked out, and said, with an angry quick tone, and yet a kind of crying voice, or a voice of one that was crying, 'What d'ye want, that you make such a knocking?' He answered, 'I am the watchman; how do you do? What is the matter?' The person answered, 'What is that to you? Stop the dead-cart.' This it seems was about one o'clock; soon after, as the fellow said, he stopped the dead-cart, and then knocked again, but nobody answered. He continued knocking, and the bellman called out several times, 'Bring out your dead;' but nobody answered, till the man that drove the cart being

called to other houses, would stay no longer, and drove away.

The watchman knew not what to make of all this, so he let them alone till the morning-man, or day-watchman as they called him, came to relieve him; giving him an account of the particulars, they knocked at the door a great while, but nobody answered, and they observed that the window or casement, at which the person looked out who had answered before, continued open, being up two pair of stairs.

Upon this the two men, to satisfy their curiosity, got a long ladder, and one of them went up to the window, and looked into the room, where he saw a woman lying dead upon the floor, in a dismal manner, having no clothes on her but her shift; but though he called aloud, and putting in his long staff, knocked hard on the floor, yet nobody stirred or answered, neither could he hear any noise in the house.

He came down again upon this, and acquainted his fellow, who went up also, and finding it just so, they resolved to acquaint either the Lord Mayor, or some other magistrate of it, but did not offer to go in at the window. The magistrate, it seems, upon the information of the two men, ordered the house to be broke open, a constable and other persons being appointed to be present, that nothing might be plundered; and accordingly it was so done, when nobody was found in the house but that young woman, who, having been infected and past recovery, the rest had left her to die by herself, and every one gone, having found some way to delude the watchman, and to get open the door, or get out at some back-door, or over the tops of the houses, so that he knew nothing of it; and as to those cries and shrieks which he heard, it was supposed they were the passionate cries of the family at this bitter parting, which to be sure it was to them all, this being the sister to the mistress of the family. The man of the house, his wife, several children and servants, being all gone and fled, whether sick or sound, that I could never learn, nor, indeed, did I make much inquiry after it.

At another house, as I was informed, in the street next within Aldgate, a whole family was shut up and locked in, because the maid-servant was taken sick. The master of the house had complained by his friends to the next alderman, and to the Lord Mayor, and had consented to have the maid carried to the pesthouse, but was refused; so the door was marked with a red cross, a padlock on the outside, as above, and a watchman set to keep the door, according to public order.

After the master of the house found there was no remedy, but that he, his wife, and his children were locked up with this poor distempered servant, he called to the watchman, and told him he must go then and fetch a nurse for them to attend this poor girl, for that it would be certain death to them all to oblige them to nurse her; and told him plainly that, if he would not do this, the maid would perish either of the distemper, or be starved for want of food, for he was resolved none of his family should go near her, and she lay in the garret, four storey high, where she could not cry out, or call to anybody for help.

The watchman consented to that, and went and fetched a nurse, as he was appointed, and brought her to them the same evening. During this interval the master of the house took his opportunity to break a large hole through his shop into a bulk or stall, where formerly a cobbler had sat before or under his shop window; but the tenant, as may be supposed, at such a dismal time as that, was dead or removed, and so he had the key in his own keeping. Having made his way into this stall, which he could not have done if the man had been at the door, the noise he was obliged to make being such as would have alarmed the watchman; I say, having made his way into this stall, he sat still till the watchman returned with the nurse, and all the next day also; but the night following, having contrived to send the watchman of another trifling errand, which, as I take it, was to an apothecary's for a plaster for the maid, which he was to stay for the making up, or some other such errand that might secure his staying some time; in that time he conveyed himself and all his family out of the house, and left the nurse and the watchman to bury the poor wench, that is, throw her into the cart, and take care of the house.

Not far from the same place they blowed up a watchman with gunpowder, and burnt the poor fellow dreadfully; and while he made hideous cries, and nobody would venture to come near to help him, the whole family that were able to stir got out at the windows, one storey high: two that were left sick calling out for help, care was taken to give them nurses to look after them; but the persons fled were never found, till after the plague was abated they returned; but as nothing could be proved, so nothing could be done to them.

In other cases, some had gardens and walks or pales between them and their neighbours; or yards and back-houses; and these, by friendship and entreaties, would get leave to get over those walls or pales, and so go out at their neighbours' doors; or, by giving money to their servants, get them to let them through in the night; so that, in short, the shutting up of houses was in nowise to be depended upon; neither did it answer the end at all, serving more to make the people desperate, and drive them to such extremities as that they would break out at all adventures.

And that which was still worse, those that did thus break out spread the infection farther by their wandering about with the distemper upon them, in their desperate circumstances, than they would otherwise have done; for whoever considers all the particulars in such cases must acknowledge, and cannot doubt but the severity of those confinements made many people desperate, and made them run out of their houses at all hazards, and with the plague visibly upon them, not knowing either whither to go, or what to do, or, indeed, what they did; and many that did so were driven to dreadful exigencies and extremities, and perished in the streets or fields for mere want, or dropped down by the raging violence of the fever upon them. Others wandered into the country, and went forward any way, as their desperation guided them, not knowing whither they went or would go, till, faint and tired, and not getting any relief (the houses and villages on the road refusing to admit them to lodge, whether infected or no), they have perished by the roadside, or gotten into barns and died there, none daring to come to them, or relieve them, though perhaps not infected, for nobody would believe them.

On the other hand, when the plague at first seized a family, that is to say, when any one body of the family had gone out, and unwarily or otherwise catched the distemper and brought it home, it was certainly known by the family before it was known to the officers, who, as you

will see by the order, were appointed to examine into the circumstances of all sick persons, when they heard of their being sick.

In this interval, between their being taken sick, and the examiners coming, the master of the house had leisure and liberty to remove himself, or all his family, if he knew whither to go, and many did so. But the great disaster was, that many did thus after they were really infected themselves, and so carried the disease into the houses of those who were so hospitable as to receive them, which, it must be confessed, was very cruel and ungrateful.

I am speaking now of people made desperate by the apprehensions of their being shut up, and their breaking out by stratagem or force, either before or after they were shut up, whose misery was not lessened when they were out, but sadly increased. On the other hand, many who thus got away had retreats to go to, and other houses, where they locked themselves up, and kept hid till the plague was over; and many families, foreseeing the approach of the distemper, laid up stores of provisions, sufficient for their whole families, and shut themselves up, and that so entirely, that they were neither seen or heard of, till the infection was quite ceased, and then came abroad sound and well. I might recollect several such as these, and give you the particulars of their management; for, doubtless, it was the most effectual secure step that could be taken for such, whose circumstances would not admit them to remove, or who had not retreats abroad proper for the case; for, in being thus shut up, they were as if they had been a hundred miles off. Nor do I remember, that any one of those families miscarried. Among these, several Dutch merchants were particularly remarkable, who kept their houses like little garrisons besieged, suffering none to go in or out, or come near them; particularly one in a court in Throckmorton-street, whose house looked into Drapers' Garden.

But I come back to the case of families infected, and shut up by the magistrates. The misery of those families is not to be expressed, and it was generally in such houses that we heard the most dismal shrieks and outcries of the poor people, terrified, and even frightened to death, by the sight of the condition of their dearest relations, and by the terror of being imprisoned as they were.

I remember (and while I am writing this story, I think I hear the very sound of it) a certain lady had an only daughter, a young maiden about nineteen years old, and who was possessed of a very considerable fortune; they were only lodgers in the house where they were. The young woman, her mother, and the maid, had been abroad on some occasion, I do not remember what, for the house was not shut up; but, about two hours after they came home, the young lady complained she was not well; in a quarter of an hour more she vomited, and had a violent pain in her head. 'Pray God,' says her mother, in a terrible fright, 'my child has not the distemper!' The pain in her head increasing, her mother ordered the bed to be warmed, and resolved to put her to bed; and prepared to give her things to sweat, which was the ordinary remedy to be taken, when the first apprehensions of the distemper began.

While the bed was airing, the mother undressed the young woman, and just as she was laid down in the bed, she, looking upon her body with a candle, immediately discovered the fatal tokens on the inside of her thighs. Her mother, not being able to contain herself, threw down her candle, and screeched out in such a frightful manner, that it was enough to place horror upon the stoutest heart in the world; nor was it one scream, or one cry, but the fright having seized her spirits, she fainted first, then recovered, then ran all over the house, up the stairs and down the stairs, like one distracted, and indeed really was distracted, and continued screeching and crying out for several hours, void of all sense, or, at least, government of her senses, and, as I was told, never came thoroughly to herself again. As to the young maiden, she was a dead corpse from that moment; for the gangrene, which occasions the spots, had spread over her whole body, and she died in less than two hours. But still the mother continued crying out, not knowing anything more of her child, several hours after she was dead. It is so long ago, that I am not certain, but I think the mother never recovered, but died in two or three weeks after.

I have by me a story of two brothers and their kinsman, who, being single men, but that had stayed in the city too long to get away, and, indeed, not knowing where to go to have any retreat, nor having wherewith to travel far, took a course for their own preservation, which, though in itself at first desperate, yet was so natural, that it may be wondered that no more did so at that time. They were but of mean condition, and yet not so very poor as that they could not furnish themselves with some little conveniences, such as might serve to keep life and soul together; and, finding the distemper increasing in a terrible manner, they resolved to shift as well as they could, and to be gone.

One of them had been a soldier in the late wars, and before that in the Low Countries; and having been bred to no particular employment but his arms, and, besides, being wounded, and not able to work very hard, had for some time been employed at a baker's of sea-biscuit in Wapping.

The brother of this man was a seaman too, but, somehow or other, had been hurt of one leg, that he could not go to sea, but had worked for his living at a sailmaker's in Wapping, or thereabouts; and being a good husband, had laid up some money, and was the richest of the three.

The third man was a joiner or carpenter by trade, a handy fellow; and he had no wealth, but his box, or basket of tools, with the help of which he could at any time get his living, such a time as this excepted, wherever he went, and he lived near Shadwell.

They all lived in Stepney parish, which, as I have said, being the last that was infected, or at least violently, they stayed there till they evidently saw the plague was abating at the west part of the town, and coming towards the east, where they lived.

The story of those three men, if the reader will be content to have me give it in their own persons, without taking upon me to either vouch the particulars, or answer for any mistakes, I shall give as distinctly as I can; believing the history will be a very good pattern for any poor man to follow, in case the like public desolation should happen here; and if there may be no such occasion, which God of his infinite mercy grant us, still the story may have its uses so many ways, as that it will, I hope, never be said that the relating has been unprofitable.

I say all this previous to the history, having yet, for the present, much more to say before I quit my own part.

I went all the first part of the time freely about the streets, though not so freely as to run

myself into apparent danger, except when they dug the great pit in the churchyard of our parish of Aldgate. A terrible pit it was, and I could not resist my curiosity to go and see it; as near as I may judge, it was about forty feet in length, and about fifteen or sixteen feet broad; and, at the time I first looked at it, about nine feet deep; but it was said, they dug it near twenty feet deep afterwards, in one part of it, till they could go no deeper for the water; for they had, it seems, dug several large pits before this; for, though the plague was long a coming to our parish, yet, when it did come, there was no parish in or about London where it raged with such violence as in the two parishes of Aldgate and Whitechapel.

They had dug several pits in another ground when the distemper began to spread in our parish, and especially when the dead-carts began to go about, which was not in our parish till the beginning of August. Into these pits they had put perhaps fifty or sixty bodies each, then they made larger holes, wherein they buried all that the cart brought in a week, which, by the middle to the end of August, came to from two hundred to four hundred a week. And they could not well dig them larger, because of the order of the magistrates, confining them to leave no bodies within six feet of the surface, and the water coming on at about seventeen or eighteen feet; they could not well, I say, put more in one pit. But now, at the beginning of September, the plague raging in a dreadful manner, and the number of burials in our parish increasing to more than was ever buried in any parish about London, of no larger extent, they ordered this dreadful gulf to be dug, for such it was rather than a pit.

They had supposed this pit would have supplied them for a month or more, when they dug it, and some blamed the churchwardens for suffering such a frightful thing, telling them they were making preparations to bury the whole parish, and the like; but time made it appear the churchwardens knew the condition of the parish better than they did; for the pit being finished the 4th of September, I think they began to bury in it the 6th, and by the 20th, which was just two weeks, they had thrown into it 1114 bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the bodies being then come to lie within six feet of the surface. I doubt not but that there may be some ancient persons alive in the parish who can justify the fact of this, and are able to show even in what place of the churchyard the pit lay better than I can; the mark of it also was many years to be seen in the churchyard on the surface, lying in length, parallel with the passage which goes by the west wall of the churchyard, out of Houndsditch, and turns east again, into Whitechapel, coming out near the Three Nuns Inn.

It was about the 10th of September that my curiosity led, or rather drove me to go and see this pit again, when there had been near four hundred people buried in it; and I was not content to see it in the day-time, as I had done before, for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose earth; for all the bodies that were thrown in were immediately covered with earth, by those they called the buriers, which at other times were called bearers; but I resolved to go in the night, and see some of them thrown in.

There was a strict order to prevent people coming to those pits, and that was only to prevent infection; but, after some time, that order was more necessary, for people that were infected, and near their end, and delirious also, would run to those pits wrapt in blankets or rugs, and throw themselves in, and, as they said, bury themselves. I cannot say that the officers suffered any willingly to lie there; but I have heard that, in a great pit in Finsbury, in the parish of Cripplegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it was not then walled about, many came and threw themselves in, and expired there, before they threw any earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others, and found them there, they were quite dead, though not cold.

This may serve a little to describe the dreadful condition of that day, though it is impossible to say anything that is able to give a true idea of it to those who did not see it, other than this, that it was indeed *very, very, very* dreadful, and such as no tongue can express.

I got admittance into the churchyard by being acquainted with the sexton who attended, who, though he did not refuse me at all, yet earnestly persuaded me not to go; telling me very seriously, for he was a good religious and sensible man, that it was, indeed, their business and duty to venture, and to run all hazards, and that in it they might hope to be preserved; but that I had no apparent call to it but my own curiosity, which, he said, he believed I would not pretend was sufficient to justify my running that hazard. I told him I had been pressed in my mind to go, and that, perhaps, it might be an instructing sight, that might not be without its uses. 'Nay,' says the good man, 'if you will venture upon that score, 'Name of God, go in; for, depend upon it, it will be a sermon to you, it may be, the best that ever you heard in your life. It is a speaking sight,' says he, 'and has a voice with it, and a loud one, to call us all to repentance;' and with that he opened the door, and said, 'Go, if you will.'

His discourse had shocked my resolution a little, and I stood wavering for a good while; but just at that interval I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead-cart, as they called it, coming over the streets; so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in. There was nobody, as I could perceive at first, in the churchyard, or going into it, but the buriers, and the fellow that drove the cart, or rather led the horse and cart; but when they came up to the pit, they saw a man go to and again, muffled up in a brown cloak, and making motions with his hands under his cloak, as if he was in great agony; and the buriers immediately gathered about him, supposing he was one of those poor delirious or desperate creatures, that used to pretend, as I have said, to bury themselves; he said nothing as he walked about, but two or three times groaned very deeply and loud, and sighed as he would break his heart.

When the buriers came up to him, they soon found he was neither a person infected and desperate, as I have observed above, or a person distempered in mind, but one oppressed with a dreadful weight of grief indeed, having his wife and several of his children all in the cart, that was just come in with him, and he followed in an agony and excess of sorrow. He mourned heartily, as it was easy to see, but with a kind of masculine grief that could not give itself vent by tears; and, calmly desiring the buriers to let him alone, said he would only see the bodies thrown in, and go away, so they left importuning him; but no sooner was the cart turned round, and the bodies shot into the pit, promiscuously, which was a surprise to him, for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, though,

indeed, he was afterwards convinced that was impracticable; I say, no sooner did he see the sight, but he cried out aloud, unable to contain himself. I could not hear what he said, but he went backward two or three steps, and fell down in a swoon. The buriers ran to him and took him up, and in a little while he came to himself, and they led him away to the Pye Tavern, over against the end of Houndsditch, where, it seems, the man was known, and where they took care of him. He looked into the pit again, as he went away; but the buriers had covered the bodies so immediately with throwing in earth, that, though there was light enough, for there were lanthorns and candles in them, placed all night round the sides of the pit, upon the heaps of earth, seven or eight, or perhaps more, yet nothing could be seen.

This was a mournful scene indeed, and affected me almost as much as the rest; but the other was awful, and full of terror. The cart had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies; some were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose that what covering they had fell from them in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest; but the matter was not much to them, or the indecency much to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it, for here was no difference made, but poor and rich went together; there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should, for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this.

It was reported, by way of scandal upon the buriers, that if any corpse was delivered to them, decently wound up, as we called it then, in a winding-sheet tied over the head and feet, which some did, and which was generally of good linen; I say, it was reported that the buriers were so wicked as to strip them in the cart, and carry them quite naked to the ground; but, as I cannot credit anything so vile among Christians, and at a time so filled with terrors as that was, I can only relate it, and leave it undetermined.

Innumerable stories also went about of the cruel behaviour and practice of nurses, who attended the sick, and of their hastening on the fate of those they attended in their sickness. But I shall say more of this in its place.

I was indeed shocked with this sight, it almost overwhelmed me; and I went away with my heart most afflicted, and full of afflicting thoughts, such as I cannot describe. Just at my going out of the church, and turning up the street towards my own house, I saw another cart, with links, and a bellman going before, coming out of Harrow-alley, in the Butcher-row, on the other side of the way, and being, as I perceived, very full of dead bodies, it went directly over the street also towards the church. I stood awhile, but I had no stomach to go back again to see the same dismal scene over again; so I went directly home, where I could not but consider with thankfulness the risk I had run, believing I had gotten no injury, as indeed I had not.

Here the poor unhappy gentleman's grief came into my head again, and, indeed, I could not but shed tears in the reflection upon it, perhaps more than he did himself; but his case lay so heavy upon my mind that I could not prevail with myself but that I must go out again into the street, and go to the Pye Tavern, resolving to inquire what became of him.

It was by this time one o'clock in the morning, and yet the poor gentleman was there; the truth was, the people of the house knowing him, had entertained him, and kept him there all the night, notwithstanding the danger of being infected by him, though it appeared the man was perfectly sound himself.

It is with regret that I take notice of this tavern. The people were civil, mannerly, and an obliging sort of folks enough, and had till this time kept their house open, and their trade going on, though not so very publicly as formerly; but there was a dreadful set of fellows that used their house, and who, in the middle of all this horror, met there every night, behaving with all the revelling and roaring extravagances as is usual for such people to do at other times, and indeed to such an offensive degree, that the very master and mistress of the house grew first ashamed, and then terrified at them.

They sat generally in a room next the street; and as they always kept late hours, so when the dead-cart came across the street end to go into Houndsditch, which was in view of the tavern windows, they would frequently open the windows, as soon as they heard the bell, and look out at them; and as they might often hear sad lamentations of the people in the streets, or at their windows, as the carts went along, they would make their impudent mocks and jeers at them, especially if they heard the poor people call upon God to have mercy upon them, as many would do at those times, in their ordinary passing along the streets.

These gentlemen being somewhat disturbed with the clutter of bringing the poor gentleman into the house, as above, were first angry and very high with the master of the house, for suffering such a fellow, as they called him, to be brought out of the grave into their house; but being answered that the man was a neighbour, and that he was sound, but overwhelmed with the calamity of his family, and the like, they turned their anger into ridiculing the man, and his sorrow for his wife and children; taunting him with want of courage to leap into the great pit, and go to heaven, as they jeeringly expressed it, along with them, adding some very profane and even blasphemous expressions.

They were at this vile work when I came back to the house, and, as far as I could see, though the man sat still, mute and disconsolate, and their affronts could not divert his sorrow, yet he was both grieved and offended at their discourse. Upon this I gently reproved them, being well enough acquainted with their characters, and not unknown in person to two of them.

They immediately fell upon me with ill language and oaths; asked me what I did out of my grave at such a time, when so many honester men were carried into the churchyard, and why I was not at home saying my prayers against the dead-cart came for me, and the like.

I was indeed astonished at the impudence of the men, though not at all discomposed at their treatment of me; however, I kept my temper. I told them that though I defied them, or any man in the world, to tax me with any dishonesty, yet I acknowledged that, in this terrible judgment of God, many better than I were swept away, and carried to their grave; but, to answer their question directly, the case was, that I was mercifully preserved by that great God, whose name they had blasphemed and taken in vain, by cursing and swearing in a dreadful manner, and that I believed I was preserved in particular, among other ends of his goodness, that I might reprove them for their audacious boldness in behaving in such a manner, and in such an awful time as this was,

especially for their jeering and mocking at an honest gentleman, and a neighbour (for some of them knew him), who they saw was overwhelmed with sorrow for the breaches it had pleased God to make upon his family.

I cannot call exactly to mind the hellish abominable raillery which was the return they made to that talk of mine, being provoked, it seems, that I was not at all afraid to be free with them; nor, if I could remember, would I fill my account with any of the words, the horrid oaths, curses, and vile expressions, such as, at that time of the day, even the worst and ordinariest people in the street would not use; for, except such hardened creatures as these, the most wicked wretches that could be found, had at that time some terror upon their mind of the hand of that Power which could thus in a moment destroy them.

But that which was the worst in all their devilish language was, that they were not afraid to blaspheme God, and talk atheistically; making a jest at my calling the plague the hand of God, mocking, and even laughing at the word judgment, as if the providence of God had no concern in the inflicting such a desolating stroke; and that the people calling upon God, as they saw the carts carrying away the dead bodies, was all enthusiastic, absurd, and impertinent.

I made them some reply, such as I thought proper, but which I found was so far from putting a check to their horrid way of speaking that it made them rail the more, so that I confess it filled me with horror and a kind of rage, and I came away, as I told them, lest the hand of that judgment which had visited the whole city should glorify his vengeance upon them, and all that were near them.

They received all reproof with the utmost contempt, and made the greatest mockery that was possible for them to do at me, giving me all the opprobrious insolent scoffs that they could think of for preaching to them, as they called it, which indeed grieved me rather than angered me; and I went away blessing God, however, in my mind, that I had not spared them though they had insulted me so much.

They continued this wretched course three or four days after this, continually mocking and jeering at all that showed themselves religious or serious, or that were any way touched with the sense of the terrible judgment of God upon us; and I was informed they flouted in the same manner at the good people who, notwithstanding the contagion, met at the church, fasted and prayed to God to remove his hand from them.

I say, they continued this dreadful course three or four days, I think it was no more, when one of them, particularly he who asked the poor gentleman 'what he did out of his grave,' was struck from heaven with the plague, and died in a most deplorable manner; and, in a word, they were every one of them carried into the great pit, which I have mentioned above, before it was quite filled up, which was not above a fortnight or thereabout.

These men were guilty of many extravagances, such as one would think human nature should have trembled at the thoughts of, at such a time of general terror as was then upon us; and, particularly, scoffing and mocking at everything which they happened to see that was religious among the people, especially at their thronging zealously to the place of public worship to implore mercy from heaven in such a time of distress; and this tavern where they held their club, being within view of the church door, they had the more particular occasion for their atheistical profane mirth.

But this began to abate a little with them before the accident, which I have related, happened; for the infection increased so violently at this part of the town now that people began to be afraid to come to the church, at least such numbers did not resort thither as was usual; many of the clergymen likewise were dead, and others gone into the country, for it really required a steady courage and a strong faith for a man not only to venture being in town at such a time as this, but likewise to venture to come to church and perform the office of a minister to a congregation, of whom he had reason to believe many of them were actually infected with the plague, and to do this every day, or twice a day, as in some places was done.

It seems they had been checked for their open insulting religion in this manner by several good people of every persuasion, and that, and the violent raging of the infection, I suppose, was the occasion that they had abated much of their rudeness for some time before, and were only roused by the spirit of ribaldry and atheism at the clamour which was made when the gentleman was first brought in there, and, perhaps, were agitated by the same devil when I took upon me to reprove them, though I did it at first with all the calmness, temper, and good manners that I could, which, for a while, they insulted me the more for, thinking it had been in fear of their resentment, though afterwards they found the contrary.

These things lay upon my mind, and I went home very much grieved and oppressed with the horror of these men's wickedness, and to think that anything could be so vile, so hardened, and so notoriously wicked as to insult God and his servants, and his worship, in such a manner, and at such a time as this was, when He had, as it were, his sword drawn in his hand on purpose to take vengeance, not on them only, but on the whole nation.

I had, indeed, been in some passion at first with them, though it was really raised, not by any affront they had offered me personally, but by the horror their blaspheming tongues filled me with. However, I was doubtful in my thoughts whether the resentment I retained was not all upon my own private account, for they had given me a great deal of ill language too, I mean personally; but after some pause, and having a weight of grief upon my mind, I retired myself, as soon as I came home, for I slept not that night, and giving God most humble thanks for my preservation in the imminent danger I had been in, I set my mind seriously, and with the utmost earnestness, to pray for those desperate wretches, that God would pardon them, open their eyes, and effectually humble them.

By this I not only did my duty, namely, to pray for those who despitefully used me, but I fully tried my own heart, to my full satisfaction, that it was not filled with any spirit of resentment, as they had offended me in particular; and I humbly recommend the method to all those that would know, or be certain, how to distinguish between their zeal for the honour of God, and the effects of their private passions and resentment.

I remember a citizen who, having broken out of his house in Aldersgate-street, or thereabout, went along the road to Islington. He attempted to have gone in at the Angel Inn, and after that at the White Horse, two inns known still by the same signs, but was refused; after which he came to the Pyed Bull, an inn also still continu-

ing the same sign. He asked them for lodging for one night only, pretending to be going into Lincolnshire, and assuring them of his being very sound, and free from the infection, which also at that time had not reached much that way.

They told him they had no lodging that they could spare, but one bed up in the garret, and that they could spare that bed but for one night, some drovers being expected the next day with cattle; so, if he would accept of that lodging, he might have it, which he did. So a servant was sent up with a candle with him, to show him the room. He was very well dressed, and looked like a person not used to lie in a garret; and when he came to the room he fetched a deep sigh, and said to the servant, 'I have seldom lain in such a lodging as this.' However, the servant assured him again that they had no better. 'Well,' says he, 'I must make shift; this is a dreadful time; but it is but for one night.' So he sat down upon the bed-side, and bade the maid, I think it was, fetch him a pint of warm ale. Accordingly, the servant went for the ale, but some hurry in the house, which perhaps employed her otherwise, put it out of her head, and she went up no more to him.

The next morning, seeing no appearance of the gentleman, somebody in the house asked the servant that had showed him upstairs, what was become of him. She started. 'Alas,' says she, 'I never thought more of him! He bade me carry him some warm ale, but I forgot;' upon which, not the maid, but some other person, was sent up to see after him, who, coming into the room, found him stark dead, and almost cold, stretched out across the bed. His clothes were pulled off, his jaw fallen, his eyes open in a most frightful posture, the rug of the bed being grasped hard in one of his hands; so that it was plain he died soon after the maid left him; and it is probable, had she gone up with the ale, she had found him dead in a few minutes after he had sat down upon the bed. The alarm was great in the house, as any one may suppose, they having been free from the distemper till that disaster, which, bringing the infection to the house, spread it immediately to other houses round about it. I do not remember how many died in the house itself, but I think the maid-servant who went up first with him fell presently ill by the fright, and several others; for whereas there died but two in Islington of the plague the week before, there died nineteen the week after, whereof fourteen were of the plague. This was in the week from the 11th of July to the 18th.

There was one shift that some families had, and that not a few, when their houses happened to be infected, and that was this: The families who, in the first breaking out of the distemper, fled away into the country, and had retreats among their friends, generally found some or other of their neighbours or relations to commit the charge of those houses to, for the safety of the goods, and the like. Some houses were indeed entirely locked up, the doors padlocked, the windows and doors having deal boards nailed over them, and only the inspection of them committed to the ordinary watchmen and parish officers; but these were but few.

It was thought that there were not less than 10,000 houses forsaken of the inhabitants in the city and suburbs, including what was in the out-parishes and in Surrey, or the side of the water they call Southwark. This was besides the numbers of lodgers and of particular persons who were fled out of other families; so that in all it was computed that about 200,000 people were fled and gone in all. But of this I shall speak again; but I mention it here on this account, namely, that it was a rule with those who had thus two houses in their keeping or care, that if anybody was taken sick in a family, before the master of the family let the examiners or any other officer know of it, he immediately would send all the rest of his family, whether children or servants, as it fell out to be, to such other house which he had not in charge, and then giving notice of the sick person to the examiner, have a nurse or nurses appointed, and having another person to be shut up in the house with them (which many for money would consent to), so to take charge of the house, in case the person should die.

This was in many cases the saving a whole family, who, if they had been shut up with the sick person, would inevitably have perished; but, on the other hand, this was another of the inconveniences of shutting up houses; for the apprehensions and terror of being shut up made many run away with the rest of the family, who, though it was not publicly known, and they were not quite sick, had yet the distemper upon them; and who, by having an uninterrupted liberty to go about, but being obliged still to conceal their circumstances, or perhaps not knowing it themselves, gave the distemper to others, and spread the infection in a dreadful manner, as I shall explain further hereafter.

I had in my family only an ancient woman, that managed the house, a maid-servant, two apprentices, and myself; and the plague beginning to increase about us, I had many sad thoughts about what course I should take, and how I should act. The many dismal objects which happened everywhere as I went about the streets had filled my mind with a great deal of horror for fear of the distemper itself, which was indeed very horrible in itself, and in some more than others. The swellings, which were generally in the neck or groin, when they grew hard, and would not break, grew so painful that it was equal to the most exquisite torture; and some, not able to bear the torment, threw themselves out at windows, or shot themselves, or otherwise made themselves away; and I saw several dismal objects of that kind. Others, unable to contain themselves, vented their pain by incessant roarings; and such loud and lamentable cries were to be heard as we walked along the streets, that would pierce the very heart to think of, especially when it was to be considered that the same dreadful scourge might be expected every moment to seize upon ourselves.

I cannot say but that now I began to faint in my resolutions; my heart failed me very much, and sorely I repented of my rashness, when I had been out and met with such terrible things as these I have talked of,—I say I repented my rashness in venturing to abide in town, and I wished often that I had not taken upon me to stay, but had gone away with my brother and his family.

Terrified by those frightful objects, I would retire home sometimes, and resolve to go out no more, and perhaps I would keep those resolutions for three or four days, which time I spent in the most serious thankfulness for my preservation and the preservation of my family, and the constant confession of my sins, giving myself up to God every day, and applying to Him with fasting, and humiliation, and meditation. Such intervals as I had I employed in reading books, and in writing down my memorandums of what occurred to me every day, and out of which afterwards I

took most of this work, as it relates to my observations without doors; what I wrote of my private meditations I reserve for private use, and desire it may not be made public on any account whatever.

I also wrote other meditations upon divine subjects such as occurred to me at that time, and were profitable to myself, but not fit for any other view, and therefore I say no more of that.

I had a very good friend, a physician, whose name was Heath, whom I frequently visited during this dismal time, and to whose advice I was very much obliged for many things which he directed me to take by way of preventing the infection when I went out, as he found I frequently did, and to hold in my mouth when I was in the streets. He also came very often to see me; and as he was a good Christian as well as a good physician, his agreeable conversation was a very great support to me in the worst of this terrible time.

It was now the beginning of August, and the plague grew very violent and terrible in the place where I lived; and Dr. Heath coming to visit me, and finding that I ventured so often out in the streets, earnestly persuaded me to lock myself up and my family, and not to suffer any of us to go out of doors; to keep all our windows fast, shutters and curtains close, and never to open them; but first to make a very strong smoke in the room where the window or door was to be opened, with rosin and pitch, brimstone and gunpowder, and the like. And we did this for some time; but as I had not laid in a store of provision for such a retreat, it was impossible that we could keep within doors entirely. However, I attempted, though it was so very late, to do something towards it. And first, as I had convenience both for brewing and baking, I went and bought two sacks of meal; and for several weeks, having an oven, we baked all our own bread; also I bought malt, and brewed as much beer as all the casks I had would hold, and which seemed enough to serve my house for five or six weeks; also I laid in a quantity of salt butter and Cheshire cheese; but I had no flesh meat, and the plague raged so violently among the butchers and slaughter-houses on the other side of our street, where they are known to dwell in great numbers, that it was not advisable so much as to go over the street among them.

And here I must observe again, that this necessity of going out of our houses to buy provisions, was in a great measure the ruin of the whole city, for the people catched the distemper, on these occasions, one of another, and even the provisions themselves were often tainted, at least I have great reason to believe so; and, therefore, I cannot say with satisfaction, what I know is repeated with great assurance, that the market people, and such as brought provisions to town, were never infected. I am certain the butchers of Whitechapel, where the greatest part of the flesh meat was killed, were dreadfully visited, and that at last to such a degree, that few of their shops were kept open, and those that remained of them killed their meat at Mile-End, and that way, and brought it to market upon horses.

However, the poor people could not lay up provisions, and there was a necessity, that they must go to market to buy, and others to send servants, or their children; and, as this was a necessity which renewed itself daily, it brought abundance of unsound people to the markets, and a great many that went thither sound, brought death home with them.

It is true, people used all possible precaution: when any one bought a joint of meat in the market, they would not take it out of the butcher's hand, but took it off the hooks themselves. On the other hand, the butcher would not touch the money, but have it put into a pot full of vinegar, which he kept for that purpose. The buyer carried always small money to make up any odd sum, that they might take no change. They carried bottles for scents and perfumes in their hands, and all the means that could be used were employed; but then the poor could not do even these things, and they went at all hazards.

Innumerable dismal stories we heard every day on this very account; sometimes a man or woman dropt down dead in the very markets; for many people that had the plague upon them knew nothing of it till the inward gangrene had affected their vitals, and they died in a few moments; this caused that many died frequently in that manner in the street suddenly, without any warning; others perhaps had time to go to the next bulk or stall, or to any door or porch, and just sit down and die, as I have said before.

These objects were so frequent in the streets, that when the plague came to be very raging on one side, there was scarce any passing by the streets, but that several dead bodies would be lying here and there upon the ground. On the other hand, it is observable that though at first the people would stop as they went along, and call to the neighbours to come out on such an occasion, yet afterward no notice was taken of them; but that, if at any time we found a corpse lying, go across the way and not come near it; or if in a narrow lane or passage, go back again, and seek some other way to go on the business we were upon; and, in those cases, the corpse was always left till the officers had notice to come and take them away; or till night, when the bearers attending the dead-cart would take them up and carry them away. Nor did those undaunted creatures, who performed these offices, fail to search their pockets, and sometimes strip off their clothes if they were well dressed, as sometimes they were, and carry off what they could get.

But to return to the markets: the butchers took that care, that if any person died in the market, they had the officers always at hand to take them up upon hand-barrows, and carry them to the next churchyard; and this was so frequent, that such were not entered in the weekly bill, 'Found dead in the streets or fields,' as is the case now, but they went into the general articles of the great distemper.

But now the fury of the distemper increased to such a degree, that even the markets were but very thinly furnished with provisions, or frequented with buyers, compared to what they were before; and the Lord Mayor caused the country people who brought provisions, to be stopped in the streets leading into the town, and to sit down there with their goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away; and this encouraged the country people greatly to do so, for they sold their provisions at the very entrances into the town, and even in the fields; as particularly, in the fields beyond Whitechapel, in Spitalfields.—Note, those streets, now called Spitalfields, were then indeed open fields.—Also, in St. George's-fields, in Southwark, in Bunhill-fields, and in a great field called Wood's Close near Islington. Thither the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and magistrates, sent their officers and servants to buy for their families, themselves keeping within doors as much as

possible, and the like did many other people; and after this method was taken, the country people came with great cheerfulness, and brought provisions of all sorts, and very seldom got any harm; which I suppose added also to that report, of their being miraculously preserved.

As for my little family, having thus, as I have said, laid in a store of bread, butter, cheese, and beer, I took my friend and physician's advice, and locked myself up, and my family, and resolved to suffer the hardship of living a few months without flesh meat, rather than to purchase it at the hazard of our lives.

But though I confined my family, I could not prevail upon my unsatisfied curiosity to stay within entirely myself; and though I generally came frighted and terrified home, yet I could not refrain; only, that indeed I did not do it so frequently as at first.

I had some little obligations indeed upon me, to go to my brother's house, which was in Coleman-street parish, and which he had left to my care; and I went at first every day, but afterwards only once or twice a week.

In these walks I had many dismal scenes before my eyes; as, particularly, of persons falling dead in the streets, terrible shrieks and screechings of women, who, in their agonies, would throw open their chamber windows, and cry out in a dismal surprising manner. It is impossible to describe the variety of postures in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves.

Passing through Tokenhouse-yard, in Lothbury, of a sudden a casement violently opened just over my head, and a woman gave three frightful screeches, and then cried, 'Oh! death, death, death!' in a most inimitable tone, and which struck me with horror, and a chillness in my very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any other window open, for people had no curiosity now in any case, nor could anybody help one another; so I went on to pass into Bell-alley.

Just in Bell-alley, on the right hand of the passage, there was a more terrible cry than that, though it was not so directed out at the window; but the whole family was in a terrible fright, and I could hear women and children run screaming about the rooms like distracted, when a garret window opened, and somebody from a window on the other side the alley called and asked, 'What is the matter?' Upon which, from the first window it was answered, 'O Lord, my old master has hanged himself!' The other asked again, 'Is he quite dead?' and the first answered, 'Ay, ay, quite dead; quite dead and cold!' This person was a merchant, and a deputy-alderman, and very rich. I care not to mention his name, though I knew his name too; but that would be a hardship to the family, which is now flourishing again.

But this is but one; it is scarce credible what dreadful cases happened in particular families every day. People, in the rage of the distemper, or in the torment of their swellings, which was indeed intolerable, running out of their own government, raving and distracted, and oftentimes laying violent hands upon themselves, throwing themselves out at their windows, shooting themselves, &c. Mothers murdering their own children in their lunacy; some dying of mere grief, as a passion; some of mere fright and surprise, without any infection at all; others frighted into idiotism and foolish distractions; some into despair and lunacy; others into melancholy madness.

The pain of the swelling was in particular very violent, and to some intolerable. The physicians and surgeons may be said to have tortured many poor creatures even to death: the swellings in some grew hard, and they applied violent drawing plasters, or poultices, to break them; and if these did not do, they cut and scarified them in a terrible manner. In some, those swellings were made hard, partly by the force of the distemper, and partly by their being too violently drawn, and were so hard that no instrument could cut them, and then they burnt them with caustics, so that many died raving mad with the torment, and some in the very operation. In these distresses, some, for want of help to hold them down in their beds, or to look to them, laid hands upon themselves, as above; some broke out into the streets, perhaps naked, and would run directly down to the river, if they were not stopped by the watchmen, or other officers, and plunge themselves into the water, wherever they found it.

It often pierced my very soul to hear the groans and cries of those who were thus tormented: but of the two, this was counted the most promising particular in the whole infection; for, if these swellings could be brought to a head, and to break and run, or, as the surgeons call it, to digest, the patient generally recovered; whereas those who, like the gentlewoman's daughter, were struck with death at the beginning, and had the tokens come out upon them, often went about indifferently easy, till a little before they died, and some till the moment they dropt down, as in apoplexies and epilepsies is often the case. Such would be taken suddenly very sick, and would run to a bench or bulk, or any convenient place that offered itself, or to their own houses, if possible, as I mentioned before, and there sit down, grow faint, and die. This kind of dying was much the same as it was with those who die of common mortifications, who die swooning, and, as it were, go away in a dream; such as died thus had very little notice of their being infected at all, till the gangrene was spread through their whole body; nor could physicians themselves know certainly how it was with them till they opened their breasts, or other parts of their body, and saw the tokens.

We had at this time a great many frightful stories told us of nurses and watchmen, who looked after the dying people, that is to say, hired nurses, who attended infected people, using them barbarously, starving them, smothering them, or by other wicked means hastening their end; that is to say, murdering of them. And watchmen being set to guard houses that were shut up, when there has been but one person left, and perhaps that one lying sick, that they have broke in and murdered that body, and immediately thrown them out into the dead-cart; and so they have gone scarce cold to the grave.

I cannot say but that some such murders were committed, and I think two were sent to prison for it, but died before they could be tried; and I have heard that three others, at several times, were executed for murders of that kind. But, I must say, I believe nothing of its being so common a crime as some have since been pleased to say; nor did it seem to be so rational, where the people were brought so low as not to be able to help themselves, for such seldom recovered, and there was no temptation to commit a murder; at least, not equal to the fact, where they were sure persons would die in so short a time, and could not live.

That there were a great many robberies and

wicked practices committed even in this dreadful time, I do not deny. The power of avarice was so strong in some, that they would run any hazard to steal and to plunder; and, particularly, in houses where all the families or inhabitants have been dead and carried out, they would break in at all hazards, and, without regard to the danger of infection, take even the clothes off the dead bodies, and the bed-clothes from others where they lay dead.

This, I suppose, must be the case of a family in Houndsditch, where a man and his daughter (the rest of the family being, as I suppose, carried away before by the dead-cart) were found stark naked, one in one chamber, and one in another, lying dead on the floor, and the clothes of the beds, from whence it is supposed they were rolled off by thieves, stolen, and carried quite away.

It is, indeed, to be observed, that the women were, in all this calamity, the most rash, fearless, and desperate creatures; and as there were vast numbers that went about as nurses, to tend those that were sick, they committed a great many petty thieveries in the houses where they were employed; and some of them were publicly whipt for it, when, perhaps, they ought rather to have been hanged for examples, for numbers of houses were robbed on these occasions; till at length, the parish officers were sent to recommend nurses to the sick, and always took an account who it was they sent, so as that they might call them to account, if the house had been abused where they were placed.

But these robberies extended chiefly to wearing clothes, linen, and what rings or money they could come at, when the person died who was under their care, but not to a general plunder of the houses. And I could give you an account of one of these nurses, who, several years after, being on her death-bed, confessed, with the utmost horror, the robberies she had committed at the time of her being a nurse, and by which she had enriched herself to a great degree; but as for murders, I do not find that there was ever any proofs of the fact, in the manner as it has been reported, except as above.

They did tell me, indeed, of a nurse in one place that laid a wet cloth upon the face of a dying patient whom she tended, and so put an end to his life, who was just expiring before; and another that smothered a young woman she was looking to, when she was in a fainting fit, and would have come to herself; some that killed them by giving them one thing, some another, and some starved them by giving them nothing at all. But these stories had two marks of suspicion that always attended them, which caused me always to slight them, and to look on them as mere stories, that people continually frighted one another with. First—That, wherever it was that we heard it, they always placed the scene at the farther end of the town, opposite, or most remote from where you were to hear it. If you heard it in Whitechapel, it had happened at St. Giles's, or at Westminster, or Holborn, or that end of the town; if you heard it at that end of the town, then it was done in Whitechapel, or the Minories, or about Cripplegate parish; if you heard of it in the city, why then, it happened in Southwark; and if you heard of it in Southwark, then it was done in the city, and the like.

In the next place, of whatsoever part you heard the story, the particulars were always the same, especially that of laying a wet double clout on a dying man's face, and that of smothering a young gentlewoman; so that it was apparent, at least to my judgment, that there was more of tale than of truth in those things.

A neighbour and acquaintance of mine having some money owing to him from a shopkeeper in Whitecross-street, or thereabouts, sent his apprentice, a youth about eighteen years of age, to endeavour to get the money. He came to the door, and finding it shut, knocked pretty hard, and, as he thought, heard somebody answer within, but was not sure, so he waited, and after some stay, knocked again, and then a third time, when he heard somebody coming down stairs.

At length the man of the house came to the door; he had on his breeches, or drawers, and a yellow flannel waistcoat, no stockings, a pair of slip shoes, a white cap on his head, and, as the young man said, 'death in his face.'

When he opened the door, says he, 'What do you disturb me thus for?' The boy, though a little surprised, replied, 'I come from such a one, and my master sent me for the money which he says you know of.' 'Very well, child,' returns the living ghost, 'call, as you go by, at Cripplegate church, and bid them ring the bell;' and with these words shut the door again, and went up again and died the same day, nay, perhaps the same hour. This the young man told me himself, and I have reason to believe it. This was while the plague was not come to a height; I think it was in June, towards the latter end of the month; it must have been before the dead-carts came about, and while they used the ceremony of ringing the bell for the dead, which was over for certain in that parish, at least, before the month of July; for, by the 25th of July, there died 550 and upwards in a week, and then they could no more bury, in form, rich or poor.

I have mentioned above, that notwithstanding this dreadful calamity, yet that numbers of thieves were abroad upon all occasions, where they had found any prey; and that these were generally women. It was one morning about eleven o'clock, I had walked out to my brother's house in Coleman-street parish, as I often did, to see that all was safe.

My brother's house had a little court before it, and a brick wall and a gate in it; and within that, several warehouses, where his goods of several sorts lay. It happened, that in one of these warehouses were several packs of women's high-crowned hats, which came out of the country, and were, as I suppose, for exportation; whither I know not.

I was surprised, that when I came near my brother's door, which was in a place they called Swan-alley, I met three or four women with high-crowned hats on their heads, and, as I remembered afterwards, one, if not more, had some hats likewise in their hands; but as I did not see them come out at my brother's door, and not knowing that my brother had any such goods in his warehouse, I did not offer to say anything to them, but went across the way to shun meeting them, as was usual to do at that time, for fear of the plague; but when I came nearer to the gate I met another woman, with more hats, come out of the gate. 'What business, mistress,' said I, 'have you had there?' 'There are more people there,' said she. 'I have had no more business there than they.' I was hasty to get to the gate then, and said no more to her, by which means she got away. But just as I came to the gate, I saw two more coming across the yard, to come out, with hats also on their heads, and under their arms; at which I threw the gate too behind me, which having a spring-lock, fastened itself;

and, turning to the women, 'Forsooth,' said I, 'what are you doing here?' and seized upon the hats, and took them from them. One of them, who, I confess, did not look like a thief, 'Indeed, says she, 'we are wrong; but we were told that they were goods that had no owner. Be pleased to take them again; and look yonder, there are more such customers as we.' She cried, and looked pitifully; so I took the hats from her, and opened the gate, and bade them begone; for I pitied the women indeed: but when I looked towards the warehouse, as she directed, there were six or seven more, all women, fitting themselves with hats, as unconcerned and quiet as if they had been at a hatter's shop, buying for their money.

I was surprised, not at the sight of so many thieves only, but at the circumstances I was in; being now to thrust myself in among so many people, who, for some weeks, I had been so shy of myself, that if I met anybody in the street, I would cross the way from them.

They were equally surprised, though on another account. They all told me they were neighbours, that they had heard any one might take them, that they were nobody's goods, and the like. I talked big to them at first, went back to the gate, and took out the key, so that they were all my prisoners; threatened to lock them all into the warehouse, and go and fetch my Lord Mayor's officers for them.

They begged heartily, protested they found the gate open, and the warehouse door open, and that it had no doubt been broken open by some who expected to find goods of greater value; which, indeed, was reasonable to believe, because the lock was broke, and a padlock that hung to the door on the outside also loose, and not abundance of the hats carried away.

At length I considered, that this was not a time to be cruel and rigorous; and besides that, it would necessarily oblige me to go much about, to have several people come to me, and I go to several, whose circumstances of health I knew nothing of; and that, even at this time, the plague was so high, as that there died 4000 a week; so that, in showing my resentment, or even in seeking justice for my brother's goods, I might lose my own life; so I contented myself with taking the names and places where some of them lived, who were really inhabitants in the neighbourhood, and threatening that my brother should call them to an account for it when he returned to his habitation.

Then I talked a little upon another footing with them; and asked them how they could do such things as these in a time of such general calamity, and, as it were, in the face of God's most dreadful judgments, when the plague was at their very doors, and, it may be, in their very houses; and they did not know but that the dead-cart might stop at their doors in a few hours, to carry them to their graves.

I could not perceive that my discourse made much impression upon them all that while, till it happened that there came two men of the neighbourhood, hearing of the disturbance, and knowing my brother, for they had been both dependants upon his family, and they came to my assistance. These being, as I said, neighbours, presently knew three of the women, and told me who they were, and where they lived; and, it seems, they had given me a true account of themselves before.

This brings these two men to a further remembrance. The name of one was John Hayward, who was at that time under-sexton of the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman-street; by under-sexton was understood at that time gravedigger and bearer of the dead. This man carried, or assisted to carry, all the dead to their graves, which were buried in that large parish, and who were carried in form; and after that form of burying was stopped, went with the dead-cart and the bell to fetch the dead bodies from the houses where they lay, and fetched many of them out of the chambers and horses; for the parish was, and is still remarkable, particularly, above all the parishes in London, for a great number of alleys and thoroughfares, very long, into which no carts could come, and where they were obliged to go and fetch the bodies a very long way, which alleys now remain to witness it; such as White's-alley, Cross-keys Court, Swan-alley, Bell-alley, White Horse-alley, and many more. Here they went with a kind of handbarrow, and laid the dead bodies on, and carried them out to the carts; which work he performed, and never had the distemper at all, but lived about twenty years after it, and was sexton of the parish to the time of his death. His wife at the same time was a nurse to infected people, and tended many that died in the parish, being for her honesty recommended by the parish officers; yet she never was infected neither.

He never used any preservative against the infection other than holding garlic and rue in his mouth, and smoking tobacco; this I also had from his own mouth; and his wife's remedy was washing her head in vinegar, and sprinkling her head-clothes so with vinegar, as to keep them always moist; and if the smell of any of those she waited on was more than ordinary offensive, she snuffed vinegar up her nose, and sprinkled vinegar upon her head-clothes, and held a handkerchief wetted with vinegar to her mouth.

It must be confessed, that though the plague was chiefly among the poor, yet were the poor the most venturous and fearless of it, and went about their employment with a sort of brutal courage. I must call it so, for it was founded neither on religion or prudence; scarce did they use any caution, but ran into any business which they could get any employment in, though it was the most hazardous; such was that of tending the sick, watching houses shut up, carrying infected persons to the pesthouse, and, which was still worse, carrying the dead away to their graves.

It was under this John Hayward's care, and within his bounds, that the story of the piper, with which people have made themselves so merry, happened, and he assured me that it was true. It is said that it was a blind piper; but, as John told me, the fellow was not blind, but an ignorant, weak, poor man, and usually went his rounds about ten o'clock at night, and went piping along from door to door, and the people usually took him in at public-houses where they knew him, and would give him drink and victuals, and sometimes farthings; and he in return would pipe and sing, and talk simply, which diverted the people, and thus he lived. It was but a very bad time for this diversion, while things were as I have told, yet the poor fellow went about as usual, but was almost starved; and when anybody asked how he did, he would answer, the dead-cart had not taken him yet, but that they had promised to call for him next week.

It happened one night that this poor fellow, whether somebody had given him too much drink or no (John Hayward said he had not drink in his house, but that they had given him a little more victuals than ordinary at a public-house in

Coleman-street), and the poor fellow, having not usually had a bellyful, or, perhaps, not a good while, was laid all along upon the top of a bulk or stall, and fast asleep at a door, in the street near London-wall, towards Cripplegate, and that, upon the same bulk or stall, the people of some house, in the alley of which the house was a corner, hearing a bell, which they always rung before the cart came, had laid a body really dead of the plague just by him, thinking too that this poor fellow had been a dead body as the other was, and laid there by some of the neighbours.

Accordingly, when John Hayward with his bell and the cart came along, finding two dead bodies lie upon the stall, they took them up with the instrument they used, and threw them into the cart; and all this while the piper slept soundly.

From hence they passed along, and took in other dead bodies, till, as honest John Hayward told me, they almost buried him alive in the cart, yet all this while he slept soundly; at length the cart came to the place where the bodies were to be thrown into the ground, which, as I do remember, was at Mountmill; and as the cart usually stopped some time before they were ready to shoot out the melancholy load they had in it, as soon as the cart stopped, the fellow awaked, and struggled a little to get his head out from among the dead bodies, when, raising himself up in the cart, he called out, 'Hey, where am I?' This frighted the fellow that attended about the work; but, after some pause, John Hayward, recovering himself, said, 'Lord bless us! there's somebody in the cart not quite dead!' So another called to him, and said, 'Who are you?' The fellow answered, 'I am the poor piper. Where am I?' 'Where are you!' says Hayward; 'why, you are in the dead-cart, and we are going to bury you.' 'But I an't dead, though, am I?' says the piper; which made them laugh a little, though, as John said, they were heartily frightened at first; so they helped the poor fellow down, and he went about his business.

I know the story goes he set up his pipes in the cart, and frighted the bearers and others so that they ran away; but John Hayward did not tell the story so, nor say anything of his piping at all; but that he was a poor piper, and that he was carried away as above, I am fully satisfied of the truth of. It is to be noted here, that the dead-carts in the city were not confined to particular parishes, but one cart went through several parishes, according as the number of dead presented; nor were they tied to carry the dead to their respective parishes, but many of the dead taken up in the city were carried to the burying ground in the out-parts for want of room.

At the beginning of the plague, when there was now no hope but that the whole city would be visited; when, as I have said, all that had friends or estates in the country retired with their families, and when, indeed, one would have thought the very city itself was running out of the gates, and that there would be nobody left behind, you may be sure, from that hour, all trade except such as related to immediate subsistence, was, as it were, at a full stop.

This is so lively a case, and contains in it so much of the real condition of the people, that I think I cannot be too particular in it; and, therefore, I descend to the several arrangements or classes of people who fell into immediate distress upon this occasion. For example—

1. All master workmen in manufactures, especially such as belonged to ornament, and the less necessary parts of the people's dress, clothes and furniture for houses, such as riband weavers and other weavers, gold and silver lace makers and gold and silver wire drawers, sempstresses, milliners, shoemakers, hat-makers, and glove-makers; also upholsterers, joiners, cabinetmakers, looking-glass-makers, and innumerable trades which depend upon such as these. I say the master workmen in such stopped their work, dismissed their journeymen and workmen, and all their dependants.

2. As merchandising was at a full stop (for very few ships ventured to come up the river, and none at all went out), so all the extraordinary officers of the customs, likewise the watermen, carmen, porters, and all the poor whose labour depended upon the merchants, were at once dismissed, and put out of business.

3. All the tradesmen usually employed in building or repairing of houses were at a full stop, for the people were far from wanting to build houses, when so many thousand houses were at once stript of their inhabitants; so that this one article turned out all the ordinary workmen of that kind of business, such as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, joiners, plasterers, painters, glaziers, smiths, plumbers, and all the labourers depending on such.

4. As navigation was at a stop, our ships neither coming in or going out as before, so the seamen were all out of employment, and many of them in the last and lowest degree of distress; and with the seamen, were all the several tradesmen and workmen belonging to and depending upon the building and fitting out of ships, such as ship-carpenters, calkers, rope-makers, dry coopers, sail-makers, anchor-smiths, and other smiths; block-makers, carvers, gun-smiths, ship-chandlers, ship-carvers, and the like. The masters of those, perhaps, might live upon their substance, but the traders were universally at a stop, and consequently all their workmen discharged. Add to these, that the river was in a manner without boats, and all or most part of the watermen, lightermen, boat-builders, and lighter-builders, in like manner idle, and laid by.

5. All families retrenched their living as much as possible, as well those that fled as those that stayed; so that an innumerable multitude of footmen, serving-men, shopkeepers, journeymen, merchants' book-keepers, and such sorts of people, and especially poor maid-servants, were turned off, and left friendless and helpless without employment and without habitation; and this was really a dismal article.

I might be more particular as to this part, but it may suffice to mention, in general, all trades being stopped, employment ceased, the labour, and by that the bread, of the poor were cut off; and at first, indeed, the cries of the poor were most lamentable to hear; though, by the distribution of charity, their misery that way was gently abated. Many, indeed, fled into the country; but thousands of them having stayed in London, till nothing but desperation sent them away, death overtook them on the road, and they served for no better than the messengers of death; indeed, others carrying the infection along with them, spread it very unhappily into the remotest parts of the kingdom.

The women and servants that were turned off from their places were employed as nurses to tend the sick in all places; and this took off a very great number of them.

And which, though a melancholy article in itself, yet was a deliverance in its kind, namely the plague, which raged in a dreadful manner from the middle of August to the middle of

October, carried off in that time thirty or forty thousand of these very people, which, had they been left, would certainly have been an insufferable burden by their poverty; that is to say, the whole city could not have supported the expense of them, or have provided food for them; and they would, in time, have been even driven to the necessity of plundering either the city itself, or the country adjacent, to have subsisted themselves, which would, first or last, have put the whole nation, as well as the city, into the utmost terror and confusion.

It was observable then, that this calamity of the people made them very humble; for now, for about nine weeks together, there died near a thousand a day, one day with another; even by the account of the weekly bills, which yet, I have reason to be assured, never gave a full account by many thousands; the confusion being such, and the carts working in the dark when they carried the dead, that in some places no account at all was kept, but they worked on; the clerks and sextons not attending for weeks together, and not knowing what number they carried. This account is verified by the following bills of mortality:—

		Of all Diseases.	*Of the Plague.*
From	*Aug.* 8 to *Aug.* 15	5319	3880
	——— to 22	5668	4237
	——— to 29	7496	6102
	Aug. 29 to *Sept.* 5	8252	6988
	——— to 12	7690	6544
	——— to 19	8297	7165
	——— to 26	6460	5533
	Sept. 27 to *Oct.* 3	5720	4929
	——— to 10	5068	4327
		59,870	49,705

So that the gross of the people were carried off in these two months; for, as the whole number which was brought in to die of the plague was but 68,590, here is 50,000 of them, within a trifle, in two months; I say 50,000, because as there wants 295 in the number above, so there wants two days of two months in the account of time.

Now, when I say that the parish officers did not give in a full account, or were not to be depended upon for their account, let any one but consider how men could be exact in such a time of dreadful distress, and when many of them were taken sick themselves, and perhaps died in the very time when their accounts were to be given in; I mean the parish clerks, besides inferior officers; for though these poor men ventured at all hazards, yet they were far from being exempt from the common calamity, especially if it be true that the parish of Stepney had, within the year, 116 sextons, gravediggers, and their assistants; that is to say, bearers, bellmen, and drivers of carts, for carrying off the dead bodies.

Indeed the work was not of such a nature as to allow them leisure to take an exact tale of the dead bodies, which were all huddled together, in the dark, into a pit; which pit, or trench, no man could come nigh but at the utmost peril. I have observed often, that in the parishes of Aldgate, Cripplegate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, there were five, six, seven, and eight hundred in a week in the bills; whereas, if we may believe the opinion of those that lived in the city all the time, as well as I, there died sometimes 2000 a week in those parishes; and I saw it under the hand of one that made as strict an examination as he could, that there really died a hundred thousand people of the plague in it that one year; whereas, in the bills, the article of the plague was but 68,590.

If I may be allowed to give my opinion, by what I saw with my eyes, and heard from other people that were eye-witnesses, I do verily believe the same, viz. that there died, at least, 100,000 of the plague only, besides other distempers; and besides those which died in the fields and highways, and secret places, out of the compass of the communication, as it was called, and who were not put down in the bills, though they really belonged to the body of the inhabitants. It was known to us all, that abundance of poor despairing creatures, who had the distemper upon them, and were grown stupid or melancholy by their misery, as many were, wandered away into the fields and woods, and into secret uncouth places, almost anywhere, to creep into a bush or hedge, and die.

The inhabitants of the villages adjacent would, in pity, carry them food, and set it at a distance, that they might fetch it if they were able, and sometimes they were not able; and the next time they went, they would find the poor wretches lie dead, and the food untouched. The number of these miserable objects were many; and I know so many that perished thus, and so exactly where, that I believe I could go to the very place and dig their bones up still; for the country people would go and dig a hole at a distance from them, and then, with long poles and hooks at the end of them, drag the bodies into these pits, and then throw the earth in form, as far as they could cast it, to cover them; taking notice how the wind blew, and so come on that side which the seamen call to windward, that the scent of the bodies might blow from them. And thus great numbers went out of the world who were never known, or any account of them taken, as well within the bills of mortality as without.

This, indeed, I had, in the main, only from the relation of others, for I seldom walked into the fields except towards Bethnal-green and Hackney; or as hereafter. But when I did walk I always saw a great many poor wanderers at a distance, but I could know little of their cases; for, whether it were in the street or in the fields, if we had seen anybody coming, it was a general method to walk away, yet I believe the account is exactly true.

As this puts me upon mentioning my walking the streets and fields, I cannot omit taking notice what a desolate place the city was at that time. The great street I lived in, which is known to be one of the broadest of all the streets of London, I mean of the suburbs as well as the liberties, all the side where the butchers lived, especially without the bars, was more like a green field than a paved street, and the people generally went in the middle with the horses and carts. It is true that the farthest end, towards Whitechapel church, was not all paved, but even the part that was paved was full of grass also; but this need not seem strange, since the great streets within the city, such as Leadenhall-street, Bishopsgate-street, Cornhill, and even the Exchange itself, had grass growing in them in several places; neither cart nor coach was seen in the streets from morning to evening, except some country carts to bring roots and beans, or pease, hay, and straw to the market, and those but very few compared to what was usual. As for coaches, they were scarce used but to carry sick people to the pesthouse and to other hospitals, and some few to carry physicians to such

places as they thought fit to venture to and visit; for really coaches were dangerous things, people did not care to venture into them, because they did not know who might have been carried in them last; and sick infected people were, as I have said, ordinarily carried in them to the pesthouses, and sometimes people expired in them as they went along.

It is true, when the infection came to such a height as I have now mentioned, there were very few physicians who cared to stir abroad to sick houses, and very many of the most eminent of the faculty were dead, as well as the surgeons also; for now it was indeed a dismal time, and, for about a month together, not taking any notice of the bills of mortality, I believe there did not die less than 1500 or 1700 a day, one day with another.

One of the worst days we had in the whole time, as I thought, was in the beginning of September; when, indeed, good people were beginning to think that God was resolved to make a full end of the people in this miserable city. This was at that time when the plague was fully come into the eastern parishes. The parish of Aldgate, if I may give my opinion, buried above one thousand a week for two weeks, though the bills did not say so many; but it surrounded me at so dismal a rate that there was not a house in twenty uninfected. In the Minories, in Houndsditch, and in those parts of Aldgate parish about the Butcher-row, and the alleys over-against me, I say in those places death reigned in every corner. Whitechapel parish was in the same condition, and though much less than the parish I lived in, yet buried near 600 a week, by the bills, and, in my opinion, near twice as many; whole families, and, indeed, whole streets of families, were swept away together; insomuch, that it was frequent for neighbours to call to the bellman to go to such and such houses and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead.

And, indeed, the work of removing the dead bodies by carts was now grown so very odious and dangerous, that it was complained of that the bearers did not take care to clear such houses where all the inhabitants were dead, but that some of the bodies lay unburied till the neighbouring families were offended by the stench, and consequently infected. And this neglect of the officers was such that the churchwardens and constables were summoned to look after it; and even the justices of the hamlets were obliged to venture their lives among them, to quicken and encourage them; for innumerable of the bearers died of the distemper, infected by the bodies they were obliged to come so near; and had it not been that the number of people who wanted employment, and wanted bread, as I have said before, was so great, that necessity drove them to undertake anything, and venture anything, they would never have found people to be employed; and then the bodies of the dead would have lain above ground and have perished and rotted in a dreadful manner.

But the magistrates cannot be enough commended in this, that they kept such good order for the burying of the dead, that as fast as any of those they employed to carry off and bury the dead fell sick or died, as was many times the case, they immediately supplied the places with others, which, by reason of the great number of poor that was left out of business, as above, was not hard to do. This occasioned that, notwithstanding the infinite number of people who died and were sick, almost all together, yet they were always cleared away, and carried off every night; so that it was never to be said of London that 'the living were not able to bury the dead.'

As the desolation was greater during those terrible times, so the amazement of the people increased; and a thousand unaccountable things they would do in the violence of their fright, as others did the same in the agonies of their distemper, and this part was very affecting. Some went roaring, and crying, and wringing their hands along the street; some would go praying and lifting up their hands to heaven, calling upon God for mercy. I cannot say, indeed, whether this was not in their distraction; but, be it so, it was still an indication of a more serious mind, when they had the use of their senses; and was much better, even as it was, than the frightful yellings and cryings that every day, and especially in the evenings, were heard in some streets. I suppose the world has heard of the famous Solomon Eagle, an enthusiast; he, though not infected at all, but in his head, went about denouncing of judgment upon the city in a frightful manner, sometimes quite naked, and with a pan of burning charcoal on his head. What he said or pretended, indeed, I could not learn.

I will not say whether that clergyman was distracted or not, or whether he did it out of pure zeal for the poor people, who went every evening through the streets of Whitechapel, and, with his hands lifted up, repeated that part of the liturgy of the church continually, 'Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood;' I say I cannot speak positively of these things, because these were only the dismal objects which represented themselves to me as I looked through my chamber windows, for I seldom opened the casements, while I confined myself within doors during that most violent raging of the pestilence, when, indeed, many began to think, and even to say, that there would none escape; and, indeed, I began to think so too, and therefore kept within doors for about a fortnight, and never stirred out. But I could not hold it. Besides, there were some people who, notwithstanding the danger, did not omit publicly to attend the worship of God, even in the most dangerous times. And though it is true that a great many of the clergy did shut up their churches and fled, as other people did, for the safety of their lives, yet all did not do so; some ventured to officiate, and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation; and this as long as they would hear them. And Dissenters did the like also, and even in the very churches where the parish ministers were either dead or fled; nor was there any room for making any difference at such a time as this was.

It pleased God that I was still spared, and very hearty and sound in health, but very impatient of being pent up within doors without air, as I had been for fourteen days or thereabouts; and I could not restrain myself, but I would go and carry a letter for my brother to the post-house; then it was, indeed, that I observed a profound silence in the streets. When I came to the post-house, as I went to put in my letter, I saw a man stand in one corner of the yard, and talking to another at a window, and a third had opened a door belonging to the office. In the middle of the yard lay a small leather purse, with two keys hanging at it, with money in it, but nobody would meddle with it. I asked how long it had lain there; the man at the window said it had lain almost an hour, but they had not meddled with it, because they did

not know but the person who dropt it might come back to look for it. I had no such need of money, nor was the sum so big that I had any inclination to meddle with it, or to get the money at the hazard it might be attended with, so I seemed to go away, when the man who had opened the door said he would take it up; but so, that if the right owner came for it he should be sure to have it. So he went in and fetched a pail of water, and set it down hard by the purse, then went again and fetched some gunpowder, and cast a good deal of powder upon the purse, and then made a train from that which he had thrown loose upon the purse, the train reached about two yards; after this he goes in a third time, and fetches out a pair of tongs red-hot, and which he had prepared, I suppose, on purpose; and first setting fire to the train of powder, that singed the purse, and also smoked the air sufficiently. But he was not content with that, but he then takes up the purse with the tongs, holding it so long till the tongs burnt through the purse, and then he shook the money out into the pail of water, so he carried it in. The money, as I remember, was about thirteen shillings, and some smooth groats and brass farthings.

Much about the same time I walked out into the fields towards Bow, for I had a great mind to see how things were managed in the river, and among the ships; and as I had some concern in shipping, I had a notion that it had been one of the best ways of securing one's self from the infection to have retired into a ship; and musing how to satisfy my curiosity in that point, I turned away over the fields, from Bow to Bromley and down to Blackwall, to the stairs that are there for landing or taking water.

Here I saw a poor man walking on the bank or sea-wall, as they call it, by himself. I walked awhile also about, seeing the houses all shut up; at last I fell into some talk, at a distance, with this poor man. First I asked how people did thereabouts? 'Alas! sir,' says he, 'almost desolate, all dead or sick. Here are very few families in this part, or in that village,' pointing at Poplar, 'where half of them are dead already, and the rest sick.' Then he pointing to one house, 'They are all dead,' said he, 'and the house stands open, nobody dares go into it. A poor thief,' says he, 'ventured in to steal something, but he paid dear for his theft, for he was carried to the churchyard too, last night.' Then he pointed to several other houses. 'There,' says he, 'they are all dead, the man and his wife and five children. There,' says he, 'they are shut up, you see a watchman at the door; and so of other houses.' 'Why,' says I, 'what do you here all alone?' 'Why,' says he, 'I am a poor desolate man; it hath pleased God I am not yet visited, though my family is, and one of my children dead.' 'How do you mean then,' said I, 'that you are not visited?' 'Why,' says he, 'that is my house,' pointing to a very little low boarded house, 'and there my poor wife and two children live,' said he, 'if they may be said to live; for my wife and one of the children are visited, but I do not come at them.' And with that word I saw the tears run very plentifully down his face; and so they did down mine too, I assure you.

'But,' said I, 'why do you not come at them? How can you abandon your own flesh and blood?' 'Oh, sir,' says he, 'the Lord forbid; I do not abandon them, I work for them as much as I am able; and, blessed be the Lord, I keep them from want.' And with that I observed he lifted up his eyes to heaven with a countenance that presently told me I had happened on a man that was no hypocrite, but a serious, religious, good man; and his ejaculation was an expression of thankfulness that, in such a condition as he was in, he should be able to say his family did not want. 'Well,' says I, 'honest man, that is a great mercy, as things go now with the poor. But how do you live then, and how are you kept from the dreadful calamity that is now upon us all?' 'Why, sir,' says he, 'I am a waterman, and there is my boat,' says he, 'and the boat serves me for a house; I work in it in the day, and I sleep in it in the night, and what I get I lay it down upon that stone,' says he, showing me a broad stone on the other side of the street, a good way from his house; 'and then,' says he, 'I halloo and call to them till I make them hear, and they come and fetch it.'

'Well, friend,' says I, 'but how can you get money as a waterman? Does anybody go by water these times?' 'Yes, sir,' says he, 'in the way I am employed there does. Do you see there,' says he, 'five ships lie at anchor,' pointing down the river a good way below the town; 'and do you see,' says he, 'eight or ten ships lie at the chain there, and at anchor yonder?' pointing above the town. 'All those ships have families on board, of their merchants and owners, and such like, who have locked themselves up, and live on board, close shut in, for fear of the infection; and I tend on them to fetch things for them, carry letters, and do what is absolutely necessary, that they may not be obliged to come on shore; and every night I fasten my boat on board one of the ship's boats, and there I sleep by myself, and, blessed be God, I am preserved hitherto.'

'Well,' said I, 'friend, but will they let you come on board after you have been on shore here, when this has been such a terrible place, and so infected as it is?'

'Why, as to that,' said he, 'I very seldom go up the ship side, but deliver what I bring to their boat, or lie by the side, and they hoist it on board. If I did, I think they are in no danger from me, for I never go into any house on shore, or touch anybody, no, not of my own family; but I fetch provisions for them.'

'Nay,' says I, 'but that may be worse, for you must have those provisions of somebody or other; and since all this part of the town is so infected, it is dangerous so much as to speak with anybody; for the village,' said I, 'is as it were the beginning of London, though it be at some distance from it.'

'That is true,' added he, 'but you do not understand me right. I do not buy provisions for them here; I row up to Greenwich, and buy fresh meat there, and sometimes I row down the river to Woolwich, and buy there; then I go to single farm houses on the Kentish side, where I am known, and buy fowls, and eggs, and butter, and bring to the ships as they direct me, sometimes one, sometimes the other. I seldom come on shore here; and I came only now to call my wife and hear how my little family do, and give them a little money which I received last night.'

'Poor man!' said I, 'and how much hast thou gotten for them?'

'I have gotten four shillings,' said he, 'which is a great sum as things go now with poor men; but they have given me a bag of bread too, and a salt fish, and some flesh; so all helps out.'

'Well,' said I, 'and have you given it them yet?'

'No,' said he, 'but I have called, and my wife has answered that she cannot come out yet, but in half an hour she hopes to come, and I am waiting for her. Poor woman!' says he, 'she is brought sadly down; she has had a swelling, and it is broke, and I hope she will recover, but I fear the

child will die; but it is the Lord!' Here he stopped, and wept very much.

'Well, honest friend,' said I, 'thou hast a sure comforter, if thou hast brought thyself to be resigned to the will of God; He is dealing with us all in judgment.'

'Oh, sir,' says he, 'it is infinite mercy if any of us are spared; and who am I to repine?'

'Say'st thou so,' said I, 'and how much less is my faith than thine?' And here my heart smote me, suggesting how much better this poor man's foundation was, on which he stayed in the danger, than mine: that he had nowhere to fly; that he had a family to bind him to attendance, which I had not; and mine was mere presumption, his a true dependence, and a courage resting on God; and yet that he used all possible caution for his safety.

I turned a little away from the man while these thoughts engaged me; for, indeed, I could no more refrain from tears than he.

At length, after some further talk, the poor woman opened the door, and called, 'Robert, Robert.' He answered, and bid her stay a few moments, and he would come; so he ran down the common stairs to his boat, and fetched up a sack in which was the provisions he had brought from the ships; and when he returned, he hallooed again; then he went to the great stone which he showed me, and emptied the sack, and laid all out, everything by themselves, and then retired; and his wife came with a little boy to fetch them away; and he called and said, such a captain had sent such a thing, and such a captain such a thing, and at the end adds, 'God has sent it all, give thanks to Him.' When the poor woman had taken up all, she was so weak she could not carry it at once in, though the weight was not much neither; so she left the biscuit which was in a little bag, and left a little boy to watch it till she came again.

'Well, but,' says I to him, 'did you leave her the four shillings too, which you said was your week's pay?'

'Yes, yes,' says he, 'you shall hear her own it.' So he calls again, 'Rachel, Rachel' (which, it seems, was her name), 'did you take up the money?' 'Yes,' said she. 'How much was it?' said he. 'Four shillings and a groat,' said she. 'Well, well,' says he, 'the Lord keep you all;' and so he turned to go away.

As I could not refrain from contributing tears to this man's story, so neither could I refrain my charity for his assistance; so I called him, 'Hark thee, friend,' said I, 'come hither, for I believe thou art in health, that I may venture thee;' so I pulled out my hand, which was in my pocket before, 'Here,' says I, 'go and call thy Rachel once more, and give her a little more comfort from me. God will never forsake a family that trusts in Him as thou dost;' so I gave him four other shillings, and bid him go lay them on the stone, and call his wife.

I have not words to express the poor man's thankfulness, neither could he express it himself, but by tears running down his face. He called his wife, and told her God had moved the heart of a stranger, upon hearing their condition, to give them all that money; and a great deal more such as that he said to her. The woman, too, made signs of the like thankfulness, as well to Heaven as to me, and joyfully picked it up; and I parted with no money all that year that I thought better bestowed.

I then asked the poor man if the distemper had not reached to Greenwich. He said it had not till about a fortnight before, but that then he feared it had; but that it was only at that end of the town which lay south towards Deptford bridge; that he went only to a butcher's shop and a grocer's, where he generally bought such things as they sent him for, but was very careful.

I asked him, then, how it came to pass that those people who had so shut themselves up in the ships had not laid in sufficient stores of all things necessary? He said some of them had; but, on the other hand, some did not come on board till they were frightened into it, and till it was too dangerous for them to go to the proper people to lay in quantities of things; and that he waited on two ships, which he showed me, that had laid in little or nothing but biscuit-bread and ship-beer, and that he had bought everything else almost for them. I asked him, if there were any more ships that had separated themselves as those had done? He told me, 'Yes, all the way up from the point, right against Greenwich, to within the shores of Limehouse and Redriff, all the ships that could have room rid two and two in the middle of the stream; and that some of them had several families on board.' I asked him if the distemper had not reached them? He said, he believed it had not, except two or three ships, whose people had not been so watchful as to keep the seamen from going on shore as others had been; and he said it was a very fine sight to see how the ships lay up the Pool.

When he said he was going over to Greenwich, as soon as the tide began to come in, I asked if he would let me go with him and bring me back; for that I had a great mind to see how the ships were ranged, as he had told me. He told me, if I would assure him on the word of a Christian, and of an honest man, that I had not the distemper, he would. I assured him that I had not; that it had pleased God to preserve me; that I lived in Whitechapel, but was too impatient of being so long within doors, and that I had ventured out so far for the refreshment of a little air, but that none in my house had so much as been touched with it.

'Well, sir,' says he, 'as your charity has been moved to pity me and my poor family, sure you cannot have so little pity left as to put yourself into my boat if you were not sound in health, which would be nothing less than killing me and ruining my whole family.' The poor man troubled me so much when he spoke of his family with such a sensible concern, and in such an affectionate manner, that I could not satisfy myself at first to go at all. I told him, I would lay aside my curiosity, rather than make him uneasy; though I was sure, and very thankful for it, that I had no more distemper upon me than the freshest man in the world. Well, he would not have me put it off neither, but, to let me see how confident he was, that I was just to him, he now importuned me to go; so, when the tide came up to his boat, I went in, and he carried me to Greenwich. While he bought the things which he had in charge to buy, I walked up to the top of the hill, under which the town stands, and on the east side of the town, to get a prospect of the river; but it was a surprising sight to see the number of ships which lay in rows, two and two, and in some places two or three such lines in the breadth of the river, and this not only up to the town, between the houses which we call Ratcliff and Redriff, which they name the Pool, but even down the whole river, as far as the head of Long-Reach, which is as far as the hills give us leave to see it.

I cannot guess at the number of ships, but I think there must have been several hundreds of

sail, and I could not but applaud the contrivance; for ten thousand people and more, who attended ship affairs, were certainly sheltered here from the violence of the contagion, and lived very safe and very easy.

I returned to my own dwelling, very well satisfied with my day's journey, and particularly with the poor man; also, I rejoiced to see that such little sanctuaries were provided for so many families on board, in a time of such desolation. I observed also, that as the violence of the plague had increased, so the ships which had families on board removed and went further off, till, as I was told, some went quite away to sea, and put into such harbours and safe roads on the north coast as they could best come at.

But it was also true that all the people who thus left the land, and lived on board the ships, were not entirely safe from the infection; for many died, and were thrown overboard into the river, some in coffins, and some, as I heard, without coffins, whose bodies were seen sometimes to drive up and down with the tide in the river.

But, I believe, I may venture to say, that in those ships which were thus infected, it either happened where the people had recourse to them too late, and did not fly to the ship till they had stayed too long on shore, and had the distemper upon them, though perhaps they might not perceive it; and so the distemper did not come to them on board the ships, but they really carried it with them. Or, it was in these ships where the poor waterman said they had not had time to furnish themselves with provisions, but were obliged to send often on shore to buy what they had occasion for, or suffered boats to come to them from the shore; and so the distemper was brought insensibly among them.

And here I cannot but take notice that the strange temper of the people of London at that time contributed extremely to their own destruction. The plague began, as I have observed, at the other end of the town, namely in Long Acre, Drury-lane, &c., and came on towards the city very gradually and slowly. It was felt at first in December, then again in February, then again in April, and always but a very little at a time; then it stopped till May, and even the last week in May there were but 17, and all at that end of the town; and all this while, even so long as till there died above 3000 a week, yet had the people in Redriff, and in Wapping, and Ratcliff, on both sides the river, and almost all Southwark side, a mighty fancy that they should not be visited, or, at least, that it would not be so violent among them. Some people fancied the smell of the pitch and tar, and such other things, as oil, and resin, and brimstone, which is much used by all trades relating to shipping, would preserve them. Others argued it, because it was in its extremest violence in Westminster, and the parish of St. Giles's and St. Andrew's, &c., and began to abate again, before it came among them, which was true, indeed, in part. For example:—

				Total this week.
From the 8th to the 15th of August.				
St. Giles's-in-the-fields	242	Stepney	197	4030
		St. Mag. Bermondsey	24	
Cripplegate	886	Rotherhithe	3	
From the 15th to the 22d of August.				Total this week.
St. Giles's-in-the-fields	175	Stepney	273	5319
		St. Mag. Bermondsey	36	
Cripplegate	847	Rotherhithe	7	

N.B. That it was observed that the numbers mentioned in Stepney parish at that time were generally all on that side where Stepney parish joined to Shoreditch, which we now call Spitalfields, where the parish of Stepney comes up to the very wall of Shoreditch churchyard; and the plague at this time was abated at St. Giles's-in-the-fields, and raged most violently in Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch parishes, but there were not ten people a week that died of it in all that part of Stepney parish which takes in Limehouse, Ratcliffe-highway, and which are now the parishes of Shadwell and Wapping, even to St. Katherine's by the Tower, till after the whole month of August was expired; but they paid for it afterwards, as I shall observe by and by.

This, I say, made the people of Redriff and Wapping, Ratcliff and Limehouse so secure, and flatter themselves so much with the plague's going off without reaching them, that they took no care either to fly into the country or shut themselves up; nay, so far were they from stirring, that they rather received their friends and relations from the city into their houses; and several from other places really took sanctuary in that part of the town, as a place of safety, and as a place which they thought God would pass over, and not visit as the rest was visited.

And this was the reason, that when it came upon them, they were more surprised, more unprovided, and more at a loss what to do, than they were in other places; for when it came among them really, and with violence, as it did indeed, in September and October, there was then no stirring out into the country; nobody would suffer a stranger to come near them, no, nor near the towns where they dwelt; and as I have been told, several that wandered into the country on the Surrey side, were found starved to death in the woods and commons, that country being more open and more woody than any other part so near London, especially about Norwood, and the parishes of Camberwell, Dulwich, and Lewisham, where, it seems, nobody durst relieve the poor distressed people for fear of the infection.

This notion having, as I said, prevailed with the people in that part of the town, was in part the occasion, as I said before, that they had recourse to ships for their retreat; and where they did this early, and with prudence, furnishing themselves so with provisions, so that they had no need to go on shore for supplies, or suffer boats to come on board to bring them; I say, where they did so, they had certainly the safest retreat of any people whatsoever. But the distress was such that the people ran on board in their fright without bread to eat; and some into ships that had no men on board to remove them farther off, or to take the boat and go down the river to buy provisions, where it may be done safely; and these often suffered, and were infected on board as much as on shore.

As the richer sort got into ships, so the lower rank got into hoys, smacks, lighters, and fishing-boats; and many, especially watermen, lay in their boats. But those made sad work of it, especially the latter, for, going about for provision, and perhaps to get their subsistence, the infection got in among them, and made a fearful havoc; many of the watermen died alone in their wherries, as they rid at their roads as well above bridge as below, and were not found sometimes till they were not in condition for anybody to touch or come near them.

Indeed, the distress of the people at this seafaring end of the town was very deplorable, and deserved the greatest commiseration; but, alas! this was a time when every one's private safety

lay so near them, that they had no room to pity the distresses of others; for every one had death, as it were, at his door, and many even in their families; and knew not what to do, or whither to fly.

This, I say, took away all compassion; self-preservation, indeed, appeared here to be the first law. For the children ran away from their parents, as they languished in the utmost distress; and, in some places, though not so frequent as the other, parents did the like to their children; nay, some dreadful examples there were, and particularly two in one week of distressed mothers, raving and distracted, killing their own children; one whereof was not far off from where I dwelt, the poor lunatic creature not living herself long enough to be sensible of the sin of what she had done, much less to be punished for it.

It is not, indeed, to be wondered at; for the danger of immediate death to ourselves took away all bowels of love, all concern for one another. I speak in general; for there were many instances of immoveable affection, pity, and duty in many, and some that came to my knowledge, that is to say, by hearsay; for I shall not take upon me to vouch the truth of the particulars.

To introduce one, let me first mention that one of the most deplorable cases in all the present calamity, was that of women with child; who, when they came to the hour of their sorrows, and their pains came upon them, could neither have help of one kind or another; neither midwife or neighbouring women to come near them; most of the midwives were dead, e cially of such as served the poor; and m if not all, the midwives of note were fled the country, so that it was next to impossib a poor woman, that could not pay an immod price, to get any midwife to come to her; a they did, those they could get were generall skilful and ignorant creatures; and the c quence of this was, that a most unusual incredible number of women were reduced t utmost distress. Some were delivered and s by the rashness and ignorance of those wh tended to lay them. Children without m were, I might say, murdered by the same, more justifiable ignorance, pretending they save the mother whatever became of the chil many times both mother and child were lost same manner; and especially where the m had the distemper, then nobody would com them, and both sometimes perished. Some the mother has died of the plague; and the i it may be, half born, or born, but not parted the mother. Some died in the very pains of travail, and not delivered at all; and so were the cases of this kind, that it is ha judge of them.

Something of it will appear in the unusual bers which are put into the weekly bills (tho am far from allowing them to be able to give thing of a full account), under the articles of *bed, abortive and still-born, chrisoms and infa*

Take the weeks in which the plague was violent, and compare them with the weeks b the distemper began, even in the same year. example:

		Childbed.	Ab.	Still-b.
From	*Jan.* 3 to *Jan.* 10	7	1	13
	to 17	8	6	11
	to 24	9	5	15
	to 31	3	2	9
	Jan. 31 to *Feb.* 7	3	3	8
	to 14	6	2	11
	to 21	5	2	13
	to 28	2	2	10
	Feb. 28 to *Mar.* 7	5	1	10
		48	24	100

		Childbed.	Ab.	St
From	*Aug.* 1 to *Aug.* 8	25	5	
	to 15	23	6	
	to 22	28	4	
	to 29	40	5	
	Aug. 29 to *Sept.* 5	38	2	
	to 12	39	23	
	to 19	42	5	
	to 26	42	6	
	Sept. 26 to *Oct.* 3	14	4	
		291	61	

To the disparity of these numbers, is to be considered and allowed for, that according to our usual opinion, who were then upon the spot, there were not one-third of the people in the town during the months of August and September, as were in the months of January and February. In a word, the usual number that used to die of these three articles, and, as I hear, did die of them the year before, was thus:

1664	*Childbed*,	189
	Abortive and Still-born,	458
		647
1665	*Childbed*,	625
	Abortive and Still-born,	617
		1242

This inequality, I say, is exceedingly augmented, when the numbers of people are considered. I pretend not to make any exact calculation of the numbers of people which were at this time in the city, but I shall make a probable conjecture at that part by and by. What I have said now is to explain the misery of those poor creatures above, so that it might well be said, as in the Scripture, 'Woe be to those who are with child, and to those which give suck in that day for indeed it was a woe to them in particular.

I was not conversant in many partic families where these things happened; but outcries of the miserable were heard abr As to those who were with child, we have some calculation made; 291 women dead in ch bed in nine weeks, out of one-third part of number of whom there usually died in that t but eighty-four of the same disorder. Let reader calculate the proportion.

There is no room to doubt but the misery those that gave suck was in proportion as gr Our bills of mortality could give but little li in this; yet some it did. There were several m than usual starved at nurse; but this was nothi The misery was, where they were—1st, star for want of a nurse, the mother dying, and the family and the infants found dead by th merely for want; and, if I may speak my opin I do believe that many hundreds of poor h less infants perished in this manner. Th (not starved but) poisoned by the nurse; even where the mother has been nurse, having received the infection, has poisoned is, infected the infant with her milk, even b they knew they were infected themselves; and the infant was dead in such a case before

mother. I cannot but remember to have this admonition upon record, if ever such another dreadful visitation should happen in this city, that all women that are with child, or that give suck, should be gone, if they have any possible means, out of the place; because their misery, if infected, will so much exceed all other people's.

I could tell here dismal stories of living infants being found sucking the breasts of their mothers, or nurses, after they have been dead of the plague. Of a mother in the parish where I lived, who, having a child that was not well, sent for an apothecary to view the child, and when he came, as the relation goes, was giving the child suck at her breast, and to all appearance was herself very well; but when the apothecary came close to her, he saw the tokens upon that breast with which she was suckling the child. He was surprised enough, to be sure; but not willing to fright the poor woman too much, he desired she would give the child into his hand; so he takes the child, and going to a cradle in the room, lays it in, and, opening its clothes, found the tokens upon the child too, and both died before he could get home to send a preventive medicine to the father of the child, to whom he had told their condition. Whether the child infected the nurse-mother, or the mother the child, was not certain, but the last most likely.

Likewise of a child brought home to the parents from a nurse that had died of the plague: yet the tender mother would not refuse to take in her child, and laid it in her bosom, by which she was infected and died, with the child in her arms dead also.

It would make the hardest heart move at the instances that were frequently found of tender mothers, tending and watching with their dear children, and even dying before them; and sometimes taking the distemper from them, and dying, when the child, for whom the affectionate heart had been sacrificed, has got over it and escaped.

The like of a tradesman in East Smithfield, whose wife was big with child of her first child, and fell in labour, having the plague upon her. He could neither get midwife to assist her, or nurse to tend her; and two servants which he kept, fled both from her. He ran from house to house like one distracted, but could get no help; the utmost he could get was, that a watchman, who attended at an infected house shut up, promised to send a nurse in the morning. The poor man, with his heart broke, went back, assisted his wife what he could, acted the part of the midwife, brought the child dead into the world; and his wife, in about an hour, died in his arms, where he held her dead body fast till the morning, when the watchman came, brought the nurse as he had promised; and coming up the stairs, for he had left the door open, or only latched, they found the man sitting with his dead wife in his arms, and so overwhelmed with grief, that he died in a few hours after, without any sign of the infection upon him, but merely sunk under the weight of his grief.

I have heard also of some, who, on the death of their relations, have grown stupid with the insupportable sorrow; and of one in particular, who was so absolutely overcome with the pressure upon his spirits, that by degrees his head sunk into his body, so between his shoulders, that the crown of his head was very little seen above the bone of his shoulders; and by degrees, losing both voice and sense, his face looking forward, lay against his collar-bone, and could not be kept up any otherwise, unless held up by the hands of other people; and the poor man never came to himself again, but languished near a year in that condition, and died. Nor was he ever once seen to lift up his eyes, or to look upon any particular object.

I cannot undertake to give any other than a summary of such passages as these, because it was not possible to come at the particulars, where sometimes the whole families, where such things happened, were carried off by the distemper: but there were innumerable cases of this kind, which presented to the eye, and the ear, even in passing along the streets, as I have hinted above; nor is it easy to give any story of this or that family, to which there were not divers parallel stories to be met with of the same kind.

But as I am now talking of the time when the plague raged at the easternmost parts of the town; how for a long time the people of those parts had flattered themselves that they should escape, and how they were surprised when it came upon them as it did; for, indeed, it came upon them like an armed man when it did come; I say, this brings me back to the three poor men who wandered from Wapping, not knowing whither to go, or what to do, and whom I mentioned before; one a biscuit baker, one a sail-maker, and the other a joiner, all of Wapping, or thereabouts.

The sleepiness and security of that part, as I have observed, was such that they not only did not shift for themselves, as others did, but they boasted of being safe, and of safety being with them; and many people fled out of the city, and out of the infected suburbs to Wapping, Ratcliff, Limehouse, Poplar, and such places, as to places of security; and it is not at all unlikely that their doing this helped to bring the plague that way faster than it might otherwise have come. For, though I am much for people's flying away, and emptying such a town as this, upon the first appearance of a like visitation, and that all people, who have any possible retreat, should make use of it in time, and be gone; yet, I must say, when all that will fly are gone, those that are left, and must stand it, should stand stock still where they are, and not shift from one end of the town, or one part of the town, to the other; for that is the bane and mischief of the whole, and they carry the plague from house to house in their very clothes.

Wherefore were we ordered to kill all the dogs and cats, but because, as they were domestic animals, and are apt to run from house to house, and from street to street, so they are capable of carrying the effluvia or infectious steams of bodies infected, even in their furs and hair? and therefore it was, that in the beginning of the infection, an order was published by the Lord Mayor and by the magistrates, according to the advice of the physicians, that all the dogs and cats should be immediately killed, and an officer was appointed for the execution.

It is incredible, if their account is to be depended upon, what a prodigious number of those creatures were destroyed. I think they talked of forty thousand dogs, and five times as many cats, few houses being without a cat, some having several, sometimes five or six in a house. All possible endeavours were used also to destroy the mice and rats, especially the latter, by laying rat's-bane and other poisons for them, and a prodigious multitude of them were also destroyed.

I often reflected upon the unprovided condition that the whole body of the people were in at the first coming of this calamity upon them, and how it was for want of timely entering into measures and managements, as well public as

private, that all the confusions that followed were brought upon us; and that such a prodigious number of people sunk in that disaster, which, if proper steps had been taken, might, Providence concurring, have been avoided, and which, if posterity think fit, they may take a caution and warning from; but I shall come to this part again.

I come back to my three men: their story has a moral in every part of it, and their whole conduct, and that of some whom they joined with, is a pattern for all poor men to follow, or women either, if ever such a time comes again; and if there was no other end in recording it, I think this a very just one, whether my account be exactly according to fact or no.

Two of them were said to be brothers, the one an old soldier, but now a biscuit baker; the other a lame sailor, but now a sail-maker; the third a joiner. Says John, the biscuit baker, one day to Thomas, his brother, the sail-maker, 'Brother Tom, what will become of us? the plague grows hot in the city, and increases this way: what shall we do?'

'Truly,' says Thomas, 'I am at a great loss what to do; for, I find, if it comes down into Wapping, I shall be turned out of my lodging.' And thus they began to talk of it beforehand.

John. Turned out of your lodging, Tom! If you are, I don't know who will take you in; for people are so afraid of one another now, there is no getting a lodging anywhere.

Tho. Why, the people where I lodge are good, civil people, and have kindness for me too; but they say I go abroad every day to my work, and it will be dangerous; and they talk of locking themselves up, and letting nobody come near them.

John. Why, they are in the right, to be sure, if they resolve to venture staying in town.

Tho. Nay, I might even resolve to stay within doors too; for, except a suit of sails that my master has in hand, and which I am just finishing, I am like to get no more work a great while. There's no trade stirs now; workmen and servants are turned off everywhere, so that I might be glad to be locked up too. But I do not see that they will be willing to consent to that any more than to the other.

John. Why, what will you do then, brother? And what shall I do? for I am almost as bad as you. The people where I lodge are all gone into the country but a maid, and she is to go next week, and to shut the house quite up, so that I shall be turned adrift to the wide world before you; and I am resolved to go away too, if I knew but where to go.

Tho. We were both distracted we did not go away at first, when we might ha' travelled anywhere. There is no stirring now; we shall be starved if we pretend to go out of town; they won't let us have victuals—no, not for our money; nor let us come into the towns, much less into their houses.

John. And that which is almost as bad, I have but little money to help myself with neither.

Tho. As to that we might make shift. I have a little, though not much; but I tell you there is no stirring on the road. I know a couple of poor honest men in our street have attempted to travel; and at Barnet, or Whetstone, or thereabout, the people offered to fire at them if they pretended to go forward; so they are come back again quite discouraged.

John. I would have ventured their fire if I had been there. If I had been denied food for my money, they should have seen me take it before their faces; and if I had tendered money f they could not have taken any course wit by the law.

Tho. You talk your old soldier's langua if you were in the Low Countries now; bu is a serious thing. The people have good r to keep anybody off that they are not sat are sound at such a time as this; and we not plunder them.

John. No, brother, you mistake the cas mistake me too. I would plunder nobody; for any town upon the road to deny me le pass through the town in the open highway, deny me provisions for my money, is to sa town has a right to starve me to death, w cannot be true.

Tho. But they do not deny you liberty back again from whence you came, and the they do not starve you.

John. But the next town behind me wil the same rule, deny me leave to go back, an they do starve me between them; besides, is no law to prohibit my travelling wherev will on the road.

Tho. But there will be so much difficulty disputing with them at every town on the r that it is not for poor men to do it, or under it, at such a time as this is especially.

John. Why, brother, our condition, at this is worse than anybody's else; for we can neit go away nor stay here. I am of the same m with the lepers of Samaria: 'If we stay here, are sure to die.' I mean, especially as you a are situated, without a dwelling-house of own, and without lodging in anybody's There is no lying in the street at such a tim this; we had as good go into the dead-cart once. Therefore, I say, if we stay here, we sure to die; and if we go away, we can but I am resolved to be gone.

Tho. You will go away? Whither will y go? and what can you do? I would as willin go away as you, if I knew whither; but we h no acquaintance, no friends. Here we were b and here we must die.

John. Look you, Tom, the whole kingdom my native country as well as this town. W may as well say, I must not go out of my ho if it is on fire, as that I must not go out of t town I was born in when it is infected with plague. I was born in England, and have right to live in it if I can.

Tho. But, you know, every vagrant person m by the laws of England, be taken up, and pas back to their last legal settlement.

John. But how shall they make me vagrant? desire only to travel on upon my lawful occasio

Tho. What lawful occasions can we pret to travel, or rather wander, upon? They w not be put off with words.

John. Is not flying to save our lives a law occasion? and do they not all know that the fa is true? We cannot be said to dissemble.

Tho. But, suppose they let us pass, whith shall we go?

John. Anywhere to save our lives. It is ill enough to consider that when we are got out this town. If I am once out of this dread place, I care not where I go.

Tho. We shall be driven to great extremit I know not what to think of it.

John. Well, Tom, consider of it a little.

This was about the beginning of July; though the plague was come forward in the and north parts of the town, yet all Wapp as I have observed before, and Redriff, and cliff, and Limehouse, and Poplar; in short, th

ford and Greenwich, both sides of the river from the Hermitage, and from over against it, quite down to Blackwall, was entirely free. There had not one person died of the plague in all Stepney parish, and not one on the south side of White-chapel-road—no, not in any parish; and yet the weekly bill was that very week risen up to 1006.

It was a fortnight after this before the two brothers met again, and then the case was a little altered, and the plague was exceedingly advanced, and the number greatly increased. The bill was up at 2785, and prodigiously increasing; though still both sides of the river, as below, kept pretty well. But some began to die in Redriff, and about five or six in Ratcliff-highway, when the sail-maker came to his brother John, express, and in some fright, for he was absolutely warned out of his lodging, and had only a week to provide himself. His brother John was in as bad a case, for he was quite out; and had only begged leave of his master, the biscuit baker, to lodge in an outhouse belonging to his workhouse, where he only lay upon straw, with some biscuit sacks, or bread sacks, as they called them, laid upon it, and some of the same sacks to cover him.

Here they resolved, seeing all employment being at an end, and no work or wages to be had, they would make the best of their way to get out of the reach of the dreadful infection; and being as good husbands as they could, would endeavour to live upon what they had as long as it would last, and then work for more, if they could get work anywhere of any kind, let it be what it would.

While they were considering to put this resolution in practice in the best manner they could, the third man, who was acquainted very well with the sail-maker, came to know of the design, and got leave to be one of the number. And thus they prepared to set out.

It happened that they had not an equal share of money; but as the sail-maker, who had the best stock, was, besides his being lame, the most unfit to expect to get anything by working in the country, so he was content that what money they had should all go into one public stock, on condition that whatever any one of them could gain more than another, it should, without any grudging, be all added to the public stock.

They resolved to load themselves with as little baggage as possible, because they resolved at first to travel on foot, and to go a great way, that they might, if possible, be effectually safe. And a great many consultations they had with themselves before they could agree about what way they should travel; which they were so far from adjusting, that even to the morning they set out they were not resolved on it.

At last the seaman put in a hint that determined it. 'First,' says he, 'the weather is very hot, and therefore I am for travelling north, that we may not have the sun upon our faces and beating upon our breasts, which will heat and suffocate us; and I have been told,' says he, 'that it is not good to overheat our blood at a time when, for aught we know, the infection may be in the very air. In the next place,' says he, 'I am for going the way that may be contrary to the wind as it may blow when we set out, that we may not have the wind blow the air of the city on our backs as we go.' These two cautions were approved of, if it could be brought so to hit that the wind might not be in the south when they set out to go north.

John, the baker, who had been a soldier, then put in his opinion. 'First,' says he, 'we none of us expect to get any lodging on the road, and it will be a little too hard to lie just in the open air, though it may be warm weather, yet it may be wet and damp; and we have a double reason to take care of our healths at such a time as this. And therefore,' says he, 'you, brother Tom, that are a sail-maker, might easily make us a little tent, and I will undertake to set it up every night, and take it down, and a fig for all the inns in England. If we have a good tent over our heads, we shall do well enough.'

The joiner opposed this, and told them, let them leave that to him; he would undertake to build them a house every night with his hatchet and mallet, though he had no other tools, which should be fully to their satisfaction, and as good as a tent.

The soldier and the joiner disputed that point some time, but at last the soldier carried it for a tent; the only objection against it was, that it must be carried with them, and that would increase their baggage too much, the weather being hot. But the sail-maker had a piece of good hap fell in, which made that easy; for his master who he worked for, having a rope-walk as well as sail-making trade, had a little poor horse that he made no use of then, and being willing to assist the three honest men, he gave them the horse for the carrying their baggage; also, for a small matter of three days' work that his man did for him before he went, he let him have an old top-gallant sail that was worn out, but was sufficient, and more than enough, to make a very good tent. The soldier showed how to shape it, and they soon, by his direction, made their tent, and fitted it with poles or staves for the purpose, and thus they were furnished for their journey; viz. three men, one tent, one horse, one gun for the soldier, who would not go without arms, for now he said he was no more a biscuit baker but a trooper. The joiner had a small bag of tools, such as might be useful, if he should get any work abroad, as well for their subsistence as his own. What money they had, they brought all into one public stock; and thus they began their journey. It seems that in the morning when they set out, the wind blew, as the sailor said, by his pocket-compass, at N.W. by W.; so they directed, or rather resolved to direct, their course N.W.

But then a difficulty came in their way, that as they set out from the hither end of Wapping, near the Hermitage, and that the plague was now very violent, especially on the north side of the city, as in Shoreditch and Cripplegate parish, they did not think it safe for them to go near those parts; so they went away east through Ratcliff-highway, as far as Ratcliff Cross, and leaving Stepney church still on their left-hand, being afraid to come up from Ratcliff Cross to Mile-end, because they must come just by the churchyard, and because the wind, that seemed to blow more from the west, blowed directly from the side of the city where the plague was hottest; so, I say, leaving Stepney, they fetched a long compass, and going to Poplar and Bromley, came into the great road just at Bow.

Here the watch placed upon Bow Bridge would have questioned them; but they, crossing the road into a narrow way that turns out of the higher end of the town of Bow, to Oldford, avoided any inquiry there, and travelled on to Oldford. The constables everywhere were upon their guard, not so much it seems to stop people passing by, as to stop them from taking up their abode in their towns; and, withal, because of a report that was newly raised at that time, and that indeed was not very improbable, viz. that the poor people in London, being distressed, and

starved for want of work, and by that means for want of bread, were up in arms, and had raised a tumult, and that they would come out to all the towns round to plunder for bread. This, I say, was only a rumour, and it was very well it was no more; but it was not so far off from being a reality as it has been thought, for in a few weeks more the poor people became so desperate by the calamity they suffered, that they were with great difficulty kept from running out into the fields and towns, and tearing all in pieces wherever they came; and, as I have observed before, nothing hindered them but that the plague raged so violently, and fell in upon them so furiously, that they rather went to the grave by thousands than into the fields in mobs by thousands; for in the parts about the parishes of St. Sepulchre's, Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch, which were the places where the mob began to threaten, the distemper came on so furiously that there died in those few parishes, even then, before the plague was come to its height, no less than 5361 people in the first three weeks in August, when, at the same time, the parts about Wapping, Ratcliff, and Rotherhithe were, as before described, hardly touched, or but very lightly; so that, in a word, though, as I said before, the good management of the Lord Mayor and justices did much to prevent the rage and desperation of the people from breaking out in rabbles and tumults, and, in short, from the poor plundering the rich; I say, though they did much, the dead-cart did more, for, as I have said, that, in five parishes only, there died above 5000 in twenty days, so there might be probably three times that number sick all that time, for some recovered, and great numbers fell sick every day, and died afterwards. Besides, I must still be allowed to say, that if the bills of mortality said five thousand, I always believed it was twice as many in reality, there being no room to believe that the account they gave was right, or that, indeed, they were, among such confusions as I saw them in, in any condition to keep an exact account.

But to return to my travellers:—Here they were only examined, and as they seemed rather coming from the country than from the city, they found the people easier with them; that they talked to them, let them come into a public-house, where the constable and his warders were, and gave them drink and some victuals, which greatly refreshed and encouraged them; and here it came into their heads to say, when they should be inquired of afterwards, not that they came from London, but that they came out of Essex.

To forward this little fraud, they obtained so much favour of the constable at Oldford, as to give them a certificate of their passing from Essex through that village, and that they had not been at London; which, though false in the common acceptation of London in the country, yet was literally true; Wapping or Ratcliff being no part either of the city or liberty.

This certificate, directed to the next constable, that was at Homerton, one of the hamlets of the parish of Hackney, was so serviceable to them, that it procured them not a free passage there only, but a full certificate of health from a justice of the peace; who, upon the constable's application, granted it without much difficulty. And thus they passed through the long divided town of Hackney (for it lay then in several separated hamlets), and travelled on till they came into the great north road, on the top of Stamford Hill.

By this time they began to weary; and so, in the back road from Hackney, a little before it opened into the said great road, they resolved to set up their tent, and encamp for the first night; which they did accordingly, with this addition, that finding a barn, or a building like a barn, and first searching as well as they could to be sure there was nobody in it, they set up their tent, with the head of it against the barn; this they did also because the wind blew that night very high, and they were but young at such a way of lodging, as well as the managing their tent.

Here they went to sleep; but the joiner, a grave and sober man, and not pleased with their lying at this loose rate the first night, could not sleep, and resolved, after trying it to no purpose, that he would get out, and taking the gun in his hand, stand sentinel, and guard his companions. So, with the gun in his hand, he walked to and again before the barn, for that stood in the field near the road, but within the hedge. He had not been long upon the scout but he heard a noise of people coming on as if it had been a great number, and they came on, as he thought, directly towards the barn. He did not presently awake his companions, but in a few minutes more their noise growing louder and louder, the biscuit baker called to him and asked him what was the matter, and quickly started out too. The other being the lame sail-maker, and most weary, lay still in the tent.

As they expected, so the people whom they had heard came on directly to the barn: when one of our travellers challenged, like soldiers upon the guard, with, 'Who comes there?' The people did not answer immediately, but one of them speaking to another that was behind them, 'Alas! alas! we are all disappointed,' says he; 'here are some people before us; the barn is taken up.'

They all stopped upon that, as under some surprise; and it seems there were about thirteen of them in all, and some women among them. They consulted together what they should do; and by their discourse, our travellers soon found they were poor distressed people too, like themselves, seeking shelter and safety; and, besides, our travellers had no need to be afraid of their coming up to disturb them, for as soon as they heard the words, 'Who comes there?' they could hear the women say, as if frighted, 'Do not go near them; how do you know but they may have the plague?' And when one of the men said, 'Let us but speak to them,' the women said, 'No, don't, by any means. We have escaped thus far, by the goodness of God; do not let us run into danger now, we beseech you.'

Our travellers found by this that they were a good, sober sort of people, and flying for their lives as they were; and as they were encouraged by it, so John said to the joiner, his comrade, 'Let us encourage them too, as much as we can.' So he called to them, 'Hark ye, good people,' says the joiner, 'we find by your talk that you are flying from the same dreadful enemy as we are; do not be afraid of us, we are only three poor men of us. If you are free from the distemper, you shall not be hurt by us; we are not in the barn, but in a little tent here on the outside, and we will remove for you; we can set up our tent again immediately anywhere else.' And upon this a parley began between the joiner, whose name was Richard, and one of their men, whose said name was Ford.

Ford. And do you assure us that you are all sound men?

Rich. Nay, we are concerned to tell you of it, that you may not be uneasy, or think yourselves in danger; but you see we do not desire you

should put yourselves into any danger, and therefore I tell you that we have not made use of the barn, so we will remove from it that you may be safe and we also.

Ford. That is very kind and charitable. But if we have reason to be satisfied that you are sound and free from the visitation, why should we make you remove now you are settled in your lodging, and it may be are laid down to rest? We will go into the barn, if you please, to rest ourselves a while, and we need not disturb you.

Rich. Well, but you are more than we are; I hope you will assure us that you are all of you sound too, for the danger is as great from you to us, as from us to you.

Ford. Blessed be God that some do escape, though it be but few; what may be our portion still, we know not, but hitherto we are preserved.

Rich. What part of the town do you come from? Was the plague come to the places where you lived?

Ford. Ay, ay, in a most frightful and terrible manner, or else we had not fled away as we do; but we believe there will be very few left alive behind us.

Rich. What part do you come from?

Ford. We are most of us from Cripplegate parish, only two or three of Clerkenwell parish, but on the hither side.

Rich. How then was it that you came away no sooner?

Ford. We have been away some time, and kept together as well as we could at the hither end of Islington, where we got leave to lie in an old uninhabited house, and had some bedding and conveniences of our own that we brought with us; but the plague is come up into Islington too, and a house next door to our poor dwelling was infected and shut up, and we are come away in a fright.

Rich. And what way are you going?

Ford. As our lot shall cast us, we know not whither; but God will guide those that look up to Him.

They parleyed no farther at that time, but came all up to the barn, and with some difficulty got into it. There was nothing but hay in the barn, but it was almost full of that, and they accommodated themselves as well as they could, and went to rest; but our travellers observed, that before they went to sleep, an ancient man, who it seems was the father of one of the women, went to prayer with all the company, recommending themselves to the blessing and protection of Providence before they went to sleep.

It was soon day at that time of the year; and as Richard, the joiner, had kept guard the first part of the night, so John, the soldier, relieved him, and he had the post in the morning, and they began to be acquainted with one another. It seems, when they left Islington, they intended to have gone north away to Highgate, but were stopped at Holloway, and there they would not let them pass; so they crossed over the fields and hills to the eastward, and came out at the Boarded-river, and so avoiding the towns, they left Hornsey on the left hand, and Newington on the right hand, and came into the great road about Stamford-hill on that side, as the three travellers had done on the other side. And now they had thoughts of going over the river in the marshes, and make forwards to Epping Forest, where they hoped they should get leave to rest. It seems they were not poor, at least not so poor as to be in want; at least, they had enough to subsist them moderately for two or three months, when, as they said, they were in hopes the cold weather would check the infection, or at least the violence of it would have spent itself, and would abate, if it were only for want of people left alive to be infected.

This was much the fate of our three travellers, only that they seemed to be the better furnished for travelling, and had it in their view to go farther off; for as to the first, they did not propose to go farther than one day's journey, that so they might have intelligence every two or three days how things were at London.

But here our travellers found themselves under an unexpected inconvenience, namely, that of their horse; for, by means of the horse to carry their baggage, they were obliged to keep in the road, whereas the people of this other band went over the fields or roads, path or no path, way or no way, as they pleased; neither had they any occasion to pass through any town, or come near any town, other than to buy such things as they wanted for their necessary subsistence; and in that indeed they were put to much difficulty, of which in its place.

But our three travellers were obliged to keep the road, or else they must commit spoil, and do the country a great deal of damage, in breaking down fences and gates, to go over enclosed fields, which they were loath to do if they could help it.

Our three travellers, however, had a great mind to join themselves to this company, and take their lot with them; and, after some discourse, they laid aside their first design, which looked northward, and resolved to follow the other into Essex; so, in the morning they took up their tent and loaded their horse, and away they travelled all together.

They had some difficulty in passing the ferry at the river-side, the ferryman being afraid of them; but, after some parley at a distance, the ferryman was content to bring his boat to a place distant from the usual ferry, and leave it there for them to take it; so, putting themselves over, he directed them to leave the boat, and he, having another boat, said he would fetch it again, which it seems, however, he did not do for above eight days.

Here, giving the ferryman money beforehand, they had a supply of victuals and drink, which he brought and left in the boat for them, but not without, as I said, having received the money beforehand. But now our travellers were at a great loss and difficulty how to get the horse over, the boat being small and not fit for it; and at last could not do it without unloading the baggage and making him swim over.

From the river they travelled towards the forest; but when they came to Walthamstow, the people of that town denied to admit them, as was the case everywhere; the constables and their watchmen kept them off at a distance, and parleyed with them. They gave the same account of themselves as before, but these gave no credit to what they said, giving it for a reason, that two or three companies had already come that way and made the like pretences, but that they had given several people the distemper in the towns where they had passed, and had been afterwards so hardly used by the country, though with justice too, as they had deserved, that, about Brentwood or that way, several of them perished in the fields, whether of the plague, or of mere want and distress, they could not tell.

This was a good reason, indeed, why the people of Walthamstow should be very cautious, and why they should resolve not to entertain anybody that they were not well satisfied of; but, as Richard the joiner, and one of the other men

who parleyed with them, told them it was no reason why they should block up the roads, and refuse to let the people pass through the town, and who asked nothing of them, but to go through the street; that, if their people were afraid of them, they might go into their houses and shut their doors; they would neither show them civility nor incivility, but go on about their business.

The constables and attendants, not to be persuaded by reason, continued obstinate, and would hearken to nothing; so the two men that talked with them went back to their fellows, to consult what was to be done. It was very discouraging in the whole, and they knew not what to do for a good while; but at last John the soldier and biscuit baker, considering awhile, 'Come,' says he, 'leave the rest of the parley to me.' He had not appeared yet; so he sets the joiner Richard to work to cut some poles out of the trees, and shape them as like guns as he could, and, in a little time, he had five or six fair muskets, which, at a distance, would not be known; and about the part where the lock of a gun is, he caused them to wrap cloth and rags, such as they had, as soldiers do in wet weather to preserve the locks of their pièces from rust; the rest was discoloured with clay or mud, such as they could get; and all this while the rest of them sat under the trees by his direction, in two or three bodies, where they made fires at a good distance from one another.

While this was doing, he advanced himself, and two or three with him, and set up their tent in the lane, within sight of the barrier which the townsmen had made, and set a sentinel just by it with the real gun, the only one they had, and who walked to and fro with the gun on his shoulder, so as that the people of the town might see them; also he tied the horse to a gate in the hedge just by, and got some dry sticks together, and kindled a fire on the other side of the tent, so that the people of the town could see the fire and the smoke, but could not see what they were doing at it.

After the country people had looked upon them very earnestly a great while, and by all that they could see, could not but suppose that they were a great many in company, they began to be uneasy, not for their going away, but for staying where they were: and above all, perceiving they had horses and arms, for they had seen one horse and one gun at the tent, and they had seen others of them walk about the field on the inside of the hedge by the side of the lane with their muskets, as they took them to be, shouldered; I say, upon such a sight as this, you may be assured they were alarmed and terribly frightened; and it seems they went to a justice of the peace, to know what they should do. What the justice advised them to I know not, but towards the evening, they called from the barrier, as above, to the sentinel at the tent.

'What do you want?' says John.

'Why, what do you intend to do?' says the constable.

'To do!' says John, 'What would you have us to do?'

Const. Why don't you be gone? What do you stay there for?

John. Why do you stop us on the king's highway, and pretend to refuse us leave to go on our way?

Const. We are not bound to tell you the reason, though we did let you know it was because of the plague.

John. We told you we were all sound and free from the plague, which we were not bound to have satisfied you of; and yet you pretend to stop us on the highway.

Const. We have a right to stop it up, and our own safety obliges us to it; besides, this is not the king's highway, it is a way upon sufferance. You see here is a gate, and, if we do let people pass here, we make them pay toll.

John. We have a right to seek our own safety as well as you, and you may see we are flying for our lives, and it is very unchristian and unjust in you to stop us.

Const. You may go back from whence you came; we do not hinder you from that.

John. No, it is a stronger enemy than you that keeps us from doing that, or else we should not have come hither.

Const. Well, you may go any other way then.

John. No, no; I suppose you see we are able to send you going and all the people of your parish, and come through your town when we will, but, since you have stopped us here, we are content; you see we have encamped here, and here we will live; we hope you will furnish us with victuals.

Const. We furnish you! What mean you by that?

John. Why, you would not have us starve, would you? If you stop us here, you must keep us.

Const. You will be ill kept at our maintenance.

John. If you stint us, we shall make ourselves the better allowance.

Const. Why, you will not pretend to quarter upon us by force, will you?

John. We have offered no violence to you yet, why do you seem to oblige us to it? I am an old soldier and cannot starve; and if you think that we shall be obliged to go back for want of provisions, you are mistaken.

Const. Since you threaten us, we shall take care to be strong enough for you. I have orders to raise the country upon you.

John. It is you that threaten, not we; and, since you are for mischief, you cannot blame us if we do not give you time for it. We shall begin our march in a few minutes.

Const. What is it you demand of us?

John. At first we desired nothing of you but leave to go through the town. We should have offered no injury to any of you, neither would you have had any injury or loss by us; we are not thieves, but poor people in distress, and flying from the dreadful plague in London, which devours thousands every week. We wonder how you can be so unmerciful!

Const. Self-preservation obliges us.

John. What! To shut up your compassion in a case of such distress as this?

Const. Well, if you will pass over the fields on your left hand, and behind that part of the town, I will endeavour to have gates opened for you.

John. Our horsemen cannot pass with our baggage that way; it does not lead into the road that we want to go, and why should you force us out of the road? Besides, you have kept us here all day without any provisions but such as we brought with us; I think you ought to send us some provisions for our relief.

Const. If you will go another way, we will send you some provisions.

John. That is the way to have all the towns in the county stop up the ways against us.

Const. If they all furnish you with food, what will you be the worse? I see you have tents, you want no lodging.

John. Well; what quantity of provisions will you send us?

Const. How many are you?

John. Nay, we do not ask enough for all our company; we are in three companies. If you will send us bread for twenty men and about six or seven women for three days, and show us the way over the field you speak of, we desire not to put your people into any fear for us; we will go out of your way to oblige you, though we are as free from infection as you are.

Const. And will you assure us that your other people shall offer us no new disturbance?

John. No, no; you may depend on it.

Const. You must oblige yourself too, that none of your people shall come a step nearer than where the provisions we send you shall be set down.

John. I answer for it we will not.

(Here he called to one of his men, and bade him order Capt. Richard and his people to march the lower way on the side of the marshes, and meet them in the forest; which was all a sham, for they had no Capt. Richard, or any such company.)

Accordingly, they sent to the place twenty loaves of bread, and three or four large pieces of good beef, and opened some gates, through which they passed, but none of them had courage so much as to look out to see them go; and, as it was evening, if they had looked, they could not have seen them so as to know how few they were.

This was John the soldier's management; but this gave such an alarm to the county, that, had they really been two or three hundred, the whole county would have been raised upon them, and they would have been sent to prison, or perhaps knocked on the head.

They were soon made sensible of this; for, two days afterwards, they found several parties of horsemen, and footmen also, about, in pursuit of three companies of men armed, as they said, with muskets, who were broke out from London, and had the plague upon them; and that were not only spreading the distemper among the people, but plundering the country.

As they saw now the consequence of their case, they soon saw the danger they were in; so they resolved, by the advice also of the old soldier, to divide themselves again. John and his two comrades with the horse went away as if towards Waltham; the other in two companies, but all a little asunder, and went towards Epping.

The first night they encamped all in the forest, and not far off from one another, but not setting up the tent, for fear that should discover them. On the other hand, Richard went to work with his axe and his hatchet; and cutting down branches of trees, he built three tents or hovels, in which they all encamped with as much convenience as they could expect.

The provisions they had at Walthamstow, served them very plentifully this night; and as for the next, they left it to Providence. They had fared so well with the old soldier's conduct, that they now willingly made him their leader, and the first of his conduct appeared to be very good. He told them, that they were now at a proper distance enough from London; that, as they need not be immediately beholden to the country for relief, they ought to be as careful the country did not infect them, as that they did not infect the country; that what little money they had, they must be as frugal of as they could; that as he would not have them think of offering the country any violence, so they must endeavour to make the sense of their condition go as far with the country as it could. They all referred themselves to his direction; so they left their three houses standing, and the next day went away towards Epping; the captain also, for so they now called him, and his two fellow-travellers, laid aside their design of going to Waltham, and all went together.

When they came near Epping, they halted, choosing out a proper place in the open forest, not very near the highway but not far out of it, on the north side, under a little cluster of low pollard trees. Here they pitched their little camp, which consisted of three large tents or huts made of poles, which their carpenter, and such as were his assistants, cut down and fixed in the ground in a circle, binding all the small ends together at the top, and thickening the sides with boughs of trees and bushes, so that they were completely close and warm. They had, besides this, a little tent where the women lay by themselves, and a hut to put the horse in.

It happened that the next day, or the next but one, was market-day at Epping, when Captain John and one of the other men went to market, and bought some provisions, that is to say, bread and some mutton and beef, and two of the women went separately, as if they had not belonged to the rest, and bought more. John took the horse to bring it home, and the sack, which the carpenter carried his tools in, to put it in; the carpenter went to work, and made them benches and stools to sit on, such as the wood he could get would afford, and a kind of table to dine on.

They were taken no notice of for two or three days, but after that abundance of people ran out of the town to look at them, and all the country was alarmed about them. The people at first seemed afraid to come near them; and, on the other hand, they desired the people to keep off, for there was a rumour that the plague was at Waltham, and that it had been in Epping two or three days; so John called out to them not to come to them, 'For,' says he, 'we are all whole and sound people here, and we would not have you bring the plague among us, nor pretend we brought it among you.'

After this the parish officers came up to them, and parleyed with them at a distance, and desired to know who they were, and by what authority they pretended to fix their stand at that place? John answered very frankly, they were poor distressed people from London, who, foreseeing the misery they should be reduced to, if the plague spread into the city, had fled out in time for their lives, and, having no acquaintance or relations to fly to, had first taken up at Islington, but the plague being come into that town, were fled farther; and as they supposed that the people of Epping might have refused them coming into their town, they had pitched their tents thus in the open field, and in the forest, being willing to bear all the hardships of such a disconsolate lodging, rather than have any one think, or be afraid, that they should receive injury by them.

At first the Epping people talked roughly to them, and told them they must remove; that this was no place for them; and that they pretended to be sound and well, but that they might be infected with the plague for aught they knew, and might infect the whole country, and they could not suffer them there.

John argued very calmly with them a great while, and told them that London was the place by which they, that is, the townsmen of Epping and all the country round them subsisted; to whom they sold the produce of their lands, and out of whom they made the rents of their farms;

and to be so cruel to the inhabitants of London, or to any of those by whom they gained so much, was very hard; and they would be loath to have it remembered hereafter, and have it told how barbarous, how inhospitable, and how unkind they were to the people of London when they fled from the face of the most terrible enemy in the world; that it would be enough to make the name of an Epping man hateful throughout all the city, and to have the rabble stone them in the very streets whenever they came so much as to market; that they were not yet secure from being visited themselves, and that, as he heard, Waltham was already; that they would think it very hard, that when any of them fled for fear before they were touched, they should be denied the liberty of lying so much as in the open fields.

The Epping men told them again that they, indeed, said they were sound and free from the infection, but that they had no assurance of it; and that it was reported that there had been a great rabble of people at Walthamstow, who made such pretences of being sound as they did, but that they threatened to plunder the town, and force their way whether the parish officers would or no; that there were near 200 of them, and had arms and tents like Low Country soldiers; that they extorted provisions from the town, by threatening them with living upon them at free quarter, showing their arms, and talking in the language of soldiers; and that several of them having gone away towards Rumford and Brentwood, the country had been infected by them, and the plague spread into both those large towns, so that the people durst not go to market there as usual; that it was very likely they were some of that party, and if so, they deserved to be sent to the county gaol, and be secured till they had made satisfaction for the damage they had done, and for the terror and fright they had put the country into.

John answered, that what other people had done was nothing to them; that they assured them they were all of one company; that they had never been more in number than they saw them at that time (which, by the way, was very true); that they came out in two separate companies, but joined by the way, their cases being the same; that they were ready to give what account of themselves anybody desired of them, and to give in their names and places of abode, that so they might be called to an account for any disorder that they might be guilty of; that the townsmen might see they were content to live hardly, and only desired a little room to breathe in on the forest where it was wholesome, for where it was not, they could not stay, and would decamp if they found it otherwise there.

'But,' said the townsmen, 'we have a great charge of poor upon our hands already, and we must take care not to increase it; we suppose you can give us no security against your being chargeable to our parish and to the inhabitants, any more than you can of being dangerous to us as to the infection.'

'Why, look you,' says John, 'as to being chargeable to you, we hope we shall not; if you will relieve us with provisions for our present necessity, we will be very thankful; as we all lived without charity when we were at home, so we will oblige ourselves fully to repay you, if God please to bring us back to our own families and houses in safety, and to restore health to the people of London.

'As to our dying here, we assure you, if any of us die, we that survive will bury them, and put you to no expense, except it should be that we should all die, and then, indeed, the last man, not being able to bury himself, would put you to that single expense, which, I am persuaded,' says John, 'he would leave enough behind him to pay you for the expense of.

'On the other hand,' says John, 'if you will shut up all bowels of compassion, and not relieve us at all, we shall not extort anything by violence, or steal from any one; but when that little we have is spent, if we perish for want, God's will be done.'

John wrought so upon the townsmen, by talking thus rationally and smoothly to them, that they went away; and though they did not give any consent to their staying there, yet they did not molest them, and the poor people continued there three or four days longer without any disturbance. In this time they had got some remote acquaintance with a victualling-house on the outskirts of the town, to whom they called, at a distance, to bring some little things that they wanted, and which they caused to be set down at some distance, and always paid for very honestly.

During this time the younger people of the town came frequently pretty near them, and would stand and look at them, and would sometimes talk with them at some space between; and particularly it was observed that the first Sabbath-day the poor people kept retired, worshipped God together, and were heard to sing psalms.

These things, and a quiet inoffensive behaviour, began to get them the good opinion of the country, and the people began to pity them and speak very well of them; the consequence of which was, that, upon the occasion of a very wet rainy night, a certain gentleman, who lived in the neighbourhood, sent them a little cart with twelve trusses or bundles of straw, as well for them to lodge upon as to cover and thatch their huts, and to keep them dry. The minister of a parish not far off, not knowing of the other, sent them also about two bushels of wheat, and half a bushel of white peas.

They were very thankful, to be sure, for this relief, and particularly the straw was a very great comfort to them; for though the ingenious carpenter had made them frames to lie in, like troughs, and filled them with leaves of trees and such things as they could get, and had put all their tent-cloth out to make coverlids, yet they lay damp, and hard, and unwholesome till this straw came, which was to them like feather-beds; and, as John said, more welcome than feather-beds would have been at another time.

This gentleman and the minister having thus begun, and given an example of charity to these wanderers, others quickly followed, and they received every day some benevolence or other from the people, but chiefly from the gentlemen who dwelt in the country round about: some sent them chairs, stools, tables, and such household things as they gave notice they wanted; some sent them blankets, rugs, and coverlids; some earthenware, and some kitchen-ware for ordering their food.

Encouraged by this good usage, their carpenter, in a few days, built them a large shed or house with rafters, and a roof in form, and an upper floor, in which they lodged warm, for the weather began to be damp and cold in the beginning of September. But this house being very well thatched, and the sides and roof very thick, kept out the cold well enough; he made also an earthen wall at one end, with a chimney in it; and another of the company, with a vast deal of

trouble and pains, made a funnel to the chimney to carry out the smoke.

Here they lived comfortably, though coarsely, till the beginning of September, when they had the bad news to hear, whether true or not, that the plague, which was very hot at Waltham-abbey on the one side, and Rumford and Brentwood on the other side, was also come to Epping, to Woodford, and to most of the towns upon the forest; and which, as they said, was brought down among them chiefly by the higglers, and such people as went to and from London with provisions.

If this was true, it was an evident contradiction to the report which was afterwards spread all over England, but which, as I have said, I cannot confirm of my own knowledge, namely, that the market people, carrying provisions to the city, never got the infection, or carried it back into the country; both which, I have been assured, has been false.

It might be that they were preserved even beyond expectation, though not to a miracle; that abundance went and came and were not touched, and that was much encouragement for the poor people of London, who had been completely miserable if the people that brought provisions to the markets had not been many times wonderfully preserved, or at least more preserved than could be reasonably expected.

But now these new inmates began to be disturbed more effectually; for the towns about them were really infected, and they began to be afraid to trust one another so much as to go abroad for such things as they wanted, and this pinched them very hard, for now they had little or nothing but what the charitable gentlemen of the country supplied them with; but, for their encouragement, it happened that other gentlemen of the country, who had not sent them anything before, began to hear of them and supply them; and one sent them a large pig, that is to say, a porker; another two sheep, and another sent them a calf; in short, they had meat enough, and sometimes had cheese and milk, and such things. They were chiefly put to it for bread, for when the gentlemen sent them corn, they had nowhere to bake it or to grind it; this made them eat the first two bushels of wheat that was sent them, in parched corn, as the Israelites of old did, without grinding or making bread of it.

At last they found means to carry their corn to a windmill, near Woodford, where they had it ground; and afterwards the biscuit baker made a hearth so hollow and dry, that he could bake biscuit-cakes tolerably well; and thus they came into a condition to live without any assistance or supplies from the towns; and it was well they did, for the country was soon after fully infected, and about a hundred and twenty were said to have died of the distemper in the villages near them, which was a terrible thing to them.

On this they called a new council, and now the towns had no need to be afraid they should settle near them; but, on the contrary, several families of the poorer sort of the inhabitants quitted their houses and built huts in the forest, after the same manner as they had done. But it was observed that several of these people that had so removed had the sickness even in the huts or booths; the reason of which was plain, namely, not because they removed into the air, but because they did not remove time enough; that is to say, not till by openly conversing with other people their neighbours, they had the distemper upon them, or, as may be said, among them, and so carried it about with them whither they went. Or, secondly, Because they were not careful enough after they were safely removed out of the towns, not to come in again and mingle with the diseased people.

But be it which of these it will, when our travellers began to perceive that the plague was not only in the towns, but even in the tents and huts on the forest near them, they began then not only to be afraid, but to think of decamping and removing; for had they stayed, they would have been in manifest danger of their lives.

It is not to be wondered that they were greatly afflicted at being obliged to quit the place where they had been so kindly received, and where they had been treated with so much humanity and charity; but necessity, and the hazard of life, which they came out so far to preserve, prevailed with them, and they saw no remedy. John, however, thought of a remedy for their present misfortune, namely, that he would first acquaint that gentleman who was their principal benefactor, with the distress they were in; and to crave his assistance and advice.

This good charitable gentleman encouraged them to quit the place, for fear they should be cut off from any retreat at all, by the violence of the distemper; but whither they should go, that he found very hard to direct them to. At last John asked of him whether he, being a justice of the peace, would give them certificates of health to other justices who they might come before, that so, whatever might be their lot, they might not be repulsed now they had been also so long from London. This his worship immediately granted, and gave them proper letters of health; and from thence they were at liberty to travel whither they pleased.

Accordingly, they had a full certificate of health, intimating that they had resided in a village in the county of Essex so long; that being examined and scrutinized sufficiently, and having been retired from all conversation for above forty days, without any appearance of sickness, they were, therefore, certainly concluded to be sound men, and might be safely entertained anywhere; having at last removed rather for fear of the plague, which was come into such a town, rather than for having any signal of infection upon them, or upon any belonging to them.

With this certificate they removed, though with great reluctance; and John inclining not to go far from home, they removed toward the marshes on the side of Waltham. But here they found a man who, it seems, kept a weir or stop upon the river, made to raise water for the barges which go up and down the river, and he terrified them with dismal stories of the sickness having been spread into all the towns on the river, and near the river, on the side of Middlesex and Hertfordshire; that is to say, into Waltham, Waltham-cross, Enfield, and Ware, and all the towns on the road, that they were afraid to go that way; though, it seems, the man imposed upon them, for that the thing was not really true.

However, it terrified them, and they resolved to move across the forest towards Romford and Brentwood; but they heard that there were numbers of people fled out of London that way, who lay up and down in the forest, reaching near Romford; and who, having no subsistence or habitation, not only lived oddly, and suffered great extremities in the woods and fields for want of relief, but were said to be made so desperate by those extremities, as that they offered many violences to the country, robbed, and plundered, and killed cattle, and the like; and

others, building huts and hovels by the road-side, begged, and that with an importunity next door to demanding relief: so that the country was very uneasy, and had been obliged to take some of them up.

This, in the first place, intimated to them that they would be sure to find the charity and kindness of the county, which they had found here where they were before, hardened and shut up against them; and that, on the other hand, they would be questioned wherever they came, and would be in danger of violence from others in like cases with themselves.

Upon all these considerations, John, their captain, in all their names, went back to their good friend and benefactor, who had relieved them before, and laying their case truly before him, humbly asked his advice; and he as kindly advised them to take up their old quarters again, or, if not, to remove but a little farther out of the road, and directed them to a proper place for them; and as they really wanted some house, rather than huts, to shelter them at that time of the year, it growing on towards Michaelmas, they found an old decayed house, which had been formerly some cottage or little habitation, but was so out of repair as scarce habitable; and by consent of a farmer, to whose farm it belonged, they got leave to make what use of it they could.

The ingenious joiner, and all the rest by his directions, went to work with it, and in a very few days made it capable to shelter them all, in case of bad weather; and in which there was an old chimney and an old oven, though both lying in ruins, yet they made them both fit for use; and raising additions, sheds and lean-to's on every side, they soon made the house capable to hold them all.

They chiefly wanted boards to make window-shutters, floors, doors, and several other things; but as the gentleman above favoured them, and the country was by that means made easy with them; and, above all, that they were known to be all sound and in good health, everybody helped them with what they could spare.

Here they encamped for good and all, and resolved to remove no more; they saw plainly how terribly alarmed that country was everywhere, at anybody that came from London; and that they should have no admittance anywhere but with the utmost difficulty, at least no friendly reception and assistance as they had received here.

Now although they received great assistance and encouragement from the country gentlemen, and from the people round about them, yet they were put to great straits, for the weather grew cold and wet in October and November, and they had not been used to so much hardship; so that they got cold in their limbs, and distempers, but never had the infection. And thus, about December, they came home to the city again.

I give this story thus at large, principally to give an account what became of the great numbers of people which immediately appeared in the city as soon as the sickness abated; for, as I have said, great numbers of those that were able, and had retreats in the country, fled to those retreats. So, when it was increased to such a frightful extremity as I have related, the middling people, who had not friends, fled to all parts of the country where they could get shelter, as well those that had money to relieve themselves, as those that had not. Those that had money always fled farthest, because they were able to *subsist themselves*; but those who were empty, *suffered*, as I have said, great hardships, and were often driven by necessity to relieve their wants at the expense of the country. By that means the country was made very uneasy at them, and sometimes took them up, though even then they scarce knew what to do with them, and were always very backward to punish them; but, often too, they forced them from place to place, till they were obliged to come back again to London.

I have, since my knowing this story of John and his brother, inquired and found that there were a great many of the poor disconsolate people, as above, fled into the country every way; and some of them got little sheds, and barns, and outhouses to live in, where they could obtain so much kindness of the country; and especially where they had any the least satisfactory account to give of themselves, and particularly that they did not come out of London too late. But others, and that in great numbers, built themselves little huts and retreats in the fields and woods, and lived like hermits, in holes and caves, or any place they could find; and where, we may be sure, they suffered great extremities, such that many of them were obliged to come back again, whatever the danger was; and so those little huts were often found empty, and the country people supposed the inhabitants lay dead in them of the plague, and would not go near them for fear, no not in a great while; nor is it unlikely but that some of the unhappy wanderers might die so all alone, even sometimes for want of help, as particularly in one tent or hut was found a man dead, and on the gate of a field just by was cut with his knife, in uneven letters, the following words, by which it may be supposed the other man escaped, or that one dying first, the other buried him as well as he could:

O m I s E r Y!
We Bo T H Sh a L L D y E,
W o E, W o E

I have given an account already of what I found to have been the case down the river among the seafaring men, how the ships lay in the offing, as it is called, in rows or lines, astern of one another, quite down from the Pool as far as I could see. I have been told that they lay in the same manner quite down the river as low as Gravesend, and some far beyond, even everywhere, or in every place where they could ride with safety as to wind and weather; nor did I ever hear that the plague reached to any of the people on board those ships, except such as lay up in the Pool, or as high as Deptford Reach, although the people went frequently on shore to the country towns and villages, and farmers' houses, to buy fresh provisions, fowls, pigs, calves, and the like, for their supply.

Likewise I found that the watermen on the river above the bridge found means to convey themselves away up the river as far as they could go; and that they had, many of them, their whole families in their boats, covered with tilts and bales as they call them, and furnished with straw within for their lodging; and that they lay thus all along by the shore in the marshes, some of them setting up little tents with their sails, and so lying under them on shore in the day, and going into their boats at night; and in this manner, as I have heard, the river sides were lined with boats and people as long as they had anything to subsist on, or could get anything of the country; and indeed the country people, as well gentlemen as others, on these and all other occasions, were very forward

to relieve them, but they were by no means willing to receive them into their towns and houses, and for that we cannot blame them.

There was one unhappy citizen, within my knowledge, who had been visited in a dreadful manner, so that his wife and all his children were dead, and himself and two servants only left, with an elderly woman, a near relation, who had nursed those that were dead as well as she could. This disconsolate man goes to a village near the town, though not within the bills of mortality, and finding an empty house there, inquires out the owner, and took the house. After a few days, he got a cart, and loaded it with goods, and carries them down to the house; the people of the village opposed his driving the cart along, but with some arguings, and some force, the men that drove the cart along, got through the street up to the door of the house; there the constable resisted them again, and would not let them be brought in. The man caused the goods to be unloaded and laid at the door, and sent the cart away, upon which they carried the man before a justice of peace; that is to say, they commanded him to go, which he did. The justice ordered him to cause the cart to fetch away the goods again, which he refused to do; upon which the justice ordered the constable to pursue the carters and fetch them back, and make them reload the goods and carry them away, or to set them in the stocks till they came for further orders; and if they could not find them, and the man would not consent to take them away, they should cause them to be drawn with hooks from the house door and burnt in the street. The poor distressed man upon this fetched the goods again, but with grievous cries and lamentations at the hardship of his case. But there was no remedy, self-preservation obliged the people to those severities, which they would not otherwise have been concerned in. Whether this poor man lived or died I cannot tell, but it was reported that he had the plague upon him at that time, and perhaps the people might report that to justify their usage of him; but it was not unlikely that either he or his goods, or both, were dangerous, when his whole family had been dead of the distemper so little a while before.

I know that the inhabitants of the towns adjacent to London were much blamed for cruelty to the poor people that ran from the contagion in their distress, and many very severe things were done, as may be seen from what has been said; but I cannot but say also, that where there was room for charity and assistance to the people, without apparent danger to themselves, they were willing enough to help and relieve them. But as every town were indeed judges in their own case, so the poor people who ran abroad in their extremities were often ill-used and driven back again into the town; and this caused infinite exclamations and outcries against the country towns, and made the clamour very popular.

And yet more or less, maugre all the caution, there was not a town of any note within ten (or I believe twenty) miles of the city, but what was more or less infected, and had some died among them. I have heard the accounts of several; such as they were reckoned up, as follows:—

In Enfield,	32
Hornsey,	58
Newington,	17
Tottenham,	42
Edmonton,	19
Barnet and Hadleigh,	43
St. Albans,	121
Watford,	45
Uxbridge,	117
Hertford,	90
Ware,	160
Hodsdon,	30
Waltham-abbey,	23
Epping,	26
Deptford,	623
Greenwich,	231
Eltham and Lewisham,	85
Croydon,	61
Brentwood,	70
Rumford,	109
Barking, about	200
Branford,	432
Kingston,	122
Staines,	82
Chertsey,	18
Windsor,	103
	cum aliis.

Another thing might render the country more strict with respect to the citizens, and especially with respect to the poor, and this was what I hinted at before, namely, that there was a seeming propensity, or a wicked inclination, in those that were infected to infect others.

There have been great debates among our physicians as to the reason of this. Some will have it to be in the nature of the disease, and that it impresses every one that is seized upon by it with a kind of rage and a hatred against their own kind, as if there were a malignity, not only in the distemper to communicate itself, but in the very nature of man, prompting him with evil will, or an evil eye, that, as they say in the case of a mad dog, who, though the gentlest creature before of any of his kind, yet then will fly upon and bite any one that comes next him, and those as soon as any who have been most observed by him before.

Others placed it to the account of the corruption of human nature, who cannot bear to see itself more miserable than others of its own species, and has a kind of involuntary wish that all men were as unhappy or in as bad a condition as itself.

Others say it was only a kind of desperation, not knowing or regarding what they did, and consequently unconcerned at the danger or safety, not only of anybody near them, but even of themselves also. And, indeed, when men are once come to a condition to abandon themselves, and be unconcerned for the safety or at the danger of themselves, it cannot be so much wondered that they should be careless of the safety of other people.

But I choose to give this grave debate quite a different turn, and answer it or resolve it all by saying that I do not grant the fact. On the contrary, I say that the thing is not really so, but that it was a general complaint raised by the people inhabiting the outlying villages against the citizens, to justify, or at least excuse, those hardships and severities so much talked of, and in which complaints both sides may be said to have injured one another; that is to say, the citizens pressing to be received and harboured in time of distress, and with the plague upon them, complain of the cruelty and injustice of the country people, in being refused entrance, and forced back again with their goods and families; and the inhabitants finding themselves so imposed upon, and the citizens breaking in as it were upon them, whether they would or no, complain that when they were infected they were not only regardless of others, but even willing to

infect them: neither of which was really true, that is to say, in the colours they were described in.

It is true there is something to be said for the frequent alarms which were given to the country of the resolution of the people of London to come out by force, not only for relief, but to plunder and rob, that they ran about the streets with the distemper upon them without any control, and that no care was taken to shut up houses, and confine the sick people from infecting others; whereas, to do the Londoners justice, they never practised such things, except in such particular cases as I have mentioned above, and such like. On the other hand, everything was managed with so much care, and such excellent order was observed in the whole city and suburbs, by the care of the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and by the justices of the peace, churchwardens, &c., in the outparts, that London may be a pattern to all the cities in the world for the good government and the excellent order that was everywhere kept, even in the time of the most violent infection, and when the people were in the utmost consternation and distress. But of this I shall speak by itself.

One thing, it is to be observed, was owing principally to the prudence of the magistrates, and ought to be mentioned to their honour, viz. the moderation which they used in the great and difficult work of shutting up houses. It is true, as I have mentioned, that the shutting up of houses was a great subject of discontent, and I may say indeed the only subject of discontent among the people at that time; for the confining the sound in the same house with the sick was counted very terrible, and the complaints of people so confined were very grievous; they were heard in the very streets, and they were sometimes such that called for resentment, though oftener for compassion; they had no way to converse with any of their friends but out of their windows, where they would make such piteous lamentations as often moved the hearts of those they talked with, and of others who, passing by, heard their story; and as those complaints oftentimes reproached the severity, and sometimes the insolence of the watchmen placed at their doors, those watchmen would answer saucily enough, and perhaps be apt to affront the people who were in the street talking to the said families, for which, or for their ill-treatment of the families, I think seven or eight of them in several places were killed; I know not whether I should say murdered or not, because I cannot enter into the particular cases. It is true the watchmen were on their duty and acting in the post where they were placed by a lawful authority; and killing any public legal officer in the execution of his office is always, in the language of the law, called murder. But as they were not authorized by the magistrates' instructions, or by the power they acted under, to be injurious or abusive, either to the people who were under their observation, or to any that concerned themselves for them, so that when they did so they might be said to act themselves, not their office, to act as private persons, not as persons employed; and consequently, if they brought mischief upon themselves by such an undue behaviour, that mischief was upon their own heads; and indeed they had so much the hearty curses of the people, whether they deserved it or not, that whatever befell them nobody pitied them, and everybody was apt to say they deserved it, whatever it was; nor do I remember that anybody was ever punished, at *least* to any considerable degree, for whatever was done to the watchmen that guarded their houses.

What variety of stratagems were used to escape and get out of houses thus shut up, by which the watchmen were deceived or overpowered, and that the people got away, I have taken notice of already, and shall say no more to that; but I say the magistrates did moderate and ease families upon many occasions in this case, and particularly in that of taking away or suffering to be removed the sick persons out of such houses, when they were willing to be removed, either to a pesthouse or other places, and sometimes giving the well persons in the family so shut up leave to remove, upon information given that they were well, and that they would confine themselves in such houses where they went so long as should be required of them. The concern also of the magistrates for the supplying such poor families as were infected, I say supplying them with necessaries, as well physic as food, was very great, and in which they did not content themselves with giving the necessary orders to the officers appointed, but the aldermen in person, and on horseback frequently rode to such houses, and caused the people to be asked at their windows whether they were duly attended or not; also whether they wanted anything that was necessary, and if the officers had constantly carried their messages, and fetched them such things as they wanted, or not. And if they answered in the affirmative, all was well; but if they complained that they were ill-supplied, and that the officer did not do his duty, or did not treat them civilly, they (the officers) were generally removed, and others placed in their stead.

It is true such complaint might be unjust, and if the officer had such arguments to use as would convince the magistrate that he was right, and that the people had injured him, he was continued and they reproved. But this part could not well bear a particular inquiry, for the parties could very ill be well heard and answered in the street from the windows, as was the case then; the magistrates therefore generally chose to favour the people, and remove the man, as what seemed to be the least wrong, and of the least ill consequence; seeing, if the watchman was injured, yet they could easily make him amends by giving him another post of a like nature; but if the family was injured, there was no satisfaction could be made to them, the damage perhaps being irreparable, as it concerned their lives.

A great variety of these cases frequently happened between the watchmen and the poor people shut up, besides those I formerly mentioned about escaping; sometimes the watchmen were absent, sometimes drunk, sometimes asleep when the people wanted them, and such never failed to be punished severely, as indeed they deserved.

But after all that was or could be done in these cases, the shutting up of houses, so as to confine those that were well with those that were sick, had very great inconveniences in it, and some that were very tragical, and which merited to have been considered if there had been room for it; but it was authorized by a law, it had the public good in view as the end chiefly aimed at, and all the private injuries that were done by the putting it in execution must be put to the account of the public benefit.

It is doubtful whether, in the whole, it contributed anything to the stop of the infection, and, indeed, I cannot say it did; for nothing could run with greater fury and rage than the infection did when it was in its chief violence;

though the houses infected were shut up as exactly and effectually as it was possible. Certain it is, that if all the infected persons were effectually shut in, no sound person could have been infected by them, because they could not have come near them. But the case was thus, and I shall only touch it here, namely, that the infection was propagated insensibly, and by such persons as were not visibly infected, who neither knew whom they infected nor whom they were infected by.

A house in Whitechapel was shut up for the sake of one infected maid, who had only spots, not the tokens, come out upon her, and recovered; yet these people obtained no liberty to stir, neither for air or exercise, forty days. Want of breath, fear, anger, vexation, and all the other griefs attending such an injurious treatment, cast the mistress of the family into a fever, and visitors came into the house and said it was the plague, though the physicians declared it was not. However, the family were obliged to begin their quarantine anew, on the report of the visitor or examiner, though their former quarantine wanted but a few days of being finished. This oppressed them so with anger and grief, and, as before, straitened them also so much as to room, and for want of breathing and free air, that most of the family fell sick, one of one distemper, one of another, chiefly scorbutic ailments, only one a violent cholic, until after several prolongings of their confinement some or other of those that came in with the visitors to inspect the persons that were ill, in hopes of releasing them, brought the distemper with them, and infected the whole house, and all or most of them died, not of the plague as really upon them before, but of the plague that those people brought them, who should have been careful to have protected them from it; and this was a thing which frequently happened, and was, indeed, one of the worst consequences of shutting houses up.

I had about this time a little hardship put upon me, which I was at first greatly afflicted at, and very much disturbed about; though, as it proved, it did not expose me to any disaster; and this was, being appointed by the alderman of Portsoken ward, one of the examiners of the houses in the precinct where I lived. We had a large parish, and had no less than eighteen examiners, as the order called us: the people called us visitors. I endeavoured with all my might to be excused from such an employment, and used many arguments with the alderman's deputy to be excused; particularly, I alleged that I was against shutting up houses at all, and that it would be very hard to oblige me to be an instrument in that which was against my judgment, and which I did verily believe would not answer the end it was intended for; but all the abatement I could get was only, that whereas the officer was appointed by my Lord Mayor to continue two months, I should be obliged to hold it but three weeks, on condition, nevertheless, that I could then get some other sufficient housekeeper to serve the rest of the time for me, which was, in short, but a very small favour, it being very difficult to get any man to accept of such an employment, that was fit to be entrusted with it.

It is true, that shutting up of houses had one effect, which I am sensible was of moment, namely, it confined the distempered people, who would otherwise have been both very troublesome and very dangerous in their running about streets with the distemper upon them; which, when they were delirious, they would have done in a most frightful manner, as, indeed, they began to do at first very much, until they were restrained; nay, so very open they were, that the poor would go about and beg at people's doors, and say they had the plague upon them, and beg rags for their sores, or both, or anything that delirious nature happened to think of.

A poor unhappy gentlewoman, a substantial citizen's wife, was, if the story be true, murdered by one of these creatures in Aldersgate-street, or that way. He was going along the street, raving mad to be sure, and singing; the people only said he was drunk, but he himself said he had the plague upon him, which it seems, was true; and meeting this gentlewoman, he would kiss her. She was terribly frightened, as he was a rude fellow, and she ran from him; but the street being very thin of people, there was nobody near enough to help her; when she saw he would overtake her, she turned and gave him a thrust, so forcibly, he being but weak, as pushed him down backward; but very unhappily, she being so near, he caught hold of her, and pulled her down also; and getting up first, mastered her, and kissed her; and which was worst of all, when he had done, told her he had the plague, and why should not she have it as well as he? She was frightened enough before, being also young with child; but when she heard him say he had the plague, she screamed out and fell down into a swoon, or in a fit, which, though she recovered a little, yet killed her in a very few days, and I never heard whether she had the plague or no.

Another infected person came and knocked at the door of a citizen's house, where they knew him very well; the servant let him in, and being told the master of the house was above, he ran up, and came into the room to them as the whole family were at supper. They began to rise up a little surprised, not knowing what the matter was; but he bid them sit still, he only came to take his leave of them. They asked him, 'Why, Mr. ——, where are you going?' 'Going,' says he, 'I have got the sickness, and shall die to-morrow night.' It is easy to believe, though not to describe, the consternation they were all in; the women and the man's daughters, which were but little girls, were frighted almost to death, and got up, one running out at one door, and one at another, some down stairs and some upstairs, and getting together as well as they could, locked themselves into their chambers, and screamed out at the windows for help, as if they had been frightened out of their wits. The master, more composed than they, though both frighted and provoked, was going to lay hands on him and throw him down stairs, being in a passion; but then considering a little the condition of the man, and the danger of touching him, horror seized his mind, and he stood still like one astonished. The poor distempered man, all this while, being as well diseased in his brain as in his body, stood still like one amazed; at length he turns round, 'Ay!' says he, with all the seeming calmness imaginable, 'is it so with you all? Are you all disturbed at me? Why, then, I'll e'en go home and die there.' And so he goes immediately down stairs. The servant that had let him in goes down after him with a candle, but was afraid to go past him and open the door, so he stood on the stairs to see what he would do; the man went and opened the door, and went out and flung the door after him. It was some while before the family recovered the fright; but as no ill consequence attended, they have had occasion since to speak of it, you may be sure, with great satisfaction; though the man was gone, it was some time, nay,

as I heard, some days, before they recovered themselves of the hurry they were in; nor did they go up and down the house with any assurance till they had burnt a great variety of fumes and perfumes in all the rooms, and made a great many smokes of pitch, of gunpowder, and of sulphur; all separately shifted, and washed their clothes and the like. As to the poor man, whether he lived or died I do not remember.

It is most certain, that if, by the shutting up of houses, the sick had not been confined, multitudes, who in the height of their fever were delirious and distracted, would have been continually running up and down the streets; and even as it was, a very great number did so, and offered all sorts of violence to those they met, even just as a mad dog runs on and bites at every one he meets; nor can I doubt but that should one of those infected diseased creatures have bitten any man or woman, while the frenzy of the distemper was upon them, they, I mean the person so wounded, would as certainly have been incurably infected, as one that was sick before, and had the tokens upon him.

I heard of one infected creature, who, running out of his bed in his shirt, in the anguish and agony of his swellings, of which he had three upon him, got his shoes on and went to put on his coat; but the nurse resisting and snatching the coat from him, he threw her down, run over her, ran down stairs, and into the street directly to the Thames, in his shirt, the nurse running after him, and calling to the watch to stop him; but the watchman, frightened at the man, and afraid to touch him, let him go on; upon which he ran down to the Still-yard stairs, threw away his shirt, and plunged into the Thames; and, being a good swimmer, swam quite over the river; and the tide being coming in, as they call it, that is, running westward, he reached the land not till he came about the Falcon-stairs, where landing, and finding no people there, it being in the night, he ran about the streets there naked as he was, for a good while, when, it being by that time high water, he takes the river again, and swam back to the Still-yard, landed, ran up the streets to his own house, knocking at the door, went up the stairs, and into his bed again. And that this terrible experiment cured him of the plague, that is to say, that the violent motion of his arms and legs stretched the parts where the swellings he had upon him were (that is to say, under his arms and in his groin), and caused them to ripen and break; and that the cold of the water abated the fever in his blood.

I have only to add, that I do not relate this any more than some of the other, as a fact within my own knowledge, so as that I can vouch the truth of them, and especially that of the man being cured by the extravagant adventure, which I confess I do not think very possible, but it may serve to confirm the many desperate things which the distressed people, falling into deliriums, and what we call light-headedness, were frequently run upon at that time, and how infinitely more such there would have been if such people had not been confined by the shutting up of houses; and this I take to be the best, if not the only good thing, which was performed by that severe method.

On the other hand, the complaints and the murmurings were very bitter against the thing itself.

It would pierce the hearts of all that came by to hear the piteous cries of those infected people, who, being thus out of their understandings by the violence of their pain, or the heat of their blood, were either shut in, or perhaps tied in their beds and chairs, to prevent their doing themselves hurt, and who would make a dreadful outcry at their being confined, and at their being not permitted to die at large, as they called it, and as they would have done before.

This running of distempered people about the streets was very dismal, and the magistrates did their utmost to prevent it; but as it was generally in the night, and always sudden, when such attempts were made, the officers could not be at hand to prevent it; and even when they got out in the day, the officers appointed did not care to meddle with them, because, as they were all grievously infected to be sure when they were come to that height, so they were more than ordinarily infectious, and it was one of the most dangerous things that could be to touch them; on the other hand, they generally ran on, not knowing what they did, till they ran down stark dead, or till they had exhausted their spirits so, as that they would fall and then die in perhaps half an hour or an hour, and which was most piteous to hear, they were sure to come to themselves entirely in that half hour or hour, and then to make most grievous and piercing cries and lamentations, in the deep afflicting sense of the condition they were in. There was much of it before the order for shutting up of houses was strictly put into execution; for, at first, the watchmen were not so rigorous and severe as they were afterwards in the keeping the people in; that is to say, before they were, I mean some of them, severely punished for their neglect, failing in their duty, and letting people who were under their care slip away, or conniving at their going abroad, whether sick or well. But after they saw the officers appointed to examine into their conduct were resolved to have them do their duty, or be punished for the omission, they were more exact, and the people were strictly restrained, which was a thing they took so ill, and bore so impatiently, that their discontents can hardly be described; but there was an absolute necessity for it, that must be confessed, unless some other measures had been timely entered upon, and it was too late for that.

Had not this particular of the sick being restrained as above, been our case at that time, London would have been the most dreadful place that ever was in the world; there would, for aught I know, have as many people died in the streets as died in their houses; for, when the distemper was at its height, it generally made them raving and delirious; and when they were so, they would never be persuaded to keep in their beds but by force; and many who were not tied, threw themselves out of windows, when they found they could not get leave to go out of their doors.

It was for want of people conversing one with another in this time of calamity, that it was impossible any particular person could come at the knowledge of all the extraordinary cases that occurred in different families; and, particularly, I believe it was never known to this day how many people in their deliriums drowned themselves in the Thames, and in the river which runs from the marshes by Hackney, which we generally called Ware river, or Hackney river. As to those which were set down in the weekly bill, they were indeed few, nor could it be known of any of those whether they drowned themselves by accident or not; but I believe I might reckon up more who, within the compass of my knowledge or observation, really drowned themselves in that year, than are put down in the bill of all

put together; for many of the bodies were never found, who yet were known to be lost, and the like in other methods of self-destruction. There was also one man in or about Whitecross-street burnt himself to death in his bed; some said it was done by himself, others that it was by the treachery of the nurse that attended him, but that he had the plague upon him was agreed by all.

It was a merciful disposition of Providence also, and which I have many times thought of at that time, that no fires or no considerable ones, at least, happened in the city during that year, which, if it had been otherwise, would have been very dreadful; and either the people must have let them alone unquenched, or have come together in great crowds and throngs, unconcerned at the danger of the infection, not concerned at the houses they went into, at the goods they handled, or at the persons or the people they came among, but so it was that, excepting that in Cripplegate parish, and two or three little eruptions of fires, which were presently extinguished, there was no disaster of that kind happened in the whole year. They told us a story of a house in a place called Swan-alley, passing from Goswell-street near the end of Old-street into St. John-street, that a family was infected there in so terrible a manner that every one of the house died. The last person lay dead on the floor, and, as it is supposed, had laid herself all along to die just before the fire; the fire, it seems, had fallen from its place, being of wood, and had taken hold of the boards and the joists they lay on, and burnt as far as just to the body, but had not taken hold of the dead body, though she had little more than her shift on, and had gone out of itself, not hurting the rest of the house, though it was a slight timber house. How true this might be I do not determine; but the city being to suffer severely the next year by fire, this year it felt very little of that calamity.

Indeed, considering the deliriums which the agony threw people into, and how I have mentioned in their madness, when they were alone, they did many desperate things, it was very strange there were no more disasters of that kind.

It has been frequently asked me, and I cannot say that I ever knew how to give a direct answer to it, how it came to pass that so many infected people appeared abroad in the streets, at the same time that the houses which were infected were so vigilantly searched, and all of them shut up and guarded as they were.

I confess I know not what answer to give to this, unless it be this, that in so great and populous a city as this is, it was impossible to discover every house that was infected as soon as it was so, or to shut up all the houses that were infected; so that people had the liberty of going about the streets, even where they pleased, unless they were known to belong to such and such infected houses.

It is true, that as the several physicians told my Lord Mayor, the fury of the contagion was such at some particular times, and people sickened so fast, and died so soon, that it was impossible, and, indeed, to no purpose, to go about to inquire who was sick and who was well, or to shut them up with such exactness as the thing required; almost every house in a whole street being infected, and in many places every person in some of the houses; and that which was still worse, by the time that the houses were known to be infected, most of the persons infected would be stone dead, and the rest run away for fear of being shut up, so that it was to very small purpose to call them infected houses and shut them up; the infection having ravaged and taken its leave of the house, before it was really known that the family was any way touched.

This might be sufficient to convince any reasonable person, that as it was not in the power of the magistrates, or of any human methods or policy, to prevent the spreading the infection; so that this way of shutting up of houses was perfectly insufficient for that end. Indeed it seemed to have no manner of public good in it, equal or proportionable to the grievous burthen that it was to the particular families that were so shut up; and as far as I was employed by the public in directing that severity, I frequently found occasion to see that it was incapable of answering the end. For example, as I was desired as a visitor or examiner to inquire into the particulars of several families which were infected, we scarce came to any house where the plague had visibly appeared in the family but that some of the family were fled and gone; the magistrates would resent this, and charge the examiners with being remiss in their examination or inspection; but by that means houses were long infected before it was known. Now, as I was in this dangerous office but half the appointed time, which was two months, it was long enough to inform myself that we were no way capable of coming at the knowledge of the true state of any family, but by inquiring at the door, or of the neighbours. As for going into every house to search, that was a part no authority would offer to impose on the inhabitants, or any citizen would undertake, for it would have been exposing us to certain infection and death, and to the ruin of our own families as well as of ourselves; nor would any citizen of probity, and that could be depended upon, have stayed in the town, if they had been made liable to such a severity.

Seeing, then, that we could come at the certainty of things by no method but that of inquiry of the neighbours or of the family,—and on that we could not justly depend,—it was not possible but that the uncertainty of this matter would remain as above.

It is true, masters of families were bound by the order to give notice to the examiner of the place wherein he lived, within two hours after he should discover it, of any person being sick in his house, that is to say, having signs of the infection; but they found so many ways to evade this, and excuse their negligence, that they seldom gave that notice till they had taken measures to have every one escape out of the house who had a mind to escape, whether they were sick or sound; and while this was so, it was easy to see that the shutting up of houses was no way to be depended upon as a sufficient method for putting a stop to the infection; because, as I have said elsewhere, many of those that so went out of those infected houses had the plague really upon them, though they might really think themselves sound; and some of these were the people that walked the streets till they fell down dead; not that they were suddenly struck with the distemper, as with a bullet that killed with the stroke, but that they really had the infection in their blood long before, only, that as it preyed secretly on their vitals, it appeared not till it seized the heart with a mortal power, and the patient died in a moment, as with a sudden fainting, or an apoplectic fit.

I know that some, even of our physicians, thought for a time that those people that so died in the streets were seized but that moment they fell, as if they had been touched by a stroke from

heaven, as men are killed by a flash of lightning. But they found reason to alter their opinion afterward; for, upon examining the bodies of such after they were dead, they always either had tokens upon them, or other evident proofs of the distemper having been longer upon them than they had otherwise expected.

This often was the reason that, as I have said, we that were examiners were not able to come at the knowledge of the infection being entered into a house till it was too late to shut it up, and sometimes not till the people that were left were all dead. In Petticoat-lane two houses together were infected, and several people sick; but the distemper was so well concealed, the examiner, who was my neighbour, got no knowledge of it till notice was sent him that the people were all dead, and that the carts should call there to fetch them away. The two heads of the families concerted their measures, and so ordered their matters, as that when the examiner was in the neighbourhood, they appeared generally at a time, and answered, that is, lied for one another, or got some of the neighbourhood to say they were all in health, and perhaps knew no better, till death making it impossible to keep it any longer as a secret, the dead-carts were called in the night to both the houses, and so it became public; but when the examiner ordered the constable to shut up the houses, there was nobody left in them but three people, two in one house, and one in the other, just dying, and a nurse in each house, who acknowledged that they had buried five before, that the houses had been infected nine or ten days, and that for all the rest of the two families, which were many, they were gone, some sick, some well; or whether sick or well, could not be known.

In like manner, at another house in the same lane, a man, having his family infected, but very unwilling to be shut up, when he could conceal it no longer, shut up himself; that is to say, he set the great red cross upon the door, with the words—'LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US;' and so deluded the examiner, who supposed it had been done by the constable, by order of the other examiner, for there were two examiners to every district or precinct. By this means he had free egress and regress into his house again and out of it, as he pleased, notwithstanding it was infected, till at length his stratagem was found out, and then he, with the sound part of his family and servants, made off, and escaped; so they were not shut up at all.

These things made it very hard, if not impossible, as I have said, to prevent the spreading of an infection by the shutting up of houses, unless the people would think the shutting up of their houses no grievance, and be so willing to have it done as that they would give notice duly and faithfully to the magistrates of their being infected, as soon as it was known by themselves: but as that cannot be expected from them, and the examiners cannot be supposed, as above, to go into their houses to visit and search, all the good of shutting up houses will be defeated, and few houses will be shut up in time except those of the poor, who cannot conceal it, and of some people who will be discovered by the terror and consternation which the thing put them into.

I got myself discharged of the dangerous office I was in, as soon as I could get another admitted, whom I had obtained for a little money to accept of it; and so, instead of serving the two months which was directed, I was not above three weeks in it; and a great while too, considering it was in the month of August, at which time the distemper began to rage with great violence at our end of the town.

In the execution of this office, I could not refrain speaking my opinion among my neighbours as to the shutting up the people in their houses, in which we saw most evidently the severities that were used, though grievous in themselves, had also this particular objection against them, namely, that they did not answer the end, as I have said, but that the distempered people went, day by day, about the streets; and it was our united opinion that a method to have removed the sound from the sick, in case of a particular house being visited, would have been much more reasonable, on many accounts, leaving nobody with the sick persons but such as should, on such occasions, request to stay, and declare themselves content to be shut up with them.

Our scheme for removing those that were sound from those that were sick, was only in such houses as were infected, and confining the sick was no confinement; those that could not stir would not complain while they were in their senses, and while they had the power of judging. Indeed, when they came to be delirious and light-headed, then they would cry out of the cruelty of being confined; but, for the removal of those that were well, we thought it highly reasonable and just, for their own sakes, they should be removed from the sick, and that for other people's safety they should keep retired for a while, to see that they were sound and might not infect others; and we thought twenty or thirty days enough for this.

Now, certainly, if houses had been provided on purpose for those that were sound to perform this demi-quarantine in, they would have much less reason to think themselves injured in such a restraint, than in being confined with infected people in the houses where they lived.

It is here, however, to be observed, that after the funerals became so many that people could not toll the bell, mourn, or weep, or wear black for one another, as they did before; no, nor so much as make coffins for those that died; so, after a while, the fury of the infection appeared to be so increased that, in short, they shut up no houses at all; it seemed enough that all the remedies of that kind had been used till they were found fruitless, and that the plague spread itself with an irresistible fury; so that, as the fire the succeeding year spread itself and burnt with such violence, that the citizens, in despair, gave over their endeavours to extinguish it, so in the plague, it came at last to such violence, that the people sat still looking at one another, and seemed quite abandoned to despair. Whole streets seemed to be desolated, and not to be shut up only, but to be emptied of their inhabitants; doors were left open, windows stood shattering with the wind, in empty houses, for want of people to shut them; in a word, people began to give up themselves to their fears, and to think that all regulations and methods were in vain, and that there was nothing to be hoped for but an universal desolation; and it was even in the height of this general despair that it pleased God to stay his hand, and to slacken the fury of the contagion, in such a manner as was even surprising, like its beginning, and demonstrated it to be his own particular hand; and that above, if not without the agency of means, as I shall take notice of in its proper place.

But I must still speak of the plague, as in its height, raging even to desolation, and the people under the most dreadful consternation, even, as I have said, to despair. It is hardly credible to what excesses the passions of men carried them

in this extremity of the distemper; and this part, I think, was as moving as the rest. What could affect a man in his full power of reflection, and what could make deeper impressions on the soul, than to see a man, almost naked, and got out of his house, or perhaps out of his bed into the street, come out of Harrow-alley (a populous conjunction or collection of alleys, courts, and passages, in the Butcher-row in Whitechapel)—I say, what could be more affecting, than to see this poor man come out into the open street, run, dancing and singing, and making a thousand antic gestures, with five or six women and children running after him, crying and calling upon him, for the Lord's sake, to come back, and entreating the help of others to bring him back, but all in vain, nobody daring to lay a hand upon him, or to come near him?

This was a most grievous and afflicting thing to me, who saw it all from my own windows; for all this while the poor afflicted man was, as I observed it, even then in the utmost agony of pain, having, as they said, two swellings upon him, which could not be brought to break or to suppurate; but, by laying strong caustics on them, the surgeons had, it seems, hopes to break them, which caustics were then upon him, burning his flesh as with a hot iron. I cannot say what became of this poor man, but I think he continued roving about in that manner till he fell down and died.

No wonder the aspect of the city itself was frightful: the usual concourse of the people in the streets, and which used to be supplied from our end of the town, was abated; the Exchange was not kept shut indeed, but it was no more frequented; the fires were lost; they had been almost extinguished for some days, by a very smart and hasty rain; but that was not all, some of the physicians insisted that they were not only no benefit, but injurious to the health of the people. This they made a loud clamour about, and complained to the Lord Mayor about it. On the other hand, others of the same faculty, and eminent too, opposed them, and gave their reasons why the fires were and must be useful, to assuage the violence of the distemper. I cannot give a full account of their arguments on both sides, only this I remember, that they cavilled very much with one another. Some were for fires, but that they must be made of wood, and not coal, and of particular sorts of wood too, such as fir, in particular, or cedar, because of the strong effluvia of turpentine; others were for coal and not wood, because of the sulphur and bitumen; and others were neither for one or other. Upon the whole, the Lord Mayor ordered no more fires: and especially on this account, namely, that the plague was so fierce, that they saw evidently it defied all means, and rather seemed to increase than decrease, upon any application to check and abate it; and yet this amazement of the magistrates proceeded rather from want of being able to apply any means successfully, than from any unwillingness, either to expose themselves, or undertake the care and weight of business; for, to do them justice, they neither spared their pains nor their persons. But nothing answered, the infection raged, and the people were now terrified to the last degree; so that, as I may say, they gave themselves up, and as I mentioned above, abandoned themselves to their despair.

But let me observe here, that when I say the people abandoned themselves to despair, I do not mean to what men call a religious despair, or a despair of their eternal *state*; but I mean a despair of their being able to escape the infection, or to outlive the plague, which they saw was so raging and so irresistible in its force, that indeed few people that were touched with it in its height, about August and September, escaped; and, which is very particular, contrary to its ordinary operation in June and July, and the beginning of August, when, as I have observed, many were infected, and continued so many days, and then went off, after having had the poison in their blood a long time; but now, on the contrary, most of the people who were taken during the last two weeks in August, and in the first three weeks in September, generally died in two or three days at the farthest, and many the very same day they were taken. Whether the dog-days, as our astrologers pretended to express themselves, the influence of the dog-star had that malignant effect, or all those who had the seeds of infection before in them, brought it up to a maturity at that time altogether, I know not; but this was the time when it was reported that above 3000 people died in one night; and they that would have us believe they more critically observed it, pretend to say, that they all died within the space of two hours—viz. between the hours of one and three in the morning.

As to the suddenness of people dying at this time, more than before, there were innumerable instances of it, and I could name several in my neighbourhood. One family without the bars, and not far from me, were all seemingly well on the Monday, being ten in family; that evening one maid and one apprentice were taken ill, and died the next morning, when the other apprentice and two children were touched, whereof one died the same evening, and the other two on Wednesday; in a word, by Saturday at noon, the master, mistress, four children, and four servants, were all gone, and the house left entirely empty, except an ancient woman, who came to take charge of the goods for the master of the family's brother, who lived not far off, and who had not been sick.

Many houses were then left desolate, all the people being carried away dead, and especially in an alley farther on the same side beyond the bars, going in at the sign of Moses and Aaron. There were several houses together, which they said had not one person left alive in them; and some that died last in several of those houses, were left a little too long before they were fetched out to be buried; the reason of which was not, as some have written, very untruly, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, but that the mortality was so great in the yard or alley, that there was nobody left to give notice to the buriers or sextons that there were any dead bodies there to be buried. It was said, how true I know not, that some of those bodies were so corrupted and so rotten, that it was with difficulty they were carried; and, as the carts could not come any nearer than to the alley-gate in the High Street, it was so much the more difficult to bring them along; but I am not certain how many bodies were then left. I am sure that ordinarily it was not so.

As I have mentioned how the people were brought into a condition to despair of life, and abandoned themselves, so this very thing had a strange effect among us for three or four weeks, that is, it made them bold and venturous, they were no more shy of one another, or restrained within doors, but went anywhere and everywhere, and began to converse. One would say to another, 'I do not ask you how you are, or say how I am; it is certain we shall all go, so 'tis

no matter who is sick or who is sound;' and so they ran desperately into any place or company.

As it brought the people into public company, so it was surprising how it brought them to crowd into the churches; they inquired no more into who they sat near to, or far from, what offensive smells they met with, or what condition the people seemed to be in, but looking upon themselves all as so many dead corpses, they came to the churches without the least caution, and crowded together as if their lives were of no consequence compared to the work which they came about there; indeed, the zeal which they showed in coming, and the earnestness and affection they showed in their attention to what they heard, made it manifest what a value people would all put upon the worship of God if they thought every day they attended at the church that it would be their last.

Nor was it without other strange effects, for it took away all manner of prejudice at, or scruple about, the person whom they found in the pulpit when they came to the churches. It cannot be doubted but that many of the ministers of the parish churches were cut off among others in so common and dreadful a calamity; and others had not courage enough to stand it, but removed into the country as they found means for escape; as then some parish churches were quite vacant and forsaken, the people made no scruple of desiring such dissenters as had been a few years before deprived of their livings, by virtue of an Act of Parliament called the Act of Uniformity, to preach in the churches, nor did the church ministers in that case make any difficulty in accepting their assistance: so that many of those whom they called silent ministers, had their mouths opened on this occasion, and preached publicly to the people.

Here we may observe, and I hope it will not be amiss to take notice of it, that a near view of death would soon reconcile men of good principles one to another, and that it is chiefly owing to our easy situation in life, and our putting these things far from us, that our breaches are fomented, ill-blood continued, prejudices, breach of charity and of Christian union so much kept and so far carried on among us as it is. Another plague year would reconcile all these differences; a close conversing with death, or with diseases that threaten death, would scum off the gall from our tempers, remove the animosities among us, and bring us to see with differing eyes than those which we looked on things with before. As the people who had been used to join with the church were reconciled at this time with the admitting the dissenters to preach to them; so the dissenters, who, with an uncommon prejudice, had broken off from the communion of the Church of England, were now content to come to their parish churches, and to conform to the worship which they did not approve of before; but as the terror of the infection abated, those things all returned again to their less desirable channel, and to the course they were in before.

I mention this but historically, I have no mind to enter into arguments to move either or both sides to a more charitable compliance one with another; I do not see that it is probable such a discourse would be either suitable or successful, the breaches seem rather to widen, and tend to a widening further than to closing; and who am I, that I should think myself able to influence either one side or other? But this I may repeat again, that it is evident death will reconcile us *all*: on the other side the grave we shall be all *brethren* again; in heaven, whither I hope we may come from all parties and persuasions, we shall find neither prejudice nor scruple; there we shall be of one principle and of one opinion. Why we cannot be content to go hand in hand to the place where we shall join heart and hand without the least hesitation, and with the most complete harmony and affection; I say, why we cannot do so here I can say nothing to, neither shall I say anything more of it, but that it remains to be lamented.

I could dwell a great while upon the calamities of this dreadful time, and go on to describe the objects that appeared among us every day, the dreadful extravagances which the distraction of sick people drove them into; how the streets began now to be fuller of frightful objects, and families to be made even a terror to themselves; but after I have told you, as I have above, that one man being tied in his bed, and finding no other way to deliver himself, set the bed on fire with his candle, which unhappily stood within his reach, and burnt himself in bed; and how another, by the insufferable torment he bore, danced and sung naked in the streets, not knowing one ecstasy from another; I say, after I have mentioned these things, what can be added more? What can be said to represent the misery of these times more lively to the reader, or to give him a perfect idea of a more complicated distress?

I must acknowledge that this time was so terrible that I was sometimes at the end of all my resolutions, and that I had not the courage that I had at the beginning. As the extremity brought other people abroad, it drove me home, and, except having made my voyage down to Blackwall and Greenwich, as I have related, which was an excursion, I kept afterwards very much within doors, as I had for about a fortnight before. I have said already, that I repented several times that I had ventured to stay in town, and had not gone away with my brother and his family; but it was too late for that now; and after I had retreated and stayed within doors a good while before my impatience led me abroad, then they called me, as I have said, to an ugly and dangerous office, which brought me out again; but as that was expired, while the height of the distemper lasted, I retired again, and continued close ten or twelve days more, during which many dismal spectacles represented themselves in my view, out of my own windows, and in our own street, as that particularly from Harrow-alley, of the poor outrageous creature who danced and sung in his agony; and many others there were. Scarce a day or a night passed over but some dismal thing or other happened at the end of that Harrow-alley, which was a place full of poor people, most of them belonging to the butchers, or to employments depending upon the butchery.

Sometimes heaps and throngs of people would burst out of the alley, most of them women, making a dreadful clamour, mixed or compounded of screeches, cryings, and calling one another, that we could not conceive what to make of it; almost all the dead part of the night the dead cart stood at the end of that alley, for if it went in, it could not well turn again, and could go in but a little way. There, I say, it stood to receive dead bodies; and, as the churchyard was but a little way off, if it went away full, it would soon be back again. It is impossible to describe the most horrible cries and noise the poor people would make at their bringing the dead bodies of their children and friends out to the cart; and, by the number, one would have thought there had been none left behind, or that there were

people enough for a small city living in those places. Several times they cried murder, sometimes fire; but it was easy to perceive that it was all distraction, and the complaints of distressed and distempered people.

I believe it was everywhere thus at that time, for the plague raged for six or seven weeks beyond all that I have expressed, and came even to such a height that, in the extremity, they began to break into that excellent order, of which I have spoken so much in behalf of the magistrates, namely, that no dead bodies were seen in the streets, or burials in the daytime; for there was a necessity, in this extremity, to bear with its being otherwise for a little while.

One thing I cannot omit here, and, indeed, I thought it was extraordinary, at least it seemed a remarkable hand of divine justice, viz. that all the predictors, astrologers, fortune-tellers, and what they called cunning men, conjurors, and the like, calculators of nativities, and dreamers of dreams, and such people, were gone and vanished, not one of them was to be found. I am verily persuaded, that a great number of them fell in the heat of the calamity, having ventured to stay upon the prospect of getting great estates; and, indeed, their gain was but too great for a time, through the madness and folly of the people; but now they were silent, many of them went to their long home, not able to foretell their own fate, or to calculate their own nativities. Some have been critical enough to say, that every one of them died: I dare not affirm that; but this I must own, that I never heard of one of them that ever appeared after the calamity was over.

But to return to my particular observations, during this dreadful part of the visitation. I am now come, as I have said, to the month of September, which was the most dreadful of its kind, I believe, that ever London saw; for, by all the accounts which I have seen of the preceding visitations which have been in London, nothing has been like it; the number in the weekly bill amounting to almost 40,000 from the 22d of August to the 26th of September, being but five weeks. The particulars of the bills were as follow; viz.:

From August the 22d to the 29th,	7,496
To the 5th of September, .	8,252
To the 12th, ...	7,690
To the 19th, ...	8,297
To the 26th, ...	6,460
	38,195

This was a prodigious number of itself; but if I should add the reasons which I have to believe that this account was deficient, and how deficient it was, you would with me make no scruple to believe, that there died above ten thousand a week for all those weeks, one week with another, and a proportion for several weeks, both before and after. The confusion among the people, especially within the city, at that time, was inexpressible; the terror was so great at last, that the courage of the people appointed to carry away the dead began to fail them; nay, several of them died, although they had the distemper before, and were recovered; and some of them dropped down when they have been carrying the bodies even at the pitside, and just ready to throw them in; and this confusion was greater in the city, because they had flattered themselves with hopes of escaping, and thought the bitterness of death was past. One cart, they told us, going up Shoreditch, was forsaken by the drivers, or being left to one man to drive, he died in the street, and the horses going on, overthrew the cart, and left the bodies, some thrown here, some there, in a dismal manner. Another cart was, it seems, found in the great pit in Finsbury-fields, the driver being dead, or having been gone and abandoned it, and the horses running too near it, the cart fell in and drew the horses in also. It was suggested that the driver was thrown in with it, and that the cart fell upon him, by reason his whip was seen to be in the pit among the bodies; but that, I suppose, could not be certain.

In our parish of Aldgate, the dead carts were several times, as I have heard, found standing at the churchyard gate, full of dead bodies; but neither bellman or driver, or any one else with it. Neither in these, or many other cases, did they know what bodies they had in their cart, for sometimes they were let down with ropes out of balconies and out of windows; and sometimes the bearers brought them to the cart, sometimes other people; nor, as the men themselves said, did they trouble themselves to keep any account of the numbers.

The vigilance of the magistrates was now put to the utmost trial; and, it must be confessed, can never be enough acknowledged on this occasion; also, whatever expense or trouble they were at, two things were never neglected in the city or suburbs either:—

First, Provisions were always to be had in full plenty, and the price not much raised neither, hardly worth speaking.

Second, No dead bodies lay unburied or uncovered; and if any one walked from one end of the city to another, no funeral, or sign of it, was to be seen in the day time; except a little, as I have said, in the first three weeks in September.

This last article, perhaps, will hardly be believed, when some accounts which others have published since that shall be seen, wherein they say that the dead lay unburied, which I am sure was utterly false. At least if it had been anywhere so, it must have been in houses where the living were gone from the dead, having found means, as I have observed, to escape, and where no notice was given to the officers. All which amounts to nothing at all in the case in hand; for this I am positive in, having myself been employed a little in the direction of that part of the parish in which I lived, and where as great a desolation was made, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, as was anywhere. I say, I am sure that there were no dead bodies remained unburied; that is to say, none that the proper officers knew of, none for want of people to carry them off, and buriers to put them into the ground and cover them; and this is sufficient to the argument; for what might lie in houses and holes, as in Moses and Aaron-alley, is nothing, for it is most certain they were buried as soon as they were found. As to the first article, namely, of provisions, the scarcity or dearness, though I have mentioned it before, and shall speak of it again, yet I must observe here—

First, The price of bread in particular was not much raised; for, in the beginning of the year, viz. in the first week in March, the penny wheaten loaf was ten ounces and a half; and in the height of the contagion it was to be had at nine ounces and a half, and never dearer, no not all that season. And about the beginning of November it was sold at ten ounces and a half again, the like of which, I believe, was never heard of in any city, under so dreadful a visitation, before.

Secondly, Neither was there, which I wondered

much at, any want of bakers or ovens kept open to supply the people with bread; but this was indeed alleged by some families, viz. that their maid-servants going to the bakehouses with their dough to be baked, which was then the custom, sometimes came home with the sickness, that is to say, the plague upon them.

In all this dreadful visitation, there were, as I have said before, but two pesthouses made use of, viz. one in the fields beyond Old-street, and one in Westminster; neither was there any compulsion used in carrying people thither. Indeed there was no need of compulsion in the case, for there were thousands of poor distressed people, who, having no help, or conveniences, or supplies, but of charity, would have been very glad to have been carried thither, and been taken care of, which, indeed, was the only thing that, I think, was wanting in the whole public management of the whole city; seeing nobody was here allowed to be brought to the pesthouse, but where money was given, or security for money, either at their introducing, or upon their being cured and sent out; for very many were sent out again whole, and very good physicians were appointed to those places, so that many people did very well there, of which I shall make mention again. The principal sort of people sent thither were, as I have said, servants, who got the distemper by going of errands to fetch necessaries for the families where they lived; and who, in that case, if they came home sick, were removed, to preserve the rest of the house; and they were so well looked after there, in all the time of the visitation, that there was but 159 buried in all at the London pesthouse, and 156 at that of Westminster.

By having more pesthouses, I am far from meaning a forcing all people into such places. Had the shutting up of houses been omitted, and the sick hurried out of their dwellings to pesthouses, as some proposed, it seems, at that time as well as since, it would certainly have been much worse than it was; the very removing the sick would have been a spreading of the infection, and the rather because that removing could not effectually clear the house, where the sick person was, of the distemper; and the rest of the family being then left at liberty, would certainly spread it among others.

The methods also in private families, which would have been universally used to have concealed the distemper, and to have concealed the persons being sick, would have been such that the distemper would sometimes have seized a whole family before any visitors or examiners could have known of it. On the other hand, the prodigious numbers which would have been sick at a time would have exceeded all the capacity of public pesthouses to receive them, or of public officers to discover and remove them.

This was well considered in those days, and I have heard them talk of it often. The magistrates had enough to do to bring people to submit to having their houses shut up, and many ways they deceived the watchmen and got out, as I observed; but that difficulty made it apparent that they would have found it impracticable to have gone the other way to work; for they could never have forced the sick people out of their beds, and out of their dwellings. It must not have been my Lord Mayor's officers, but an army of officers, that must have attempted it; and the people, on the other hand, would have been enraged and desperate, and would have killed those that should have offered to have meddled with them, or with their children and relations, whatever had befallen them for it; so that they would have made the people, who, as it was, were in the most terrible distraction imaginable: I say, they would have made them stark mad! Whereas the magistrates found it proper on several occasions to treat them with lenity and compassion, and not with violence and terror, such as dragging the sick out of their houses, or obliging them to remove themselves, would have been.

This leads me again to mention the time when the plague first began, that is to say, when it became certain that it would spread over the whole town, when, as I have said, the better sort of people first took the alarm, and began to hurry themselves out of town; it was true, as I observed in its place, that the throng was so great, and the coaches, horses, waggons, and carts were so many, driving and dragging the people away, that it looked as if all the city was running away; and had any regulations been published that had been terrifying at that time, especially such as would pretend to dispose of the people otherwise than they would dispose of themselves, it would have put both the city and suburbs into the utmost confusion.

But the magistrates wisely caused the people to be encouraged, made very good bye-laws for the regulating the citizens, keeping good order in the streets, and making everything as eligible as possible to all sorts of people.

In the first place, the Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, the court of aldermen, and a certain number of the common-councilmen, or their deputies, came to a resolution, and published it, viz. that they would not quit the city themselves, but that they would be always at hand for the preserving good order in every place, and for doing justice on all occasions: as also for the distributing the public charity to the poor; and, in a word, for the doing the duty and discharging the trust reposed in them by the citizens, to the utmost of their power.

In pursuance of these orders, the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, &c., held councils every day, more or less, for making such dispositions as they found needful for preserving the civil peace; and though they used the people with all possible gentleness and clemency, yet all manner of presumptuous rogues, such as thieves, housebreakers, plunderers of the dead or of the sick, were duly punished, and several declarations were continually published by the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen against such.

Also, all constables and churchwardens were enjoined to stay in the city upon severe penalties, or to depute such able and sufficient housekeepers as the deputy-aldermen or common-councilmen of the precinct should approve, and for whom they should give security; and also security in case of mortality, that they would forthwith constitute other constables in their stead.

These things re-established the minds of the people very much, especially in the first of their fright, when they talked of making so universal a flight, that the city would have been in danger of being entirely deserted of its inhabitants, except the poor, and the country of being plundered and laid waste by the multitude. Nor were the magistrates deficient in performing their part as boldly as they promised it; for my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs were continually in the streets, and at places of the greatest danger; and though they did not care for having too great a resort of people crowding about them, yet, in emergent cases, they never denied the people access to them, and heard with patience all their grievances and complaints; my Lord Mayor had a lower gallery built on purpose in his hall, where he

stood, a little removed from the crowd, when any complaint came to be heard, that he might appear with as much safety as possible.

Likewise, the proper officers, called my Lord Mayor's officers, constantly attended in their turns, as they were in waiting; and if any of them were sick or infected, as some of them were, others were instantly employed to fill up and officiate in their places, till it was known whether the other should live or die.

In like manner the sheriffs and aldermen did, in their several stations and wards, where they were placed by office, and the sheriff's officers or serjeants were appointed to receive orders from the respective aldermen in their turn; so that justice was executed in all cases without interruption. In the next place, it was one of their particular cares to see the orders for the freedom of the markets observed; and in this part, either the Lord Mayor, or one or both of the sheriffs, were every market-day on horseback to see their orders executed, and to see that the country people had all possible encouragement and freedom in their coming to the markets, and going back again; and that no nuisance or frightful object should be seen in the streets to terrify them, or make them unwilling to come. Also, the bakers were taken under particular order, and the master of the Bakers' Company was, with his court of assistants, directed to see the order of my Lord Mayor for their regulation put in execution, and the due assize of bread, which was weekly appointed by my Lord Mayor, observed; and all the bakers were obliged to keep their ovens going constantly, on pain of losing the privileges of a freeman of the city of London.

By this means bread was always to be had in plenty, and as cheap as usual, as I said above; and provisions were never wanting in the markets, even to such a degree that I often wondered at it, and reproached myself with being so timorous and cautious in stirring abroad, when the country people came freely and boldly to market, as if there had been no manner of infection in the city, or danger of catching it.

It was, indeed, one admirable piece of conduct in the said magistrates, that the streets were kept constantly clear and free from all manner of frightful objects, dead bodies, or any such things as were indecent or unpleasant; unless where anybody fell down suddenly, or died in the streets, as I have said above, and these were generally covered with some cloth or blanket, or removed into the next churchyard till night. All the needful works that carried terror with them, that were both dismal and dangerous, were done in the night; if any diseased bodies were removed, or dead bodies buried, or infected clothes burnt, it was done in the night; and all the bodies which were thrown into the great pits in the several churchyards or burying-grounds, as has been observed, were so removed in the night; and everything was covered and closed before day. So that in the daytime there was not the least signal of the calamity to be seen or heard of, except what was to be observed from the emptiness of the streets, and sometimes from the passionate outcries and lamentations of the people out at their windows, and from the numbers of houses and shops shut up.

Nor was the silence and emptiness of the streets so much in the city as in the out-parts; except just at one particular time, when, as I have mentioned, the plague came east, and spread over all the city. It was indeed a merciful disposition of God, that as the plague began at one end of the town first, as has been observed at large, so it proceeded progressively to other parts, and did not come on this way, or eastward, till it had spent its fury in the west part of the town; and so as it came on one way, it abated another; for example:—

It began at St. Giles's and the Westminster end of the town, and it was in its height in all that part by about the middle of July, viz. in St. Giles's-in-the-fields, St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Clement's Danes, St. Martin's-in-the-fields, and in Westminster. The latter end of July it decreased in those parishes, and coming east, it increased prodigiously in Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre's, St. James's, Clerkenwell, and St. Bride's and Aldersgate. While it was in all these parishes, the city, and all the parishes of the Southwark side of the water, and all Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Wapping, and Ratcliff, were very little touched; so that people went about their business unconcerned, carried on their trades, kept open their shops, and conversed freely with one another in all the city, the east and north-east suburbs, and in Southwark, almost as if the plague had not been among us.

Even when the north and north-west suburbs were fully infected, viz. Cripplegate, Clerkenwell, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch, yet still all the rest were tolerably well; for example:—

From the 25th July to the 1st of August, the bill stood thus of all diseases:—

St. Giles's, Cripplegate,	554
St. Sepulchre's,	250
Clerkenwell,	103
Bishopsgate,	116
Shoreditch,	110
Stepney Parish,	127
Aldgate,	92
Whitechapel,	104
All the 97 Parishes within the walls,	228
All the Parishes in Southwark,	205
	1889

So that, in short, there died more that week in the two parishes of Cripplegate and St. Sepulchre's by 48, than all the city, all the east suburbs, and all the Southwark parishes put together. This caused the reputation of the city's health to continue all over England, and especially in the counties and markets adjacent, from whence our supply of provisions chiefly came, even much longer than that health itself continued; for when the people came into the streets from the country by Shoreditch and Bishopsgate, or by Old-street and Smithfield, they would see the out-streets empty, and the houses and shops shut, and the few people that were stirring there walk in the middle of the streets; but when they came within the city, there things looked better, and the markets and shops were open, and the people walking about the streets as usual, though not quite so many; and this continued till the latter end of August and the beginning of September.

But then the case altered quite, the distemper abated in the west and north-west parishes, and the weight of the infection lay on the city and the eastern suburbs, and the Southwark side, and this in a frightful manner.

Then indeed the city began to look dismal, shops to be shut, and the streets desolate; in the High Street, indeed, necessity made people stir abroad on many occasions; and there would be in the middle of the day a pretty many people, but in the mornings and evenings scarce any to be seen even there, no, not in Cornhill and Cheapside.

These observations of mine were abundantly confirmed by the weekly bills of mortality for those weeks, an abstract of which, as they respect the parishes which I have mentioned, and as they make the calculations I speak of very evident, take as follows:—

The weekly bill which makes out this decrease of the burials in the west and north side of the city stands thus:—

St. Giles's, Cripplegate,	456
St. Giles's-in-the-fields,	140
Clerkenwell,	77
St. Sepulchre's,	214
St. Leonard's, Shoreditch,	183
Stepney Parish,	716
Aldgate,	623
Whitechapel,	532
In the 97 Parishes within the walls,	1493
In the 8 Parishes on Southwark side,	1636
	6070

Here is a strange change of things indeed, and a sad change it was, and had it held for two months more than it did, very few people would have been left alive: but then such, I say, was the merciful disposition of God, that when it was thus, the west and north part, which had been so dreadfully visited at first, grew, as you see, much better; and as the people disappeared here, they began to look abroad again there; and the next week or two altered it still more, that is, more to the encouragement of the other part of the town; for example:—

From the 19th of September to the 26th.

St. Giles's, Cripplegate,	277
St. Giles's-in-the-fields,	119
Clerkenwell,	76
St. Sepulchre's,	193
St. Leonard's, Shoreditch,	146
Stepney Parish,	616
Aldgate,	496
Whitechapel,	346
In the 97 Parishes within the walls,	1268
In the 8 Parishes on Southwark side,	1390
	4927

From the 26th of September to the 3d of October.

St. Giles's, Cripplegate,	196
St. Giles's-in-the-fields,	95
Clerkenwell,	48
St. Sepulchre's,	137
St. Leonard's, Shoreditch,	128
Stepney Parish,	674
Aldgate,	372
Whitechapel,	328
In the 97 Parishes within the walls,	1149
In the 8 Parishes on Southwark side,	1201
	4328

And now the misery of the city, and of the said east and south parts, was complete indeed; for, as you see, the weight of the distemper lay upon those parts, that is to say, the city, the eight parishes over the river, with the parishes of Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney. And this was the time that the bills came up to such a monstrous height as that I mentioned before; and that eight or nine, and, as I believe, ten or twelve *thousand* a week died; for it is my settled opinion, *that they* never could come at any just account of the numbers, for the reasons which I have given already.

Nay, one of the most eminent physicians, who has since published in Latin an account of those times, and of his observations, says, that in one week there died twelve thousand people, and that particularly there died four thousand in one night: though I do not remember that there ever was any such particular night so remarkably fatal as that such a number died in it. However, all this confirms what I have said above of the uncertainty of the bills of mortality, &c., of which I shall say more hereafter.

And here let me take leave to enter again, though it may seem a repetition of circumstances, into a description of the miserable condition of the city itself, and of those parts where I lived, at this particular time. The city, and those other parts, notwithstanding the great numbers of people that were gone into the country, was vastly full of people; and perhaps the fuller, because people had, for a long time, a strong belief that the plague would not come into the city, nor into Southwark, no, nor into Wapping or Ratcliff at all; nay, such was the assurance of the people on that head, that many removed from the suburbs on the west and north sides, into those eastern and south sides as for safety, and, as I verily believe, carried the plague amongst them there, perhaps sooner than they would otherwise have had it.

Here, also, I ought to leave a further remark for the use of posterity, concerning the manner of people's infecting one another; namely, that it was not the sick people only from whom the plague was immediately received by others that were sound, but the well. To explain myself; by the sick people, I mean those who were known to be sick, had taken their beds, had been under cure, or had swellings or tumours upon them, and the like; these everybody could beware of, they were either in their beds, or in such condition as could not be concealed.

By the well, I mean such as had received the contagion, and had it really upon them and in their blood, yet did not show the consequences of it in their countenances; nay, even were not sensible of it themselves, as many were not for several days. These breathed death in every place, and upon everybody who came near them; nay, their very clothes retained the infection, their hands would infect the things they touched, especially if they were warm and sweaty, and they were generally apt to sweat too.

Now, it was impossible to know these people, nor did they sometimes, as I have said, know themselves to be infected. These were the people that so often dropped down and fainted in the streets; for oftentimes they would go about the streets to the last, till on a sudden they would sweat, grow faint, sit down at a door, and die. It is true, finding themselves thus, they would struggle hard to get home to their own doors, or, at other times, would be just able to go into their houses, and die instantly; other times they would go about till they had the very tokens come out upon them, and yet not know it, and would die in an hour or two after they came home, but be well as long as they were abroad. These were the dangerous people, these were the people of whom the well people ought to have been afraid; but then, on the other side, it was impossible to know them.

And this is the reason why it is impossible, in a visitation, to prevent the spreading of the plague by the utmost human vigilance, viz. that it is impossible to know the infected people from the

sound; or that the infected people should perfectly know themselves. I knew a man who conversed freely in London all the season of the plague in 1665, and kept about him an antidote or cordial on purpose to take when he thought himself in any danger; and he had such a rule to know, or have warning of the danger by, as indeed I never met with before or since: how far it may be depended on I know not. He had a wound in his leg, and whenever he came among any people that were not sound, and the infection began to affect him, he said he could know it by that signal, viz. that the wound in his leg would smart, and look pale and white; so as soon as ever he felt it smart, it was time for him to withdraw, or to take care of himself, taking his drink, which he always carried about him for that purpose. Now it seems he found his wound would smart many times when he was in company with such who thought themselves to be sound, and who appeared so to one another; but he would presently rise up, and say publicly, 'Friends, here is somebody in the room that has the plague;' and so would immediately break up the company. This was indeed a faithful monitor to all people, that the plague is not to be avoided by those that converse promiscuously in a town infected, and people have it when they know it not, and that they likewise give it to others when they know not that they have it themselves; and in this case shutting up the well or removing the sick will not do it, unless they can go back and shut up all those that the sick had conversed with, even before they knew themselves to be sick, and none knows how far to carry that back, or where to stop; for none knows when, or where, or how they may have received the infection, or from whom.

This I take to be the reason which makes so many people talk of the air being corrupted and infected, and that they need not be cautious of whom they converse with, for that the contagion was in the air. I have seen them in strange agitations and surprises on this account. 'I have never come near any infected body!' says the disturbed person. 'I have conversed with none but sound healthy people, and yet I have gotten the distemper!' 'I am sure I am struck from heaven,' says another, and he falls to the serious part. Again the first goes on exclaiming, 'I have come near no infection, or any infected person; I am sure it is in the air. We draw in death when we breathe, and therefore it is the hand of God: there is no withstanding it.' And this at last made many people, being hardened to the danger, grow less concerned at it, and less cautious towards the latter end of the time, and when it was come to its height, than they were at first; then, with a kind of a Turkish predestinarianism, they would say, if it pleased God to strike them it was all one whether they went abroad or stayed at home, they could not escape it, and therefore they went boldly about, even into infected houses and infected company, visited sick people, and, in short, lay in the beds with their wives or relations when they were infected; and what was the consequence but the same that is the consequence in Turkey, and in those countries where they do those things, namely, that they were infected too, and died by hundreds and thousands.

I would be far from lessening the awe of the judgments of God, and the reverence to his providence, which ought always to be on our minds on such occasions as these; doubtless the visitation itself is a stroke from heaven upon a city, or country, or nation where it falls; a messenger of his vengeance, and a loud call to that nation, or country, or city, to humiliation and repentance, according to that of the prophet Jeremiah, xviii. 7, 8: 'At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom to pluck up, and pull down, and destroy it; if that nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.' Now, to prompt due impressions of the awe of God on the minds of men on such occasions, and not to lessen them, it is that I have left those minutes upon record.

I say, therefore, I reflect upon no man for putting the reason of those things upon the immediate hand of God, and the appointment and direction of his providence; nay, on the contrary, there were many wonderful deliverances of persons from infection, and deliverances of persons when infected, which intimate singular and remarkable providence in the particular instances to which they refer; and I esteem my own deliverance to be one next to miraculous, and do record it with thankfulness.

But when I am speaking of the plague as a distemper arising from natural causes, we must consider it as it was really propagated by natural means; nor is it at all the less a judgment for its being under the conduct of human causes and effects; for as the Divine Power has formed the whole scheme of nature, and maintains nature in its course, so the same Power thinks fit to let his own actings with men, whether of mercy or judgment, to go on in the ordinary course of natural causes, and He is pleased to act by those natural causes as the ordinary means, excepting and reserving to himself, nevertheless, a power to act in a supernatural way when He sees occasion. Now it is evident that, in the case of an infection, there is no apparent extraordinary occasion for supernatural operation, but the ordinary course of things appears sufficiently armed, and made capable of all the effects that heaven usually directs by a contagion. Among these causes and effects, this of the secret conveyance of infection, imperceptible and unavoidable, is more than sufficient to execute the fierceness of divine vengeance, without putting it upon supernaturals and miracles.

The acute, penetrating nature of the disease itself was such, and the infection was received so imperceptibly, that the most exact caution could not secure us while in the place; but I must be allowed to believe (and I have so many examples fresh in my memory to convince me of it, that I think none can resist their evidence); I say, I must be allowed to believe that no one in this whole nation ever received the sickness or infection but who received it in the ordinary way of infection from somebody, or the clothes, or touch, or stench of somebody that was infected before.

The manner of its first coming to London proves this also, viz. by goods brought over from Holland, and brought thither from the Levant; the first breaking of it out in a house in Long-acre, where those goods were carried and first opened; its spreading from that house to other houses by the visible unwary conversing with those who were sick, and the infecting the parish officers who were employed about persons dead, and the like: these are known authorities for this great foundation point, that it went on and proceeded from person to person, and from house to house, and no otherwise. In the first house that was infected there died four persons; a neighbour, hearing the mistress of the first house was sick, went to visit her, and went home

and gave the distemper to her family, and died, and all her household. A minister called to pray with the first sick person in the second house, was said to sicken immediately, and die, with several more in his house. Then the physicians began to consider, for they did not at first dream of a general contagion; but the physicians being sent to inspect the bodies, they assured the people that it was neither more nor less than the plague, with all its terrifying particulars, and that it threatened an universal infection, so many people having already conversed with the sick or distempered, and having, as might be supposed, received infection from them, that it would be impossible to put a stop to it.

Here the opinion of the physicians agreed with my observation afterwards, namely, that the danger was spreading insensibly; for the sick could infect none but those that came within reach of the sick person, but that one man, who may have really received the infection, and knows it not, but goes abroad and about as a sound person, may give the plague to a thousand people, and they to greater numbers in proportion, and neither the person giving the infection, nor the persons receiving it, know anything of it, and perhaps not feel the effects of it for several days after.

For example:—Many persons, in the time of this visitation, never perceived that they were infected till they found, to their unspeakable surprise, the tokens come out upon them, after which they seldom lived six hours; for those spots they called the tokens were really gangrene spots, or mortified flesh, in small knobs as broad as a little silver penny, and hard as a piece of callus or horn; so that when the disease was come up to that length, there was nothing could follow but certain death; and yet, as I said, they knew nothing of their being infected, nor found themselves so much as out of order, till those mortal marks were upon them. But everybody must allow that they were infected in a high degree before, and must have been so some time; and consequently their breath, their sweat, their very clothes were contagious for many days before.

This occasioned a variety of cases, which physicians would have much more opportunity to remember than I; but some came within the compass of my observation or hearing, of which I shall name a few.

A certain citizen, who had lived safe and untouched till the month of September, when the weight of the distemper lay more in the city than it had done before, was mighty cheerful, and something too bold, as I think it was, in his talk of how secure he was, how cautious he had been, and how he had never come near any sick body. Says another citizen, a neighbour of his, to him one day, 'Do not be too confident, Mr.——; it is hard to say who is sick and who is well; for we see men alive and well to outward appearance one hour, and dead the next.' 'That is true,' says the first man, for he was not a man presumptuously secure, but had escaped a long while; and men, as I have said above, especially in the city, began to be over-easy on that score. 'That is true,' says he, 'I do not think myself secure; but I hope I have not been in company with any person that there has been any danger in.' 'No!' says his neighbour, 'was not you at the Bull-head Tavern in Gracechurch-street with Mr. —— the night before last?' 'Yes,' says the first, 'I was; but there was nobody there that we had any reason to think dangerous.' Upon which his neighbour said no more, being unwilling to surprise him; but this made him more inquisitive, and, as his neighbour appeared backward, he was the more impatient; and in a kind of warmth, says he aloud, 'Why, he is not dead, is he?' Upon which his neighbour still was silent, but cast up his eyes, and said something to himself, at which the first citizen turned pale, and said no more but this, 'Then I am a dead man too!' and went home immediately, and sent for a neighbouring apothecary to give him something preventive, for he had not yet found himself ill; but the apothecary opened his breast, fetched a sigh, and said no more but this, 'Look up to God;' and the man died in a few hours.

Now let any man judge, from a case like this, if it is possible for the regulations of magistrates, either by shutting up the sick or removing them, to stop an infection which spreads itself from man to man even while they are perfectly well and insensible of its approach, and may be so for many days.

It may be proper to ask here how long it may be supposed men might have the seeds of the contagion in them before it discovered itself in this fatal manner, and how long they might go about seemingly whole, and yet be contagious to all those that came near them. I believe the most experienced physicians cannot answer this question directly any more than I can; and something an ordinary observer may take notice of, which may pass their observation. The opinion of physicians abroad seems to be, that it may lie dormant in the spirits, or in the blood-vessels, a very considerable time; why else do they exact a quarantine of those who come into their harbours and ports from suspected places? Forty days is, one would think, too long for nature to struggle with such an enemy as this and not conquer it or yield to it; but I could not think by my own observation that they can be infected, so as to be contagious to others, above fifteen or sixteen days at furthest; and on that score it was, that when a house was shut up in the city, and any one had died of the plague, but nobody appeared to be ill in the family for sixteen or eighteen days after, they were not so strict but that they would connive at their going privately abroad; nor would people be much afraid of them afterwards, but rather think they were fortified the better, having not been vulnerable when the enemy was in their house; but we sometimes found it had lain much longer concealed.

Upon the foot of all these observations I must say, that though Providence seemed to direct my conduct to be otherwise, it is my opinion, and I must leave it as a prescription, viz. that the best physic against the plague is to run away from it. I know people encourage themselves by saying, God is able to keep us in the midst of danger, and able to overtake us when we think ourselves out of danger; and this kept thousands in the town, whose carcases went into the great pits by cart-loads; and who, if they had fled from the danger, had, I believe, been safe from the disaster; at least, 'tis probable they had been safe.

And were this very fundamental only duly considered by the people on any future occasion of this or the like nature, I am persuaded it would put them upon quite different measures for managing the people from those that they took in 1665, or than any that have been taken abroad, that I have heard of; in a word, they would consider of separating the people into smaller bodies, and removing them in time further from one another, and not let such a contagion as this, which is indeed chiefly dangerous to collected bodies of people, find a million of people

in a body together, as was very near the case before, and would certainly be the case if it should ever appear again.

The plague, like a great fire, if a few houses only are contiguous where it happens, can only burn a few houses; or if it begins in a single, or, as we call it, a lone house, can only burn that lone house where it begins: but if it begins in a close-built town or city, and gets ahead, there its fury increases, it rages over the whole place, and consumes all it can reach.

I could propose many schemes on the foot of which the government of this city, if ever they should be under the apprehension of such another enemy (God forbid they should), might ease themselves of the greatest part of the dangerous people that belong to them; I mean such as the begging, starving, labouring poor, and among them chiefly those who, in a case of siege, are called the useless mouths; who being then prudently, and to their own advantage, disposed of, and the wealthy inhabitants disposing of themselves, and of their servants and children, the city, and its adjacent parts, would be so effectually evacuated that there would not be above a tenth part of its people left together, for the disease to take hold upon. But suppose them to be a fifth part, and that two hundred and fifty thousand people were left, and if it did seize upon them, they would by their living so much at large be much better prepared to defend themselves against the infection, and be less liable to the effects of it than if the same number of people lived close together in one smaller city, such as Dublin, or Amsterdam, or the like.

It is true hundreds, yea, thousands of families fled away at this last plague; but then of them many fled too late, and not only died in their flight, but carried the distemper with them into the countries where they went, and infected those whom they went among for safety; which confounded the thing, and made that be a propagation of the distemper which was the best means to prevent it; and this too is evident of it, and brings me back to what I only hinted at before, but must speak more fully to here, namely, that men went about apparently well, many days after they had the taint of the disease in their vitals, and after their spirits were so seized as that they could never escape it; and that all the while they did so they were dangerous to others; I say, this proves that so it was; for such people infected the very towns they went through, as well as the families they went among. And it was by that means that almost all the great towns in England had the distemper among them, more or less; and always they would tell you such a Londoner or such a Londoner brought it down.

It must not be omitted, that when I speak of those people who were really thus dangerous, I suppose them to be utterly ignorant of their own condition; for if they really knew their circumstances to be such as indeed they were, they must have been a kind of wilful murderers, if they would have gone abroad among healthy people, and it would have verified indeed the suggestion which I mentioned above, and which I thought seemed untrue, viz. that the infected people were utterly careless as to giving the infection to others, and rather forward to do it than not; and I believe it was partly from this very thing that they raised that suggestion, which I hope was not really true in fact.

I confess no particular case is sufficient to prove a general, but I could name several people within the knowledge of some of their neighbours and families yet living, who showed the contrary to an extreme. One man, the master of a family in my neighbourhood, having had the distemper, he thought he had it given him by a poor workman whom he employed, and whom he went to his house to see, or went for some work that he wanted to have finished; and he had some apprehensions even while he was at the poor workman's door, but did not discover it fully, but the next day it discovered itself, and he was taken very ill; upon which he immediately caused himself to be carried into an outbuilding which he had in his yard, and where there was a chamber over a workhouse, the man being a brazier. Here he lay, and here he died; and would be tended by none of his neighbours, but by a nurse from abroad; and would not suffer his wife, nor children, nor servants, to come up into the room, lest they should be infected, but sent them his blessing and prayers for them by the nurse, who spoke it to them at a distance; and all this for fear of giving them the distemper, and without which, he knew, as they were kept up, they could not have it.

And here I must observe also, that the plague, as I suppose all distempers do, operated in a different manner on differing constitutions. Some were immediately overwhelmed with it, and it came to violent fevers, vomitings, insufferable headaches, pains in the back, and so up to ravings and ragings with those pains; others with swellings and tumours in the neck or groin, or armpits, which, till they could be broke, put them into insufferable agonies and torment; while others, as I have observed, were silently infected, the fever preying upon their spirits insensibly, and they seeing little of it till they fell into swooning, and faintings, and death without pain.

I am not physician enough to enter into the particular reasons and manner of these differing effects of one and the same distemper, and of its differing operation in several bodies; nor is it my business here to record the observations which I really made, because the doctors themselves have done that part much more effectually than I can do, and because my opinion may, in some things, differ from theirs. I am only relating what I know, or have heard, or believe, of the particular cases, and what fell within the compass of my view, and the different nature of the infection as it appeared in the particular cases which I have related; but this may be added, too, that though the former sort of those cases, namely, those openly visited, were the worst for themselves as to pain, I mean those that had such fevers, vomitings, headaches, pains, and swellings, because they died in such a dreadful manner, yet the latter had the worst state of the disease, for in the former they frequently recovered, especially if the swellings broke; but the latter was inevitable death, no cure, no help could be possible, nothing could follow but death; and it was worse also to others, because, as above, it secretly, and unperceived by others or by themselves, communicated death to those they conversed with, the penetrating poison insinuating itself into their blood in a manner which it was impossible to describe, or indeed conceive.

This infecting and being infected, without so much as its being known to either person, is evident from two sorts of cases, which frequently happened at that time; and there is hardly anybody living, who was in London during the infection, but must have known several of the cases of both sorts.

First, Fathers and mothers have gone about as if they had been well, and have believed themselves to be so, till they have insensibly infected

and been the destruction of their whole families, which they would have been far from doing, if they had had the least apprehensions of their being unsound and dangerous themselves. A family, whose story I have heard, was thus infected by the father, and the distemper began to appear upon some of them even before he found it upon himself; but searching more narrowly, it appeared he had been infected some time, and as soon as he found that his family had been poisoned by himself, he went distracted, and would have laid violent hands upon himself, but was kept from that by those who looked to him, and in a few days he died.

Secondly, The other particular is, that many people having been well to the best of their own judgment, or by the best observation which they could make of themselves for several days, and only finding a decay of appetite, or a light sickness upon their stomachs; nay, some whose appetite has been strong, and even craving, and only a light pain in their heads, have sent for physicians to know what ailed them, and have been found, to their great surprise, at the brink of death, the tokens upon them, or the plague grown up to an incurable height.

It was very sad to reflect, how such a person as this last mentioned above, had been a walking destroyer, perhaps for a week or fortnight before that; how he had ruined those that he would have hazarded his life to save; and had been breathing death upon them, even perhaps in his tender kissing and embracings of his own children. Yet thus certainly it was, and often has been, and I could give many particular cases where it has been so. If, then, the blow is thus insensibly striking, if the arrow flies thus unseen and cannot be discovered, to what purpose are all the schemes for shutting up or removing the sick people? Those schemes cannot take place but upon those that appear to be sick, or to be infected; whereas there are among them, at the same time, thousands of people who seem to be well, but are all that while carrying death with them into all companies which they came into.

This frequently puzzled our physicians, and especially the apothecaries and surgeons, who knew not how to discover the sick from the sound. They all allowed that it was really so; that many people had the plague in their very blood, and preying upon their spirits, and were in themselves but walking putrified carcases, whose breath was infectious, and their sweat poison, and yet were as well to look on as other people, and even knew it not themselves; I say, they all allowed that it was really true in fact, but they knew not how to propose a discovery.

My friend Dr. Heath was of opinion, that it might be known by the smell of their breath; but then, as he said, who durst smell to that breath for his information, since, to know it, he must draw the stench of the plague up into his own brain, in order to distinguish the smell? I have heard it was the opinion of others, that it might be distinguished by the party's breathing upon a piece of glass, where the breath condensing, there might living creatures be seen by a microscope, of strange, monstrous, and frightful shapes, such as dragons, snakes, serpents, and devils, horrible to behold: but this I very much question the truth of; and we had no microscopes at that time, as I remember, to make the experiment with.

It was the opinion also of another learned man, that the breath of such a person would poison and instantly kill a bird; not only a small bird, but even a cock or hen; and that if it did not immediately kill the latter, it would cause them to be roupy, as they call it; particularly that if they had laid any eggs at that time, they would be all rotten. But those are opinions which I never found supported by any experiments, or heard of others that had seen it; so I leave them as I find them, only with this remark, namely, that I think the probabilities are very strong for them.

Some have proposed that such persons should breathe hard upon warm water, and that they would leave an unusual scum upon it, or upon several other things; especially such as are of a glutinous substance, and are apt to receive a scum and support it.

But, from the whole, I found that the nature of this contagion was such, that it was impossible to discover it at all, or to prevent it spreading from one to another by any human skill.

There was indeed one difficulty, which I could never thoroughly get over to this time, and which there is but one way of answering that I know of, and that is this, viz. the first person that died of the plague was on December 20th, or thereabouts, 1664, and in or about Long-acre: whence the first person had the infection was generally said to be from a parcel of silks imported from Holland, and first opened in that house.

But after this we heard no more of any person dying of the plague, or of the distemper being in that place, till the 9th of February, which was about seven weeks after, and then one more was buried out of the same house. Then it was hushed, and we were perfectly easy as to the public for a great while; for there were no more entered in the weekly bill to be dead of the plague till the 22d of April, when there were two more buried, not out of the same house, but out of the same street; and, as near as I can remember, it was out of the next house to the first. This was nine weeks asunder, and after this we had no more till a fortnight, and then it broke out in several streets, and spread every way. Now the question seems to lie thus: Where lay the seeds of the infection all this while? how came it to stop so long, and not stop any longer? Either the distemper did not come immediately by contagion from body to body, or if it did, then a body may be capable to continue infected, without the disease discovering itself, many days, nay, weeks together, even not a quarantine of days only, but a soixantine—not only forty days, but sixty days, or longer.

It is true, there was, as I observed at first, and is well known to many yet living, a very cold winter, and a long frost, which continued three months, and this, the doctors say, might check the infection; but then the learned must allow me to say, that if, according to their notion, the disease was, as I may say, only frozen up, it would, like a frozen river, have returned to its usual force and current when it thawed, whereas the principal recess of this infection, which was from February to April, was after the frost was broken, and the weather mild and warm.

But there is another way of solving all this difficulty, which I think my own remembrance of the thing will supply; and that is, the fact is not granted, namely, that there died none in those long intervals, viz. from the 20th of December to the 9th of February, and from thence to the 22d of April. The weekly bills are the only evidence on the other side, and those bills were not of credit enough, at least with me, to support an hypothesis, or determine a question of such importance as this: for it was

our received opinion at that time, and I believe upon very good grounds, that the fraud lay in the parish officers, searchers, and persons appointed to give account of the dead, and what diseases they died of: and as people were very loath at first to have the neighbours believe their houses were infected, so they gave money to procure, or otherwise procured the dead persons to be returned as dying of other distempers; and this I know was practised afterwards in many places, I believe I might say in all places where the distemper came, as it will be seen by the vast increase of the numbers placed in the weekly bills under other articles of diseases during the time of the infection; for example, in the months of July and August, when the plague was coming on to its highest pitch, it was very ordinary to have from a thousand to twelve hundred, nay, to almost fifteen hundred a week, of other distempers; not that the numbers of those distempers were really increased to such a degree; but the great number of families and houses where really the infection was, obtained the favour to have their dead be returned of other distempers, to prevent the shutting up their houses. For example:—

Dead of other diseases besides the Plague.

From the 18th to the 25th July,	942
To the 1st of August, . .	1004
To the 8th, ...	1213
To the 15th, ...	1439
To the 22d, ...	1331
To the 29th, ...	1394
To the 5th of September, . .	1264
To the 12th, ...	1056
To the 19th, ...	1132
To the 26th, ...	927

Now it was not doubted but the greatest part of these, or a great part of them, were dead of the plague, but the officers were prevailed with to return them as above, and the numbers of some particular articles of distempers discovered are as follows:—

From the 1st to 8th Aug.,	to 15th,	to 22d,	to 29th.
Fever, . . 314	353	348	383
Spotted Fever, . 174	190	166	165
Surfeit, . . 85	87	74	99
Teeth, . . 90	113	111	133
663	743	699	780

From Aug. 29th to Sept. 5th,	to 12th,	to 19th,	to 26th.
Fever, . . 364	332	309	268
Spotted Fever, . 157	97	101	65
Surfeit, . . 68	45	49	36
Teeth, . . 138	128	121	112
727	602	580	481

There were several other articles which bore a proportion to these, and which it is easy to perceive were increased on the same account, as aged, consumptions, vomitings, imposthumes, gripes, and the like, many of which were not doubted to be infected people; but as it was of the utmost consequence to families not to be known to be infected, if it was possible to avoid it, so they took all the measures they could to have it not believed; and if any died in their houses, to get them returned to the examiners, and by the searchers, as having died of other distempers.

This, I say, will account for the long interval which, as I have said, was between the dying of the first persons that were returned in the bills to be dead of the plague, and the time when the distemper spread openly, and could not be concealed.

Besides, the weekly bills themselves at that time evidently discover this truth; for while there was no mention of the plague, and no increase after it had been mentioned, yet it was apparent that there was an increase of those distempers which bordered nearest upon it; for example, there were eight, twelve, seventeen of the spotted fever, in a week when there were none or but very few of the plague; whereas before, one, three, or four, were the ordinary weekly numbers of that distemper. Likewise, as I observed before, the burials increased weekly in that particular parish, and the parishes adjacent, more than in any other parish, although there were none set down of the plague; all which tell us that the infection was handed on, and the succession of the distemper really preserved, though it seemed to us at that time to be ceased, and to come again in a manner surprising.

It might be also that the infection might remain in other parts of the same parcel of goods which at first it came in, and which might not be perhaps opened, or at least not fully, or in the clothes of the first infected person; for I cannot think that anybody could be seized with the contagion in a fatal and mortal degree for nine weeks together, and support his state of health so well, as even not to discover it to themselves; yet if it were so, the argument is the stronger in favour of what I am saying, namely, that the infection is retained in bodies apparently well, and conveyed from them to those they converse with, while it is known to neither the one nor the other.

Great were the confusions at that time upon this very account; and when people began to be convinced that the infection was received in this surprising manner from persons apparently well, they began to be exceeding shy and jealous of every one that came near them. Once, on a public day, whether a Sabbath day or not I do not remember, in Aldgate church, in a pew full of people, on a sudden one fancied she smelt an ill smell; immediately she fancies the plague was in the pew, whispers her notion or suspicion to the next, then rises and goes out of the pew; it immediately took with the next, and so with them all, and every one of them and of the two or three adjoining pews, got up and went out of the church, nobody knowing what it was offended them, or from whom.

This immediately filled everybody's mouths with one preparation or other, such as the old women directed, and some perhaps as physicians directed, in order to prevent infection by the breath of others; insomuch that if we came to go into a church, when it was anything full of people, there would be such a mixture of smells at the entrance, that it was much more strong, though perhaps not so wholesome, than if you were going into an apothecary's or druggist's shop. In a word, the whole church was like a smelling bottle; in one corner it was all perfumes; in another, aromatics, balsamics, and a variety of drugs and herbs; in another, salts and spirits, as every one was furnished for their own preservation; yet I have observed that after people were possessed, as I have said, with the belief, or rather assurance, of the infection being thus carried on by persons apparently in health,

the churches and meeting-houses were much thinner of people than at other times, before that they used to be; for this is to be said of the people of London, that during the whole time of the pestilence, the churches or meetings were never wholly shut up, nor did the people decline coming out to the public worship of God except only in some parishes when the violence of the distemper was more particularly in that parish at that time; and even then no longer than it continued to be so.

Indeed nothing was more strange than to see with what courage the people went to the public service of God, even at that time when they were afraid to stir out of their own houses upon any other occasion: this I mean before the time of desperation which I have mentioned already. This was a proof of the exceeding populousness of the city at the time of the infection; for notwithstanding the great numbers that were gone into the country at the first alarm, and that fled out into the forests and woods when they were further terrified with the extraordinary increase of it, when we came to see the crowds and throngs of people which appeared on the Sabbath days at the churches, and especially in those parts of the town where the plague was abated, or where it was not yet come to its height, it was amazing! But of this I shall speak again presently. I return, in the meantime, to the article of infecting one another at first. Before people came to right notions of the infection, and of infecting one another, people were only shy of those that were really sick; a man with a cap upon his head, or with clothes round his neck, which was the case of those that had swellings there, such was indeed frightful. But when we saw a gentleman dressed, with his band on, and his gloves in his hand, his hat upon his head, and his hair combed, of such we had not the least apprehensions, and people conversed a great while freely, especially with their neighbours and such as they knew. But when the physicians assured us that the danger was as well from the sound, that is, the seemingly sound, as the sick, and that those people that thought themselves entirely free, were oftentimes the most fatal; and that it came to be generally understood that people were sensible of it, and of the reason of it; then, I say, they began to be jealous of everybody, and a vast number of people locked themselves up so as not to come abroad into any company at all, nor suffer any that had been abroad in promiscuous company to come into their houses or near them; at least not so near them as to be within the reach of their breath or of any smell from them; and when they were obliged to converse at a distance with strangers, they would always have preservatives in their mouths, and about their clothes, to repel and keep off the infection.

It must be acknowledged that when people began to use these cautions, they were less exposed to danger, and the infection did not break into such houses so furiously as it did into others before, and thousands of families were preserved, speaking with due reserve to the direction of divine providence, by that means.

But it was impossible to beat anything into the heads of the poor: they went on with the usual impetuosity of their tempers, full of outcries and lamentations when taken, but madly careless of themselves, foolhardy and obstinate, while they were well. Where they could get employment, they pushed into any kind of business, the most dangerous and the most liable to infection; and if they were spoken to, their answer would be, 'I must trust in God for that; if I am taken, then I am provided for, and there is an end of me;' and the like. Or thus, 'Why, what must I do? I cannot starve, I had as good have the plague as perish for want; I have no work, what could I do? I must do this or beg.' Suppose it was burying the dead, or attending the sick, or watching infected houses, which were all terrible hazards; but their tale was generally the same. It is true, necessity was a justifiable, warrantable plea, and nothing could be better; but their way of talk was much the same, where the necessities were not the same. This adventurous conduct of the poor was that which brought the plague among them in a most furious manner; and this joined to the distress of their circumstances, when taken, was the reason why they died so by heaps; for I cannot say I could observe one jot of better husbandry among them, I mean the labouring poor, while they were all well and getting money, than there was before, but as lavish, as extravagant, and as thoughtless for to-morrow as ever; so that, when they came to be taken sick, they were immediately in the utmost distress, as well for want as for sickness, as well for lack of food as lack of health.

The misery of the poor I had many occasions to be an eye-witness of, and sometimes also of the charitable assistance that some pious people daily gave to such, sending them relief and supplies both of food, physic, and other help, as they found they wanted; and indeed it is a debt of justice due to the temper of the people of that day to take notice here that not only great sums, very great sums of money, were charitably sent to the Lord Mayor and aldermen for the assistance and support of the poor distempered people, but abundance of private people daily distributed large sums of money for their relief, and sent people about to inquire into the condition of particular distressed and visited families, and relieved them; nay, some pious ladies were transported with zeal in so good a work, and so confident in the protection of Providence in discharge of the great duty of charity, that they went about in person distributing alms to the poor, and even visiting poor families, though sick and infected, in their very houses, appointing nurses to attend those that wanted attending, and ordering apothecaries and surgeons, the first to supply them with drugs or plasters, and such things as they wanted, and the last to lance and dress the swellings and tumours, where such were wanting; giving their blessing to the poor in substantial relief to them, as well as hearty prayers for them.

I will not undertake to say, as some do, that none of those charitable people were suffered to fall under the calamity itself; but this I may say, that I never knew any one of them that miscarried, which I mention for the encouragement of others in case of the like distress; and, doubtless, if they that give to the poor lend to the Lord, and He will repay them, those that hazard their lives to give to the poor, and to comfort and assist the poor in such misery as this, may hope to be protected in the work.

Nor was this charity so extraordinary eminent only in a few; but (for I cannot lightly quit this point) the charity of the rich, as well in the city and suburbs as from the country, was so great, that, in a word, a prodigious number of people, who must otherwise have perished for want as well as sickness, were supported and subsisted by it; and though I could never, nor I believe any one else, come to a full knowledge of what was so contributed, yet I do believe that, as I heard one say that was a critical observer of that part,

there was not only many thousand pounds contributed, but many hundred thousand pounds, to the relief of the poor of this distressed, afflicted city; nay, one man affirmed to me that he could reckon up above one hundred thousand pounds a week, which was distributed by the churchwardens at the several parish vestries, by the Lord Mayor and the aldermen in the several wards and precincts, and by the particular direction of the court and of the justices, respectively, in the parts where they resided, over and above the private charity distributed by pious hands in the manner I speak of, and this continued for many weeks together.

I confess this is a very great sum; but if it be true that there was distributed in the parish of Cripplegate only £17,800 in one week to the relief of the poor, as I heard reported, and which I really believe was true, the other may not be improbable.

It was doubtless to be reckoned among the many signal good providences which attended this great city, and of which there were many other worth recording; I say, this was a very remarkable one, that it pleased God thus to move the hearts of the people in all parts of the kingdom so cheerfully to contribute to the relief and support of the poor at London; the good consequences of which were felt many ways, and particularly in preserving the lives and recovering the health of so many thousands, and keeping so many thousands of families from perishing and starving.

And now I am talking of the merciful disposition of Providence in this time of calamity, I cannot but mention again, though I have spoken several times of it already on other accounts, I mean that of the progression of the distemper; how it began at one end of the town, and proceeded gradually and slowly from one part to another, and like a dark cloud that passes over our heads, which, as it thickens and overcasts the air at one end, clears up at the other end; so, while the plague went on raging from west to east, as it went forwards east it abated in the west, by which means those parts of the town which were not seized, or who were left, and where it had spent its fury, were (as it were) spared to help and assist the other; whereas, had the distemper spread itself over the whole city and suburbs at once, raging in all places alike, as it has done since in some places abroad, the whole body of the people must have been overwhelmed, and there would have died twenty thousand a day, as they say there did at Naples, nor would the people have been able to have helped or assisted one another.

For it must be observed, that where the plague was in its full force, there indeed the people were very miserable, and the consternation was inexpressible. But a little before it reached even to that place, or presently after it was gone, they were quite another sort of people; and I cannot but acknowledge that there was too much of that common temper of mankind to be found among us all at that time, namely, to forget the deliverance when the danger is past; but I shall come to speak of that part again.

It must not be forgot here to take some notice of the state of trade during the time of this common calamity; and this with respect to foreign trade, as also to our home trade.

As to foreign trade, there needs little to be said; the trading nations of Europe were all afraid of us, and no port of France, or Holland, or Spain, or Italy, would admit our ships or correspond with us; indeed we stood on ill terms with the Dutch, and were in a furious war with them, though in a bad condition to fight abroad, who had such dreadful enemies to struggle with at home.

Our merchants were accordingly at a full stop, their ships could go nowhere, that is to say, to no place abroad; their manufactures and merchandise, that is to say of our growth, would not be touched abroad; they were as much afraid of our goods as they were of our people; and, indeed, they had reason, for our woollen manufactures are as retentive of infection as human bodies, and if packed up by persons infected, would receive the infection and be as dangerous to the touch as a man would be that was infected; and therefore when any English vessel arrived in foreign countries, if they did take the goods on shore, they always caused the bales to be opened and aired in places appointed for that purpose. But from London they would not suffer them to come into port, much less to unload their goods upon any terms whatever; and this strictness was especially used with them in Spain and Italy; in Turkey, and the islands of the Arches, indeed, as they are called, as well those belonging to the Turks as to the Venetians, they were not so very rigid: in the first there was no obstruction at all; and ships which were then in the river loading for Italy, that is, for Leghorn and Naples, being denied product, as they call it, went on to Turkey, and were freely admitted to unlade their cargo without any difficulty, only that when they arrived there, some of their cargo was not fit for sale in that country, and other parts of it being consigned to merchants at Leghorn, the captains of the ships had no right nor any orders to dispose of the goods, so that great inconveniences followed to the merchants. But this was nothing but what the necessity of affairs required, and the merchants at Leghorn and Naples having notice given them, sent again from thence to take care of the effects, which were particularly consigned to those ports, and to bring back in other ships such as were improper for the markets at Smyrna and Scanderoon.

The inconveniences in Spain and Portugal were still greater; for they would by no means suffer our ships, especially those from London, to come into any of their ports, much less to unlade. There was a report that one of our ships having by stealth delivered her cargo, among which were some bales of English cloth, cotton, kerseys, and such like goods, the Spaniards caused all the goods to be burnt, and punished the men with death who were concerned in carrying them on shore. This I believe was in part true, though I do not affirm it; but it is not at all unlikely, seeing the danger was really very great, the infection being so violent in London.

I heard likewise that the plague was carried into those countries by some of our ships, and particularly to the port of Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve, belonging to the king of Portugal, and that several persons died of it there, but it was not confirmed.

On the other hand, though the Spaniards and Portuguese were so shy of us, it is most certain that the plague, as has been said, keeping at first much at that end of the town next Westminster, the merchandising part of the town, such as the city and the waterside, was perfectly sound till, at least, the beginning of July; and the ships in the river till the beginning of August; for, to the 1st of July, there had died but seven within the whole city, and but sixty within the liberties, but one in all the parishes of Stepney, Aldgate, and Whitechapel, and but two in all the eight parishes

of Southwark; but it was the same thing abroad, for the bad news was gone over the whole world that the city of London was infected with the plague, and there was no inquiring there how the infection proceeded, or at which part of the town it was begun or was reached to.

Besides, after it began to spread, it increased so fast, and the bills grew so high all on a sudden, that it was to no purpose to lessen the report of it, or endeavour to make the people abroad think it better than it was, the account which the weekly bills gave in was sufficient; and that there died two thousand to three or four thousand a week, was sufficient to alarm the whole trading part of the world, and the following time being so dreadful also in the very city itself, put the whole world, I say, upon their guard against it.

You may be sure, also, that the report of these things lost nothing in the carriage: the plague was itself very terrible, and the distress of the people very great, as you may observe of what I have said; but the rumour was infinitely greater, and it must not be wondered that our friends abroad, as my brother's correspondents in particular were told there, namely, in Portugal and Italy, where he chiefly traded, that in London there died twenty thousand in a week; that the dead bodies lay unburied by heaps; that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, or the sound to look after the sick; that all the kingdom was infected likewise, so that it was an universal malady, such as was never heard of in those parts of the world; and they could hardly believe us when we gave them an account how things really were, and how there was not above one-tenth part of the people dead; that there were five hundred thousand left that lived all the time in the town; that now the people began to walk the streets again, and those who were fled to return; there was no miss of the usual throng of people in the streets, except as every family might miss their relations and neighbours, and the like. I say, they could not believe these things; and if inquiry were now to be made in Naples, or in other cities on the coast of Italy, they would tell you there was a dreadful infection in London so many years ago, in which, as above, there died twenty thousand in a week, &c., just as we have had it reported in London that there was a plague in the city of Naples in the year 1656, in which there died twenty thousand people in a day, of which I have had very good satisfaction that it was utterly false.

But these extravagant reports were very prejudicial to our trade, as well as unjust and injurious in themselves, for it was a long time after the plague was quite over before our trade could recover itself in those parts of the world; and the Flemings and Dutch, but especially the last, made very great advantages of it, having all the market to themselves, and even buying our manufactures in the several parts of England where the plague was not, and carrying them to Holland and Flanders, and from thence transporting them to Spain and to Italy, as if they had been of their own making.

But they were detected sometimes and punished, that is to say, their goods confiscated, and ships also; for if it was true that our manufactures, as well as our people, were infected, and that it was dangerous to touch or to open and receive the smell of them, then those people ran the hazard by that clandestine trade, not only of carrying the contagion into their own country, but also of infecting the nations to whom they traded with those goods; which, considering how many lives might be lost in consequence of such an action, must be a trade that no men of conscience could suffer themselves to be concerned in.

I do not take upon me to say that any harm was done, I mean of that kind, by those people; but I doubt I need not make any such proviso in the case of our own country; for either by our people of London, or by the commerce, which made their conversing with all sorts of people in every county and of every considerable town necessary; I say, by this means the plague was first or last spread all over the kingdom, as well in London as in all the cities and great towns, especially in the trading manufacturing towns and seaports; so that, first or last, all the considerable places in England were visited more or less, and the kingdom of Ireland in some places, but not so universally: how it fared with the people in Scotland I had no opportunity to inquire.

It is to be observed, that while the plague continued so violent in London, the outports, as they are called, enjoyed a very great trade, especially to the adjacent countries, and to our own plantations; for example, the towns of Colchester, Yarmouth, and Hull, on that side of England, exported to Holland and Hamburgh the manufactures of the adjacent counties for several months after the trade with London was, as it were, entirely shut up; likewise the cities of Bristol and Exeter, with the port of Plymouth, had the like advantage to Spain, to the Canaries, to Guinea, and to the West Indies, and particularly to Ireland. But as the plague spread itself every way after it had been in London to such a degree as it was in August and September, so all or most of those cities and towns were infected first or last, and then trade was, as it were, under a general embargo, or at a full stop, as I shall observe farther when I speak of our home trade.

One thing, however, must be observed, that as to ships coming in from abroad, as many you may be sure did, some who were out in all parts of the world a considerable while before, and some who, when they went out, knew nothing of an infection, or, at least, of one so terrible; these came up the river boldly, and delivered their cargoes as they were obliged to do, except just in the two months of August and September, when the weight of the infection lying, as I may say, all below bridge, nobody durst appear in business for a while. But as this continued but for a few weeks, the homeward bound ships, especially such whose cargoes were not liable to spoil, came to an anchor for a time short of the Pool, or fresh water part of the river, even as low as the river Medway, where several of them ran in, and others lay at the Nore, and in the Hope below Gravesend; so that, by the latter end of October, there was a very great fleet of homeward bound ships to come up, such as the like had not been known for many years.

Two particular trades were carried on by water-carriage all the while of the infection, and that with little or no interruption, very much to the advantage and comfort of the poor distressed people of the city, and those were the coasting trade for corn, and the Newcastle trade for coals.

The first of these was particularly carried on by small vessels from the port of Hull, and other places in the Humber, by which great quantities of corn were brought in from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; the other part of this corn trade was from Lynn in Norfolk, from Wells, and

Burnham, and from Yarmouth, all in the same county; and the third branch was from the river Medway, and from Milton, Feversham, Margate, and Sandwich, and all the little places and ports round the coast of Kent and Essex.

There was also a very good trade from the coast of Suffolk with corn, butter, and cheese. These vessels kept a constant course of trade, and, without interruption, came up to that market known still by the name of Bear-key, where they supplied the city plentifully with corn, when land carriage began to fail, and when the people began to be sick of coming from many places in the country.

This also was much of it owing to the prudence and conduct of the Lord Mayor, who took such care to keep the masters and seamen from danger when they came up, causing their corn to be bought off at any time they wanted a market (which, however, was very seldom), and causing the corn-factors immediately to unlade and deliver the vessels laden with corn, that they had very little occasion to come out of their ships or vessels, the money being always carried on board to them, and put into a pail of vinegar before it was carried.

The second trade was that of coals from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, without which the city would have been greatly distressed; for not in the streets only, but in private houses and families, great quantities of coal were then burnt, even all the summer long, and when the weather was hottest, which was done by the advice of the physicians. Some, indeed, opposed it, and insisted that to keep the houses and rooms hot was a means to propagate the distemper, which was a fermentation and heat already in the blood; that it was known to spread and increase in hot weather, and abate in cold; and therefore they alleged that all contagious distempers are the worst for heat, because the contagion was nourished and gained strength in hot weather, and was, as it were, propagated in heat.

Others said, they granted that heat in the climate might propagate infection, as sultry, hot weather fills the air with vermin, and nourishes innumerable numbers and kinds of venomous creatures which breed in our food, in the plants, and even in our bodies, by the very stench of which infection may be propagated; also that heat in the air, or heat of weather, as we ordinarily call it, makes bodies relax and faint, exhausts the spirits, opens the pores, and makes us more apt to receive infection or any evil influence, be it from noxious, pestilential vapours, or any other thing in the air; but that of heat of fire, and especially of coal fires, kept in our houses, or near us, had quite a different operation, the heat being not of the same kind, but quick and fierce, tending not to nourish, but to consume and dissipate all those noxious fumes which the other kind of heat rather exhaled and stagnated than separated, and burnt up; besides, it was alleged that the sulphureous and nitrous particles that are often found to be in the coal, with that bituminous substance which burns, are all assisting to clear and purge the air, and render it wholesome and safe to breathe in, after the noxious particles, as above, are dispersed and burnt up.

The latter opinion prevailed at that time, and, as I must confess, I think, with good reason, and the experience of the citizens confirmed it, many houses which had constant fires kept in the rooms having never been infected at all; and I must join my experience to it, for I found the keeping of good fires kept our rooms sweet and wholesome, and I do verily believe made our whole family so, more than would otherwise have been.

But I return to the coals as a trade. It was with no little difficulty that this trade was kept open, and particularly because, as we were in an open war with the Dutch at that time, the Dutch capers at first took a great many of our collier ships, which made the rest cautious, and made them to stay to come in fleets together; but after some time the capers were either afraid to take them, or their masters, the States, were afraid they should, and forbade them, lest the plague should be among them, which made them fare the better.

For the security of those northern traders, the coal ships were ordered by my Lord Mayor not to come up into the Pool above a certain number at a time, and ordered lighters and other vessels, such as the woodmongers, that is, the wharf-keepers, or coal-sellers furnished, to go down and take out the coals as low as Deptford and Greenwich, and some farther down.

Others delivered great quantities of coals in particular places, where the ships could come to the shore, as at Greenwich, Blackwall, and other places, in vast heaps, as if to be kept for sale, but were then fetched away after the ships which brought them were gone; so that the seamen had no communication with the river men, nor so much as came near one another.

Yet all this caution could not effectually prevent the distemper getting among the colliery, that is to say, among the ships, by which a great many seamen died of it; and that which was still worse was, that they carried it down to Ipswich and Yarmouth, to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and other places on the coast; where, especially at Newcastle and at Sunderland, it carried off a great number of people.

The making so many fires as above did indeed consume an unusual quantity of coals; and that upon one or two stops of the ships coming up, whether by contrary weather or by the interruption of enemies, I do not remember, but the price of coals was exceedingly dear, even as high as £4 a chaldron; but it soon abated when the ships came in; and as afterwards they had a freer passage, the price was very reasonable all the rest of that year.

The public fires which were made on these occasions, as I have calculated it, must necessarily have cost the city about 200 chaldrons of coals a week, if they had continued, which was indeed a very great quantity; but as it was thought necessary, nothing was spared. However, as some of the physicians cried them down, they were not kept a-light above four or five days. The fires were ordered thus:—

One at the Custom-house, one at Billingsgate, one at Queenhithe, and one at the Three Cranes, one in Blackfriars, and one at the gate of Bridewell; one at the corner of Leadenhall-street, and Gracechurch; one at the north, and one at the south gate of the Royal Exchange; one at Guildhall, and one at Blackwell Hall gate; one at the Lord Mayor's door in St. Helens, one at the west entrance into St. Pauls, and one at the entrance into Bow church. I do not remember whether there was any at the city gates; but one at the Bridge foot there was, just by St. Magnus church.

I know some have quarrelled since that at the experiment, and said that there died the more people because of those fires; but I am persuaded those that say so offer no evidence to prove it, neither can I believe it on any account whatsoever.

It remains to give some account of the state of trade at home in England during this dreadful

time; and particularly as it relates to the manufactures and the trade in the city. At the first breaking out of the infection, there was, as it is easy to suppose, a very great fright among the people, and consequently a general stop of trade, except in provisions and necessaries of life; and even in those things, as there was a vast number of people fled, and a very great number always sick, besides the number which died, so there could not be above two-thirds, if above one-half, of the consumption of provisions in the city as used to be.

It pleased God to send a very plentiful year of corn and fruit, and not of hay or grass; by which means bread was cheap by reason of the plenty of corn; flesh was cheap by reason of the scarcity of grass; but butter and cheese were dear for the same reason; and hay in the market, just beyond Whitechapel bars, was sold at £4 per load; but that affected not the poor. There was a most excessive plenty of all sorts of fruit, such as apples, pears, plums, cherries, grapes; and they were the cheaper because of the wants of the people; but this made the poor eat them to excess, and this brought them into fluxes, griping of the guts, surfeits, and the like, which often precipitated them into the plague.

But to come to matters of trade:—First, foreign exportation being stopped, or at least very much interrupted and rendered difficult, a general stop of all those manufactures followed of course which were usually brought for exportation; and though sometimes merchants abroad were importunate for goods, yet little was sent, the passages being so generally stopped that the English ships would not be admitted, as is said already, into their port.

This put a stop to the manufactures that were for exportation in most parts of England, except in some out-ports; and even that was soon stopped, for they all had the plague in their turn. But though this was felt all over England, yet, what was still worse, all intercourse of trade for home consumption of manufactures, especially those which usually circulated through the Londoners' hands, was stopped at once, the trade of the city being stopped.

All kinds of handicrafts in the city, &c., tradesmen and mechanics, were, as I have said before, out of employ, and this occasioned the putting off and dismissing an innumerable number of journeymen and workmen of all sorts, seeing nothing was done relating to such trades but what might be said to be absolutely necessary.

This caused the multitude of single people in London to be unprovided for; as also of families whose living depended upon the labour of the heads of those families: I say, this reduced them to extreme misery; and I must confess, it is for the honour of the city of London, and will be for many ages, as long as this is to be spoken of, that they were able to supply with charitable provision the wants of so many thousands of those as afterwards fell sick, and were distressed, so that it may be safely averred that nobody perished for want, at least that the magistrates had any notice given them of.

This stagnation of our manufacturing trade in the country would have put the people there to much greater difficulties, but that the master workmen, clothiers, and others, to the uttermost of their stocks and strength, kept on making their goods to keep the poor at work, believing that as soon as the sickness should abate, they would have a quick demand in proportion to the decay of their trade at that time; but as none but those masters that were rich could do thus, and that many were poor and not able, the manufacturing trade in England suffered greatly, and the poor were pinched all over England by the calamity of the city of London only.

It is true that the next year made them full amends by another terrible calamity upon the city; so that the city by one calamity impoverished and weakened the country, and by another calamity, even terrible too of its kind, enriched the country, and made them again amends. For an infinite quantity of household stuff, wearing apparel, and other things, besides whole warehouses filled with merchandise and manufactures, such as come from all parts of England, were consumed in the fire of London the next year after this terrible visitation. It is incredible what a trade this made all over the whole kingdom, to make good the want and to supply that loss; so that, in short, all the manufacturing hands in the nation were set on work, and were little enough for several years to supply the market and answer the demands; all foreign markets also were empty of our goods by the stop which had been occasioned by the plague, and before an open trade was allowed again; and the prodigious demand at home falling in joined to make a quick vent for all sorts of goods, so that there never was known such a trade all over England for the time, as was in the first seven years after the plague, and after the fire of London.

It remains now that I should say something of the merciful part of this terrible judgment. The last week in September, the plague being come to its crisis, its fury began to assuage. I remember my friend, Dr. Heath, coming to see me the week before, told me he was sure the violence of it would assuage in a few days; but when I saw the weekly bill of that week, which was the highest of the whole year, being 8297 of all diseases, I upbraided him with it, and asked him what he had made his judgment from. His answer, however, was not so much to seek as I thought it would have been. 'Look you,' says he, 'by the number which are at this time sick and infected there should have been twenty thousand dead the last week instead of eight thousand, if the inveterate mortal contagion had been as it was two weeks ago; for then it ordinarily killed in two or three days, now not under eight or ten, and then not above one in five recovered, whereas, I have observed, that now not above two in five miscarry; and observe it from me, the next bill will decrease, and you will see many more people recover than used to do; for though a vast multitude are now everywhere infected, and as many every day fall sick, yet there will not so many die as there did, for the malignity of the distemper is abated;' adding, that he began now to hope, nay, more than hope, that the infection had passed its crisis and was going off; and accordingly so it was, for the next week being, as I said, the last in September, the bill decreased almost two thousand.

It is true the plague was still at a frightful height, and the next bill was no less than 6460, and the next to that 5720; but still my friend's observation was just, and it did appear the people did recover faster, and more in number than they used to do; and, indeed, if it had not been so, what had been the condition of the city of London? for, according to my friend, there were not fewer than sixty thousand people at that time infected, whereof, as above, 24,427 died, and near 40,000 recovered; whereas had it been as it was before, 50,000 of that number would very probably have died, if not more,

and 50,000 more would have sickened; for, in a word, the whole mass of people began to sicken, and it looked as if none would escape.

But this remark of my friend's appeared more evident in a few weeks more, for the decrease went on, and another week in October it decreased 1849, so that the number dead of the plague was but 2665; and the next week it decreased 1413 more, and yet it was seen plainly that there was abundance of people sick, nay, abundance more than ordinary, and abundance fell sick every day, but, as above, the malignity of the disease abated.

Such is the precipitant disposition of our people,—whether it is so or not all over the world, that is none of my particular business to inquire, but I saw it apparently here,—that as upon the first sight of the infection they shunned one another, and fled from one another's houses, and from the city, with an unaccountable, and, as I thought, unnecessary fright; so now, upon this notion spreading, viz. that the distemper was not so catching as formerly, and that if it was catched, it was not so mortal; and seeing abundance of people who really fell sick recover again daily, they took to such a precipitant courage, and grew so entirely regardless of themselves and of the infection, that they made no more of the plague than of an ordinary fever, nor indeed so much. They not only went boldly into company with those who had tumours and carbuncles upon them that were running, and consequently contagious, but eat and drank with them; nay, into their houses to visit them; and even, as I was told, into their very chambers where they lay sick.

This I could not see rational. My friend Dr. Heath allowed, and it was plain to experience, that the distemper was as catching as ever, and as many fell sick, but only, he alleged, that so many of those that fell sick did not die; but I think that, while many did die, and that at best the distemper itself was very terrible, the sores and swellings very tormenting, and the danger of death not left out of the circumstance of sickness, though not so frequent as before; all those things, together with the exceeding tediousness of the cure, the loathsomeness of the disease, and many other articles, were enough to deter any man living from a dangerous mixture with the sick people, and make them as anxious almost to avoid the infection as before.

Nay, there was another thing which made the mere catching of the distemper frightful, and that was the terrible burning of the caustics which the surgeons laid on the swellings to bring them to break and to run, without which the danger of death was very great even to the last; also the insufferable torment of the swellings, which, though it might not make people raving and distracted as they were before, and as I have given several instances of already, yet they put the patient to inexpressible torment; and those that fell into it, though they did escape with life, yet they made bitter complaints of those that had told them there was no danger, and sadly repented their rashness and folly in venturing to run into the reach of it.

Nor did this unwary conduct of the people end here; for a great many that thus cast off their cautions suffered more deeply still, and though many escaped, yet many died; and at least it had this public mischief attending it, that it made the decrease of burials slower than it would otherwise have been; for as the notion ran like lightning through the city, and the people's heads were possessed with it, even as soon as the first great decrease in the bills appeared, we found that the two next bills did not decrease in proportion; the reason I take to be the people's running so rashly into danger, giving up all their former cautions and care, and all shyness which they used to practise; depending that the sickness would not reach them, or that if it did, they should not die.

The physicians opposed this thoughtless humour of the people with all their might, and gave out printed directions, spreading them all over the city and suburbs, advising the people to continue reserved and to use still the utmost caution in their ordinary conduct, notwithstanding the decrease of the distemper; terrifying them with the danger of bringing a relapse upon the whole city, and telling them how such a relapse might be more fatal and dangerous than the whole visitation that had been already; with many arguments and reasons to explain and prove that part to them, and which are too long to repeat here.

But it was all to no purpose; the audacious creatures were so possessed with the first joy, and so surprised with the satisfaction of seeing a vast decrease in the weekly bills, that they were impenetrable by any new terrors, and would not be persuaded, but that the bitterness of death was passed; and it was to no more purpose to talk to them than to an east wind; but they opened shops, went about streets, did business, and conversed with anybody that came in their way to converse with, whether with business or without; neither inquiring of their health, or so much as being apprehensive of any danger from them, though they knew them not to be sound.

This imprudent rash conduct cost a great many their lives, who had with great care and caution shut themselves up, and kept retired as it were from all mankind, and had by that means, under God's providence, been preserved through all the heat of that infection.

This rash and foolish conduct of the people went so far that the ministers took notice to them of it, and laid before them both the folly and danger of it; and this checked it a little, so that they grew more cautious; but it had another effect which they could not check, for as the first rumour had spread, not over the city only, but into the country, it had the like effect, and the people were so tired with being so long from London, and so eager to come back, that they flocked to town without fear or forecast, and began to show themselves in the streets, as if all the danger was over. It was indeed surprising to see it, for though there died still from a thousand to 1800 a week, yet the people flocked to town as if all had been well.

The consequence of this was that the bills increased again four hundred the very first week in November; and, if I might believe the physicians, there were above three thousand fell sick that week, most of them new-comers too.

One John Cock, a barber in St. Martin's-le-Grand, was an eminent example of this; I mean of the hasty return of the people when the plague was abated. This John Cock had left the town with his whole family, and locked up his house, and was gone into the country as many others did; and finding the plague so decreased in November, that there died but 905 per week of all diseases, he ventured home again; he had in his family ten persons, that is to say, himself and wife, five children, two apprentices, and a maid servant; he had not been returned to his house above a week, and began to open his shop and carry on his trade, but the distemper broke out in

his family, and within about five days they all died, except one; that is to say, himself, his wife, all his five children, and his two apprentices; and only the maid remained alive.

But the mercy of God was greater to the rest than we had reason to expect; for the malignity, as I have said, of the distemper was spent, the contagion was exhausted, and also the wintry weather came on apace, and the air was clear and cold, with some sharp frosts; and this increasing still, most of those that had fallen sick recovered, and the health of the city began to return. There were, indeed, some returns of the distemper, even in the month of December, and the bills increased near a hundred; but it went off again, and so in a short while things began to return to their own channel. And wonderful it was to see how populous the city was again all on a sudden; so that a stranger could not miss the numbers that were lost, neither was there any miss of the inhabitants as to their dwellings: few or no empty houses were to be seen, or if there were some, there was no want of tenants for them.

I wish I could say that, as the city had a new face, so the manners of the people had a new appearance. I doubt not but there were many that retained a sincere sense of their deliverance, and that were heartily thankful to that Sovereign Hand that had protected them in so dangerous a time; it would be very uncharitable to judge otherwise in a city so populous, and where the people were so devout as they were here in the time of the visitation itself; but, except what of this was to be found in particular families and faces, it must be acknowledged that the general practice of the people was just as it was before, and very little difference was to be seen.

Some, indeed, said things were worse, that the morals of the people declined from this very time, that the people, hardened by the danger they had been in, like seamen after a storm is over, were more wicked and more stupid, more bold and hardened in their vices and immoralities than they were before: but I will not carry it so far neither. It would take up a history of no small length to give a particular of all the gradations by which the course of things in this city came to be restored again, and to run in their own channel as they did before.

Some parts of England were now infected as violently as London had been; the cities of Norwich, Peterborough, Lincoln, Colchester, and other places were now visited; and the magistrates of London began to set rules for our conduct as to corresponding with those cities. It is true, we could not pretend to forbid their people coming to London, because it was impossible to know them asunder; so, after many consultations, the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen were obliged to drop it: all they could do was to warn and caution the people not to entertain in their houses, or converse with, any people who they knew came from such infected places.

But they might as well have talked to the air, for the people of London thought themselves so plague-free now that they were past all admonitions; they seemed to depend upon it that the air was restored, and that the air was like a man that had had the small-pox, not capable of being infected again. This revived that notion that the infection was all in the air, that there was no such thing as contagion from the sick people to the sound; and so strongly did this whimsy prevail among people, that they run altogether promiscuously, sick and well; not the Mohammedans who, prepossessed with the principle of predestination, value nothing of contagion, let it be in what it will, could be more obstinate than the people of London; they that were perfectly sound, and came out of the wholesome air, as we call it, into the city, made nothing of going into the same houses and chambers, nay, even into the same beds, with those that had the distemper upon them, and were not recovered.

Some, indeed, paid for their audacious boldness with the price of their lives; an infinite number fell sick; and the physicians had more work than ever, only with this difference, that more of their patients recovered, that is to say, they generally recovered; but certainly there were more people infected and fell sick now, when there did not die above a thousand or twelve hundred a week, than there was when there died five or six thousand a week; so entirely negligent were the people at that time in the great and dangerous case of health and infection, and so ill were they able to take or accept of the advice of those who cautioned them for their good.

The people being thus returned, as it were in general, it was very strange to find that, in their inquiring after their friends, some whole families were so entirely swept away, that there was no remembrance of them left; neither was anybody to be found to possess or show any title to that little they had left; for in such cases, what was to be found was generally embezzled and purloined, some gone one way, some another.

It was said such abandoned effects came to the king as the universal heir; upon which, we are told, and I suppose it was in part true, that the king granted all such as deodands to the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen of London, to be applied to the use of the poor, of whom there were very many. For it is to be observed, that though the occasions of relief and the objects of distress were very many more in the time of the violence of the plague, than now after all was over; yet the distress of the poor was more now, a great deal than it was then, because all the sluices of general charity were shut; people supposed the main occasion to be over, and so stopped their hands; whereas particular objects were still very moving, and the distress of those that were poor was very great indeed.

Though the health of the city was now very much restored, yet foreign trade did not begin to stir, neither would foreigners admit our ships into their ports for a great while: as for the Dutch, the misunderstandings between our court and them had broken out into a war the year before, so that our trade that way was wholly interrupted; but Spain and Portugal, Italy and Barbary, as also Hamburg, and all the ports in the Baltic, these were all shy of us a great while, and would not restore trade with us for many months.

The distemper sweeping away such multitudes, as I have observed, many, if not all, of the outparishes were obliged to make new burying grounds, besides that I have mentioned in Bunhill-fields, some of which were continued, and remain in use to this day; but others were left off, and which, I confess, I mention with some reflection, being converted into other uses, or built upon afterwards, the dead bodies were disturbed, abused, dug up again, some even before the flesh of them was perished from the bones, and removed like dung or rubbish to other places. Some of those which came within the reach of my observations are as follow:—

First. A piece of ground beyond Goswell-street, near Mount-mill, being some of the remains of the old lines or fortifications of the city, where abundance were buried promiscuously

from the parishes of Aldersgate, Clerkenwell, and even out of the city. This ground, as I take it, was since made a physic garden, and after that has been built upon.

Second. A piece of ground just over the Black Ditch, as it was then called, at the end of Holloway-lane, in Shoreditch parish; it has been since made a yard for keeping hogs and for other ordinary uses, but is quite out of use as a burying ground.

Third. The upper end of Hand-alley, in Bishopsgate-street, which was then a green, and was taken in particularly for Bishopsgate parish, though many of the carts out of the city brought their dead thither also, particularly out of the parish of St. Allhallows on the Wall: this place I cannot mention without much regret. It was, as I remember, about two or three years after the plague was ceased that Sir Robert Clayton came to be possessed of the ground. It was reported, how true I know not, that it fell to the king for want of heirs, all those who had any right to it being carried off by the pestilence, and that Sir Robert Clayton obtained a grant of it from King Charles II. But however he came by it, certain it is the ground was let out to build on, or built upon by his order. The first house built upon it was a large fair house, still standing, which faces the street, or way, now called Hand-alley, which, though called an alley, is as wide as a street. The houses in the same row with that house northward are built on the very same ground where the poor people were buried; and the bodies, on opening the ground for the foundations, were dug up, some of them remaining so plain to be seen that the women's skulls were distinguished by their long hair, and of others the flesh was not quite perished; so that the people began to exclaim loudly against it, and some suggested that it might endanger a return of the contagion: after which the bones and bodies, as fast as they came at them, were carried to another part of the same ground, and thrown altogether into a deep pit, dug on purpose, which now is to be known, in that it is not built on, but is a passage to another house at the upper end of Rose-alley, just against the door of a meeting-house, which has been built there many years since; and the ground is palisadoed off from the rest of the passage in a little square; there lie the bones and remains of near two thousand bodies, carried by the dead-carts to their grave in that one year.

Fourth. Besides this, there was a piece of ground in Moorfields, by the going into the street which is now called Old Bethlem, which was enlarged much, though not wholly taken in, on the same occasion.

N.B. The author of this journal lies buried in that very ground, being at his own desire, his sister having been buried there a few years before.

Fifth. Stepney parish, extending itself from the east part of London to the north, even to the very edge of Shoreditch churchyard, had a piece of ground taken in to bury their dead, close to the said churchyard; and which, for that very reason, was left open, and is since, I suppose, taken into the same churchyard; and they had also two other burying places in Spitalfields, one where since a chapel or tabernacle has been built for ease to this great parish, and another in Petticoat-lane.

There were no less than five other grounds made use of for the parish of Stepney at that time; one where now stands the parish church of St. Paul, Shadwell, and the other where now stands the parish church of St. John, Wapping, both which had not the names of parishes at that time, but were belonging to Stepney parish.

I could name many more, but these coming within my particular knowledge, the circumstance I thought made it of use to record them. From the whole, it may be observed that they were obliged in this time of distress to take in new burying grounds in most of the out-parishes for laying the prodigious numbers of people which died in so short a space of time; but why care was not taken to keep those places separate from ordinary uses, that so the bodies might rest undisturbed, that I cannot answer for, and must confess I think it was wrong; who were to blame I know not.

I should have mentioned that the Quakers had at that time also a burying ground set apart to their use, and which they still make use of, and they had also a particular dead-cart to fetch their dead from their houses; and the famous Solomon Eagle, who, as I mentioned before, had predicted the plague as a judgment, and run naked through the streets, telling the people that it was come upon them to punish them for their sins, had his own wife died the very next day of the plague, and was carried, one of the first, in the Quakers' dead-cart to their new burying ground.

I might have thronged this account with many more remarkable things which occurred in the time of the infection, and particularly what passed between the Lord Mayor and the court, which was then at Oxford, and what directions were from time to time received from the government for their conduct on this critical occasion. But really the court concerned themselves so little, and that little they did was of so small import, that I do not see it of much moment to mention any part of it here, except that of appointing a monthly fast in the city, and the sending the royal charity to the relief of the poor, both which I mentioned before.

Great was the reproach thrown upon those physicians who left their patients during the sickness; and now they came to town again, nobody cared to employ them; they were called deserters, and frequently bills were set up on their doors, and written, 'Here is a doctor to be let!' So that several of those physicians were fain for awhile to sit still and look about them, or at least remove their dwellings and set up in new places, and among new acquaintance. The like was the case with the clergy, whom the people were indeed very abusive to, writing verses and scandalous reflections upon them; setting upon the church door, 'Here is a pulpit to be let;' or sometimes, 'To be sold;' which was worse.

It was not the least of our misfortunes that, with our infection, when it ceased, there did not cease the spirit of strife and contention, slander and reproach, which was really the great troubler of the nation's peace before; it was said to be the remains of the old animosities which had so lately involved us all in blood and disorder. But as the late act of indemnity had lain asleep the quarrel itself, so the government had recommended family and personal peace, upon all occasions, to the whole nation.

But it could not be obtained, and particularly after the ceasing of the plague in London, when any one had seen the condition which the people had been in, and how they caressed one another at that time, promised to have more charity for the future, and to raise no more reproaches; I say, any one that had seen them then would have thought they would have come together

with another spirit at last. But, I say, it could not be obtained; the quarrel remained, the Church and the Presbyterians were incompatible. As soon as the plague was removed, the dissenting ousted ministers, who had supplied the pulpits which were deserted by the incumbents, retired; they could expect no other but that they should immediately fall upon them and harass them with their penal laws, accept their preaching while they were sick, and persecute them as soon as they were recovered again; this even we, that were of the Church, thought was hard, and could by no means approve of it.

But it was the government, and we could say nothing to hinder it; we could only say it was not our doing, and we could not answer for it.

On the other hand, the Dissenters reproaching those ministers of the Church with going away and deserting their charge, abandoning the people in their danger, and when they had most need of comfort, and the like. This we could by no means approve; for all men have not the same faith and the same courage, and the Scripture commands us to judge the most favourably, and according to charity.

A plague is a formidable enemy, and is armed with terrors that every man is not sufficiently fortified to resist, or prepared to stand the shock against. It is very certain that a great many of the clergy, who were in circumstances to do it, withdrew, and fled for the safety of their lives; but it is true, also, that a great many of them stayed, and many of them fell in the calamity, and in the discharge of their duty.

It is true some of the dissenting turned-out ministers stayed, and their courage is to be commended and highly valued; but these were not abundance. It cannot be said that they all stayed, and that none retired into the country, any more than it can be said of the Church clergy that they all went away; neither did all those that went away go without substituting curates and others in their places to do the offices needful, and to visit the sick as far as it was practicable; so that, upon the whole, an allowance of charity might have been made on both sides, and we should have considered that such a time as this of 1665 is not to be paralleled in history, and that it is not the stoutest courage that will always support men in such cases. I had not said this, but had rather chosen to record the courage and religious zeal of those of both sides, who did hazard themselves for the service of the poor people in their distress, without remembering that any failed in their duty on either side, but the want of temper among us has made the contrary to this necessary; some that stayed, not only boasting too much of themselves, but reviling those that fled, branding them with cowardice, deserting their flocks, and acting the part of the hireling, and the like. I recommend it to the charity of all good people to look back, and reflect duly upon the terrors of the time, and whoever does so will see that it is not an ordinary strength that could support it; it was not like appearing in the head of an army, or charging a body of horse in the field; but it was charging death itself on his pale horse. To stay was indeed to die, and it could be esteemed nothing less; especially as things appeared at the latter end of August and the beginning of September, and as there was reason to expect them at that time; for no man expected, and I dare say believed that the distemper would take so sudden a turn as it did, and fall immediately 2000 in a week, when there was such a prodigious number of people sick at that time as it was known there was; and then it was that many shifted away that had stayed most of the time before.

Besides, if God gave strength to some more than to others, was it to boast of their ability to abide the stroke, and upbraid those that had not the same gift and support, or ought they not rather to have been humble and thankful, if they were rendered more useful than their brethren?

I think it ought to be recorded to the honour of such men, as well clergy as physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, magistrates, and officers of every kind, as also all useful people, who ventured their lives in discharge of their duty, as most certainly all such as stayed did to the last degree, and several of these kinds did not only venture, but lost their lives on that sad occasion.

I was once making a list of all such, I mean of all those professions and employments who thus died, as I call it, in the way of their duty; but it was impossible for a private man to come at a certainty in the particulars. I only remember that there died sixteen clergymen, two aldermen, five physicians, thirteen surgeons, within the city and liberties, before the beginning of September. But this being, as I said before, the crisis and extremity of the infection, it can be no complete list. As to inferior people, I think there died six-and-forty constables and headboroughs in the two parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel; but I could not carry my list on, for when the violent rage of the distemper, in September, came upon us, it drove us out of all measure. Men did then no more die by tale and by number; they might put out a weekly bill, and call them seven or eight thousand, or what they pleased; it is certain they died by heaps, and were buried by heaps; that is to say, without account. And if I might believe some people, who were more abroad and more conversant with those things than I (though I was public enough for one that had no more business to do than I had); I say, if we may believe them, there was not many less buried those first three weeks in September, than 20,000 per week; however the others aver the truth of it, yet I rather choose to keep to the public account; seven or eight thousand per week is enough to make good all that I have said of the terror of those times; and it is much to the satisfaction of me that write, as well as those that read, to be able to say that everything is set down with moderation, and rather within compass than beyond it.

Upon all these accounts, I say, I could wish, when we were recovered, our conduct had been more distinguished for charity and kindness in remembrance of the past calamity, and not so much in valuing ourselves upon our boldness in staying, as if all men were cowards that fly from the hand of God, or that those who stay do not sometimes owe their courage to their ignorance, and despising the hand of their Maker, which is a criminal kind of desperation, and not a true courage.

I cannot but leave it upon record, that the civil officers, such as constables, headboroughs, Lord Mayor's and sheriff's men, also parish officers, whose business it was to take charge of the poor, did their duties, in general, with as much courage as any, and perhaps with more; because their work was attended with more hazards, and lay more among the poor, who were more subject to be infected, and in the most pitiful plight when they were taken with the infection. But then it must be added too, that a great number of them died; indeed, it was scarcely possible it should be otherwise.

I have not said one word here about the physic or preparations that were ordinarily made use of on this terrible occasion; I mean we that frequently went abroad up and down the streets, as I did; much of this was talked of in the books and bills of our quack doctors, of whom I have said enough already. It may, however, be added, that the College of Physicians were daily publishing several preparations, which they had considered of in the process of their practice; and which, being to be had in print, I avoid repeating them for that reason.

One thing I could not help observing, what befell one of the quacks, who published that he had a most excellent preservative against the plague, which, whoever kept about them, should never be infected, or liable to infection. This man, who, we may reasonably suppose, did not go abroad without some of this excellent preservative in his pocket, yet was taken by the distemper, and carried off in two or three days.

I am not of the number of the physic-haters, or physic-despisers; on the contrary, I have often mentioned the regard I had to the dictates of my particular friend Dr. Heath; but yet I must acknowledge I made use of little or nothing, except, as I have observed, to keep a preparation of strong scent, to have ready in case I met with anything of offensive smells, or went too near any burying place or dead body.

Neither did I do, what I know some did, keep the spirits high and hot with cordials, and wine, and such things, and which, as I observed, one learned physician used himself so much to, as that he could not leave them off when the infection was quite gone, and so became a sot for all his life after.

I remember my friend the doctor used to say, that there was a certain set of drugs and preparations, which were all certainly good and useful in the case of an infection, out of which, or with which, physicians might make an infinite variety of medicines, as the ringers of bells make several hundred different rounds of music, by the changing and order of sound but in six bells; and that all these preparations shall be really very good. 'Therefore,' said he, 'I do not wonder that so vast a throng of medicines is offered in the present calamity; and almost every physician prescribes or prepares a different thing, as his judgment or experience guides him; but,' says my friend, 'let all the prescriptions of all the physicians in London be examined; and it will be found that they are all compounded of the same things, with such variations only as the particular fancy of the doctor leads him to; so that,' says he, 'every man, judging a little of his own constitution and manner of his living, and circumstances of his being infected, may direct his own medicines out of the ordinary drugs and preparations. Only that,' says he, 'some recommend one thing as most sovereign, and some another; some,' says he, 'think that Pill. Ruff., which is called itself the anti-pestilential pill, is the best preparation that can be made; others think that Venice Treacle is sufficient of itself to resist the contagion, and I,' says he, 'think as both these think, viz. that the first is good to take beforehand, to prevent it, and the last, if touched, to expel it.' According to this opinion, I several times took Venice Treacle, and a sound sweat upon it, and thought myself as well fortified against the infection as any one could be fortified by the power of physic.

As for quackery and mountebank, of which the town was so full, I listened to none of them, and observed, often since, with some wonder, that for two years after the plague I scarcely ever heard one of them about the town. Some fancied they were all swept away in the infection to a man, and were for calling it a particular mark of God's vengeance upon them, for leading the poor people into the pit of destruction, merely for the lucre of a little money they got by them. But I cannot go that length neither; that abundance of them died is certain—many of them came within the reach of my own knowledge; but that all of them were swept off, I much question. I believe, rather, they fled into the country, and tried their practices upon the people there, who were in apprehension of the infection before it came among them.

This, however, is certain, not a man of them appeared, for a great while, in or about London. There were, indeed, several doctors, who published bills recommending their several physical preparations for cleansing the body, as they call it, after the plague, and needful, as they said, for such people to take, who had been visited, and had been cured; whereas, I must own, I believe that it was the opinion of the most eminent physicians of that time, that the plague was itself a sufficient purge; and that those who escaped the infection needed no physic to cleanse their bodies of any other things; the running sores, the tumours, &c., which were broken and kept open by the direction of the physicians, having sufficiently cleansed them; and that all other distempers, and causes of distempers, were effectually carried off that way; and as the physicians gave this as their opinion, wherever they came, the quacks got little business.

There were, indeed, several little hurries which happened after the decrease of the plague, and which, whether they were contrived to fright and disorder the people, as some imagined, I cannot say; but sometimes we were told the plague would return by such a time; and the famous Solomon Eagle, the naked Quaker I have mentioned, prophesied evil tidings every day; and several others telling us that London had not been sufficiently scourged, and the sorer and severer strokes were yet behind. Had they stopped there, or had they descended to particulars, and told us that the city should be next year destroyed by fire; then, indeed, when we had seen it come to pass, we should not have been to blame to have paid more than common respect to their prophetic spirits at least, we should have wondered at them, and have been more serious in our inquiries after the meaning of it, and whence they had the foreknowledge; but as they generally told us of a relapse into the plague, we have had no concern since that about them; yet, by those frequent clamours, we were all kept with some kind of apprehensions constantly upon us; and, if any died suddenly, or if the spotted fevers at any time increased, we were presently alarmed; much more if the number of the plague increased; for, to the end of the year there were always between two and three hundred of the plague. On any of these occasions, I say, we were alarmed anew.

Those who remember the city of London before the fire, must remember that there was then no such place as that we now call Newgate Market; but in the middle of the street, which is now called Blow Bladder-street, and which had its name from the butchers, who used to kill and dress their sheep there (and who, it seems, had a custom to blow up their meat with pipes, to make it look thicker and fatter than it was, and were punished there for it by the Lord Mayor), I say, from the end of the street towards Newgate,

there stood two long rows of shambles for the selling meat.

It was in those shambles, that two persons falling down dead as they were buying meat, gave rise to a rumour that the meat was all infected, which, though it might affright the people, and spoiled the market for two or three days, yet it appeared plainly afterwards that there was nothing of truth in the suggestion; but nobody can account for the possession of fear when it takes hold of the mind.

However, it pleased God, by the continuing of the winter weather, so to restore the health of the city, that by February following, we reckoned the distemper quite ceased, and then we were not easily frightened again.

There was still a question among the learned, and at first perplexed the people a little, and that was, in what manner to purge the houses and goods where the plague had been, and how to render them habitable again which had been left empty during the time of the plague. Abundance of perfumes and preparations were prescribed by physicians, some of one kind, some of another; in which the people who listened to them put themselves to a great, and indeed, in my opinion, to an unnecessary expense; and the poorer people, who only set open their windows night and day, burnt brimstone, pitch, and gunpowder, and such things, in their rooms, did as well as the best; nay, the eager people, who, as I said above, came home in haste, and at all hazards, found little or no inconvenience in their houses, nor in their goods, and did little or nothing to them.

However, in general, prudent cautious people did enter into some measures for airing and sweetening their houses, and burnt perfumes, incense, benjamin, resin, and sulphur, in their rooms close shut up, and then let the air carry it all out with a blast of gunpowder; others caused large fires to be made all day and all night, for several days and nights. By the same token that two or three were pleased to set their houses on fire, and so effectually sweetened them by burning them down to the ground; as particularly one at Ratcliff, one in Holborn, and one at Westminster, besides two or three that were set on fire, but the fire was happily got out again before it went far enough to burn down the houses; and one citizen's servant, I think it was in Thames-street, carried so much gunpowder into his master's house, for clearing it of the infection, and managed it so foolishly, that he blew up part of the roof of the house. But the time was not fully come that the city was to be purged with fire, nor was it far off, for within nine months more I saw it all lying in ashes; when, as some of our quaking philosophers pretend, the seeds of the plague were entirely destroyed, and not before; a notion too ridiculous to speak of here, since had the seeds of the plague remained in the houses, not to be destroyed but by fire, how has it been that they have not since broken out? seeing all those buildings in the suburbs and liberties, all in the great parishes of Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Cripplegate, and St. Giles's, where the fire never came, and where the plague raged with the greatest violence, remain still in the same condition they were in before.

But to leave these things just as I found them, it was certain that those people who were more than ordinarily cautious of their health, did take particular directions for what they called seasoning of their houses, and abundance of costly things were consumed on that account, which, I cannot but say, not only seasoned those houses as they desired, but filled the air with very grateful and wholesome smells, which others had the share of the benefit of, as well as those who were at the expenses of them.

Though the poor came to town very precipitantly, as I have said, yet I must say the rich made no such haste. The men of business, indeed, came up, but many of them did not bring their families to town till the spring came on, and that they saw reason to depend upon it the plague would not return.

The court, indeed, came up soon after Christmas; but the nobility and gentry, except such as depended upon, and had employment under the administration, did not come so soon.

I should have taken notice here that, notwithstanding the violence of the plague in London, and other places, yet it was very observable that it was never on board the fleet, and yet for some time, there was a strange press in the river, and even in the streets, for seamen to man the fleet. But it was in the beginning of the year, when the plague was scarce begun, and not at all come down to that part of the city where they usually press for seamen; and though a war with the Dutch was not at all grateful to the people at that time, and the seamen went with a kind of reluctancy into the service, and many complained of being dragged into it by force, yet it proved, in the event, a happy violence to several of them, who had probably perished in the general calamity, and who, after the summer service was over, though they had cause to lament the desolation of their families, who, when they came back, were many of them in their graves, yet they had room to be thankful that they were carried out of the reach of it, though so much against their wills. We, indeed, had a hot war with the Dutch that year, and one very great engagement at sea, in which the Dutch were worsted; but we lost a great many men and some ships. But, as I observed, the plague was not in the fleet, and when they came to lay up the ships in the river, the violent part of it began to abate.

I would be glad if I could close the account of this melancholy year with some particular examples historically, I mean of the thankfulness to God, our Preserver, for our being delivered from this dreadful calamity. Certainly the circumstances of the deliverance, as well as the terrible enemy we were delivered from, called upon the whole nation for it; the circumstances of the deliverance were, indeed, very remarkable, as I have in part mentioned already; and, particularly, the dreadful condition which we were all in, when we were, to the surprise of the whole town, made joyful with the hope of a stop to the infection.

Nothing but the immediate finger of God, nothing but omnipotent power could have done it! The contagion despised all medicine, death raged in every corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all and everything that had a soul. Men everywhere began to despair, every heart failed them for fear; people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls, and the terrors of death sat in the very faces and countenances of the people.

In that very moment, when we might very well say, 'Vain was the help of man;' I say, in that very moment it pleased God, with a most agreeable surprise, to cause the fury of it to abate, even of itself; and the malignity declining, as I have said, though infinite numbers were sick, yet fewer died; and the very first week's bill decreased 1843, a vast number indeed!

It is impossible to express the change that appeared in the very countenances of the people, that Thursday morning, when the weekly bill came out. It might have been perceived in their countenances, that a secret surprise and smile of joy sat on everybody's face; they shook one another by the hands in the streets, who would hardly go on the same side of the way with one another before; where the streets were not too broad, they would open their windows and call from one house to another, and asked how they did, and if they had heard the good news that the plague was abated. Some would return, when they said *good news*, and ask, 'What good news?' And when they answered that the plague was abated, and the bills decreased almost 2000, they would cry out, 'God be praised;' and would weep aloud for joy, telling them they had heard nothing of it; and such was the joy of the people, that it was as it were life to them from the grave. I could almost set down as many extravagant things done in the excess of their joy as of their grief; but that would be to lessen the value of it.

I must confess myself to have been very much dejected just before this happened; for the prodigious numbers that were taken sick the week or two before, besides those that died, was such, and the lamentations were so great everywhere, that a man must have seemed to have acted even against his reason if he had so much as expected to escape; and as there was hardly a house but mine in all my neighbourhood but what was infected, so, had it gone on, it would not have been long that there would have been any more neighbours to be infected: indeed it is hardly credible what dreadful havoc the last three weeks had made; for if I might believe the person whose calculations I always found very well grounded, there were not less than 30,000 people dead, and near 100,000 fallen sick in the three weeks I speak of; for the number that sickened was surprising, indeed it was astonishing, and those whose courage upheld them all the time before, sunk under it now.

In the middle of their distress, when the condition of the city of London was so truly calamitous, just then it pleased God, as it were, by his immediate hand to disarm the enemy; the poison was taken out of the sting; it was wonderful! Even the physicians themselves were surprised at it. Wherever they visited they found their patients better; either they had sweated kindly, or the tumours were broke, or the carbuncles went down, and the inflammations round them changed colour, or the fever was gone, or the violent headache was assuaged, or some good symptom was in the case; so that in a few days everybody was recovering: whole families that were infected and down, that had ministers praying with them, and expected death at every hour, were revived and healed, and none died at all out of them.

Nor was this by any new medicine found out, or new method of cure discovered, or by any experience in the operation which the physicians or surgeons attained to, but it was evidently from the secret invisible hand of Him that had at first sent this disease as a judgment upon us; and let the atheistic part of mankind call my saying what they please, it is no enthusiasm. It was acknowledged at that time by all mankind. The disease was enervated, and its malignity spent, and let it proceed from whencesoever it will, let the philosophers search for reasons in nature to account for it by, and labour as much as they will to lessen the debt they owe to their Maker, those physicians who had the least share of religion in them, were obliged to acknowledge that it was all supernatural, that it was extraordinary, and that no account could be given of it.

If I should say that this is a visible summons to us all to thankfulness, especially we that were under the terror of its increase, perhaps it may be thought by some, after the sense of the thing was over, an officious canting of religious things, preaching a sermon instead of writing a history; making myself a teacher, instead of giving my observations of things; and this restrains me very much from going on here as I might otherwise do; but if ten lepers were healed, and but one returned to give thanks, I desire to be as that one, and to be thankful for myself.

Nor will I deny but there were abundance of people who, to all appearance, were very thankful at that time; for their mouths were stopped, even the mouths of those whose hearts were not extraordinarily long affected with it; but the impression was so strong at that time that it could not be resisted—no, not by the worst of the people.

It was a common thing to meet people in the street that were strangers, and that we knew nothing at all of, expressing their surprise. Going one day through Aldgate, and a pretty many people being passing and repassing, there comes a man out of the end of the Minories, and looking a little up the street and down, he throws his hands abroad, 'Lord, what an alteration is here! Why, last week I came along here, and hardly anybody was to be seen.' Another man, I heard him, adds to his words, 'Tis all wonderful; 'tis all a dream.' 'Blessed be God,' says a third man, 'and let us give thanks to Him, for 'tis all his own doing.' Human help and human skill were at an end. These were all strangers to one another, but such salutations as these were frequent in the street every day; and in spite of a loose behaviour, the very common people went along the streets giving God thanks for their deliverance.

It was now, as I said before, the people had cast off all apprehensions, and that too fast; indeed we were no more afraid now to pass by a man with a white cap upon his head, or with a cloth wrapt round his neck, or with his leg limping, occasioned by the sores in his groin, all which were frightful to the last degree but the week before; but now the street was full of them, and these poor recovering creatures, give them their due, appeared very sensible of their unexpected deliverance; and I should wrong them very much if I should not acknowledge that I believe many of them were really thankful; but I must own, that for the generality of the people it might too justly be said of them, as was said of the children of Israel, after their being delivered from the host of Pharaoh, when they passed the Red Sea, and looked back and saw the Egyptians overwhelmed in the water, viz. that 'They sang his praise, but they soon forgot his works.'

I can go no farther here. I should be counted censorious, and perhaps unjust, if I should enter into the unpleasing work of reflecting, whatever cause there was for it, upon the unthankfulness and return of all manner of wickedness among us, which I was so much an eye-witness of myself. I shall conclude the account of this calamitous year, therefore, with a coarse but sincere stanza of my own, which I placed at the end of my ordinary memorandums the same year they were written:—

> A dreadful plague in London was,
> In the year sixty-five,
> Which swept an hundred thousand souls
> Away—yet I alive!

H. F.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS IS NOBODY'S BUSINESS.

Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business; or, Private Abuses, Public Grievances: Exemplified in the Pride, Insolence, and exorbitant Wages of our Women-Servants, Footmen, &c. With a Proposal for Amendment of the same; as also for clearing the Streets of those Vermin called Shoe-Cleaners, and substituting in their stead many Thousands of industrious Poor, now ready to starve. With divers other Hints of great Use to the Public. Humbly submitted to the Consideration of our Legislature, and the careful Perusal of all Masters and Mistresses of Families. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. The Fifth Edition, with the Addition of a Preface. London: Printed for W. Meadows, in Cornhill. 1725.

[In this short tract Defoe treats more fully some topics which he had handled but slightly in a previous publication on a similar subject. The abuses here referred to must have been extremely prevalent in Defoe's time, and interfered not a little with domestic comfort. The manners of servants appear to have undergone but little alteration since this was written, as many housewives know to their great discomfort; indeed in many respects the tract might not unsuitably have been written by some caustic *censor morum* of this 19th century. It must have commanded an extensive sale, as five editions were published in one year. It affords some interesting glimpses into the manners of the time.]

THE PREFACE.

Since this little book appeared in print, it has had no less than three answers, and fresh attacks are daily expected from the powers of Grub-street; but should threescore antagonists more arise, unless they say more to the purpose than the forementioned, they shall not tempt me to reply.

Nor shall I engage in a paper war, but leave my book to answer for itself, having advanced nothing therein but evident truths, and incontestible matters of fact.

The general objection is against my style; I do not set up for an author, but write only to be understood, no matter how plain.

As my intentions are good, so have they had the good fortune to meet with approbation from the sober and substantial part of mankind; as for the vicious and vagabond, their ill-will is my ambition.

It is with uncommon satisfaction I see the magistracy begin to put the laws against vagabonds in force with the utmost vigour, a great many of those vermin, the japanners, having lately been taken up and sent to the several workhouses in and about this city; and indeed high time, for they grow every day more and more pernicious.

My project for putting watermen under commissioners, will, I hope, be put in practice; for it is scarce safe to go by water unless you know your man.

As for the maid-servants, if I undervalue myself to take notice of them, as they are pleased to say, it is because they overvalue themselves so much they ought to be taken notice of.

This makes the guilty take my subject by the wrong end, but any impartial reader may find I write not against servants, but bad servants; not against wages, but exorbitant wages, and am entirely of the poet's opinion,

The good should meet with favour and applause,
The wicked be restrain'd by wholesome laws.

The reason why I did not publish this book till the end of the last sessions of parliament, was because I did not care to interfere with more momentous affairs, but leave it to the consideration of that august body during this recess, against the next sessions, when I shall exhibit another complaint against a growing abuse, for which I doubt not but to receive their approbation and the thanks of all honest men.

THIS is a proverb so common in everybody's mouth, that I wonder nobody has yet thought it worth while to draw proper inferences from it, and expose those little abuses, which, though they seem trifling, and as it were scarce worth consideration, yet, by insensible degrees, they may become of injurious consequence to the public; like some diseases, whose first symptoms are only trifling disorders, but by continuance and progression, their last periods terminate in the destruction of the whole human fabric.

In contradiction, therefore, to this general rule, and out of sincere love and well meaning to the public, give me leave to enumerate the abuses insensibly crept in among us, and the inconveniences daily arising from the insolence and intrigues of our servant-wenches, who, by their caballing together, have made their party so considerable, that everybody cries out against them; and yet, to verify the proverb, nobody has thought of, or at least proposed a remedy, although such an undertaking, mean as it seems to be, I hope will one day be thought worthy the consideration of our king, lords, and commons.

Women-servants are now so scarce, that from thirty and forty shillings a year, their wages are increased of late to six, seven, nay, eight pounds per annum, and upwards, insomuch that an ordinary tradesman cannot well keep one; but his wife, who might be useful in his shop or business, must do the drudgery of household affairs; and all this because our servant-wenches are so puffed up with pride now-a-days, that they never think they go fine enough. It is a hard matter to know the mistress from the maid by their dress; nay, very often the maid shall be much the finer of the two. Our woollen manufacture suffers much by this, for nothing but silks and satins will go down with our kitchen-wenches; to support which intolerable pride, they have insensibly raised their wages to such a height as was never known in any age or nation but this.

Let us trace this from the beginning, and suppose a person has a servant-maid sent him out of the country, at fifty shillings, or three pounds a year. The girl has scarce been a week, nay, a day in her service, but a committee of servant-wenches are appointed to examine her, who advise her to raise her wages, or give warning; to encourage her to which, the herb-woman, or chandler-woman, or some other old intelligencer, provides her a place of four or five pounds a year; this sets madam cock-a-hoop, and she thinks of nothing now but vails and high wages, and so gives warning from place to place, till she has got her wages up to the tip-top.

Her neat's leathern shoes are now transformed into laced ones with high heels; her yarn stockings are turned into fine woollen ones, with silk clocks; and her high wooden pattens are kicked away for leathern clogs; she must have a hoop too, as well as her mistress; and her poor scanty linsey-woolsey petticoat is changed into a good silk one, for four or five yards wide at the least. Not to carry the description further, in short, plain country Joan is now turned into a fine London madam, can drink tea, take snuff, and carry herself as high as the best.

If she be tolerably handsome, and has any share of cunning, the apprentice or her master's son is enticed away and ruined by her. Thus many good families are impoverished and disgraced by these pert sluts, who, taking the advantage of a young man's simplicity and unruly desires, draw many heedless youths, nay, some of good estates, into their snares; and of this we have but too many instances.

Some more artful shall conceal their condition, and palm themselves off on young fellows for gentlewomen and great fortunes. How many families have been ruined by these ladies? when the father or master of the family, preferring the flirting airs of a young prinked up strumpet, to the artless sincerity of a plain, grave, and good wife, has given his desires aloose, and destroyed soul, body, family, and estate. But they are very favourable if they wheedle nobody into matrimony, but only make a present of a small live creature, no bigger than a bastard, to some of the family, no matter who gets it; when a child is born it must be kept.

Our sessions' papers of late are crowded with instances of servant-maids robbing their places; this can be only attributed to their devilish pride, for their whole inquiry now-a-days is, how little they shall do, how much they shall have.

But all this while they make so little reserve, that if they fall sick, the parish must keep them; if they are out of place, they must prostitute their bodies, or starve; so that from chopping and changing, they generally proceed to whoring

and thieving, and this is the reason why our streets swarm with strumpets.

Thus many of them rove from place to place, from bawdy-house to service, and from service to bawdy-house again, ever unsettled and never easy, nothing being more common than to find these creatures one week in a good family, and the next in a brothel. This amphibious life makes them fit for neither; for if the bawd uses them ill, away they trip to service; and if the mistress gives them a wry word, whip they are at a bawdy-house again, so that in effect they neither make good whores nor good servants.

Those who are not thus slippery in the tail, are light of finger; and of these the most pernicious are those who beggar you inchmeal. If a maid is a downright thief, she strips you at once, and you know your loss; but these retail pilferers waste you insensibly, and though you hardly miss it, yet your substance shall decay to such a degree, that you must have a very good bottom indeed not to feel the ill effects of such moths in your family.

Tea, sugar, wine, &c., or any such trifling commodities, are reckoned no thefts; if they do not directly take your pewter from your shelf, or your linen from your drawers, they are very honest. 'What harm is there,' say they, 'in cribbing a little matter for a junket, a merry bout or so?' Nay, there are those that, when they are sent to market for one joint of meat, shall take up two on their master's account, and leave one by the way, for some of these maids are mighty charitable, and can make a shift to maintain a small family with what they can purloin from their masters and mistresses.

If you send them with ready money, they turn factors, and take threepence or fourpence in the shilling brokerage. And here let me take notice of one very heinous abuse, not to say petty felony, which is practised in most of the great families about town, which is, when the tradesman gives the housekeeper or other commanding servant a penny or twopence in the shilling, or so much in the pound, for everything they send in, and which, from thence, is called poundage.

This, in my opinion, is the greatest of villanies, and ought to incur some punishment, yet nothing is more common, and our topping tradesmen, who seem otherwise to stand mightily on their credit, make this but a matter of course and custom. If I do not, says one, another will (for the servant is sure to pick a hole in the person's coat who shall not pay contribution). Thus this wicked practice is carried on and winked at, while receiving of stolen goods, and confederating with felons, which is not a jot worse, is so openly cried out against, and severely punished; witness Jonathan Wild.

And yet if a master or mistress inquire after anything missing, they must be sure to place their words in due form, or madam huffs and flings about at a strange rate, What, would you make a thief of her? Who would live with such mistrustful folks? Thus you are obliged to hold your tongue, and sit down quietly by your loss, for fear of offending your maid, forsooth!

Again, if your maid shall maintain one, two, or more persons from your table, whether they are her poor relations, countryfolk, servants out of place, shoe-cleaners, charwomen, porters, or any other of her menial servants, who do her ladyship's drudgery and go of her errands, you must not complain at your expense, or ask what has become of such a thing, or such a thing; *although* it might never so reasonably be supposed that it was altogether impossible to have so much expended in your family; but hold your tongue for peace sake, or madam will say, You grudge her victuals; and expose you to the last degree all over the neighbourhood.

Thus have they a salve for every sore, cheat you to your face, and insult you into the bargain; nor can you help yourself without exposing yourself or putting yourself into a passion.

Another great abuse crept in among us, is the giving of vails to servants. This was intended originally as an encouragement to such as were willing and handy; but by custom and corruption it is now grown to be a thorn in our sides, and, like other good things, abused, does more harm than good, for now they make it a perquisite, a material part of their wages; nor must their master give a supper, but the maid expects the guests should pay for it, nay, sometimes through the nose. Thus have they spirited people up to this unnecessary and burthensome piece of generosity unknown to our forefathers, who only gave gifts to servants at Christmas-tide, which custom is yet kept into the bargain; insomuch that a maid shall have eight pounds per annum in a gentleman's or merchant's family. And if her master is a man of free spirit, who receives much company, she very often doubles her wages by her vails; thus having meat, drink, washing, and lodging for her labour, she throws her whole income upon her back, and by this means looks more like the mistress of the family than the servant-wench.

And now we have mentioned washing, I would ask some good housewifely gentlewoman, if servant-maids wearing printed linens, cottons, and other things of that nature, which require frequent washing, do not, by enhancing the article of soap, add more to housekeeping than the generality of people would imagine? And yet these wretches cry out against great washes, when their own unnecessary dabs are very often the occasion.

But the greatest abuse of all is, that these creatures are become their own lawgivers; nay, I think they are ours too, though nobody would imagine that such a set of slatterns should bamboozle a whole nation; but it is neither better nor worse, they hire themselves to you by their own rule.

That is, a month's wages, or a month's warning; if they don't like you, they will go away the next day, help yourself how you can; if you don't like them, you must give them a month's wages to get rid of them.

This custom of warning, as practised by our maid-servants, is now become a great inconvenience to masters and mistresses. You must carry your dish very upright, or miss, forsooth, gives you warning, and you are either left destitute, or to seek for a servant; so that, generally speaking, you are seldom or never fixed, but always at the mercy of every new-comer to divulge your family affairs, to inspect your private life, and treasure up the sayings of yourself and friends: a very great confinement, and much complained of in most families.

Thus have these wenches, by their continual plotting and cabals, united themselves into a formidable body, and got the whip hand of their betters. They make their own terms with us; and two servants now will scarce undertake the work which one might perform with ease; notwithstanding which they have raised their wages to a most exorbitant pitch; and I doubt not, if there be not a stop put to their career, but they will bring wages up to £20 per annum in time, for they are much about half way already.

It is by these means they run away with a great part of our money, which might be better employed in trade; and what is worse, by their insolent behaviour, their pride in dress, and their exorbitant wages, they give birth to the following inconveniences.

First, They set an ill example to our children, our apprentices, our covenant servants, and other dependants, by their saucy and insolent behaviour, their pert, and sometimes abusive answers, their daring defiance of correction, and many other insolences which youth are but too apt to imitate.

Secondly, By their extravagance in dress, they put our wives and daughters upon yet greater excesses, because they will, as indeed they ought, go finer than the maid: thus the maid striving to outdo the mistress, the tradesman's wife to outdo the gentleman's wife, the gentleman's wife emulating the lady, and the ladies one another; it seems as if the whole business of the female sex were nothing but an excess of pride, and extravagance in dress.

Thirdly, The great height to which women-servants have brought their wages, makes a mutiny among the men-servants, and puts them upon raising their wages too; so that in a little time our servants will become our partners; nay, probably, run away with the better part of our profits, and make servants of us *vice versa*. But yet with all these inconveniences, we cannot possibly do without these creatures; let us therefore cease to talk of the abuses arising from them, and begin to think of redressing them. I do not set up for a lawgiver, and therefore shall lay down no certain rules, humbly submitting in all things to the wisdom of our legislature. What I offer shall be under correction, and upon conjecture, my utmost ambition being but to give some hints to remedy this growing evil, and leave the prosecution to abler hands.

And first it would be necessary to settle and limit their wages from forty and fifty shillings to four and five pounds per annum, that is to say, according to their merits and capacities; for example, a young unexperienced servant should have forty shillings per annum, till she qualifies herself for a larger sum; a servant who can do all household work, or, as the good women term it, can take her work and leave her work, should have four pounds per annum; and those who have lived seven years in one service should ever after demand five pounds per annum; for I would very fain have some particular encouragements and privileges given to such servants who should continue long in a place; it would incite a desire to please, and cause an emulation very beneficial to the public.

I have heard of an ancient charity in the parish of St. Clement's Danes, where a sum of money or estate is left, out of the interest or income of which such maid-servants who have lived in that parish seven years in one service, receive a reward of ten pounds apiece, if they please to demand it.

This is a noble benefaction, and shows the public spirit of the donor; but everybody's business is nobody's; nor have I heard that such reward has been paid to any servant of late years. A thousand pities a gift of that nature should sink into oblivion, and not be kept up as an example to incite all parishes to do the like.

The Romans had a law called *Jus Trium Liberorum*, by which every man who had been a father of three children, had particular honours and privileges. This incited the youth to quit a dissolute single life and become fathers of families, to the support and glory of the empire.

In imitation of this most excellent law, I would have such servants who should continue many years in one service meet with singular esteem and reward.

The apparel of our women-servants should be next regulated, that we may know the mistress from the maid. I remember I was once put very much to blush, being at a friend's house, and by him required to salute the ladies, I kissed the chamber-jade into the bargain, for she was as well dressed as the best. But I was soon undeceived by a general titter, which gave me the utmost confusion; nor can I believe myself the only person who has made such a mistake.

Things of this nature would be easily avoided if servant-maids were to wear liveries as our footmen do; or obliged to go in a dress suitable to their station. What should ail them, but a jacket and petticoat of good yard-wide stuff or calimanco might keep them decent and warm?

Our charity children are distinguished by their dress, why then may not our women-servants? why may they not be made frugal per force, and not suffered to put all on their backs, but obliged to save something against a rainy day? I am therefore entirely against servants wearing of silks, laces, and other superfluous finery; it sets them above themselves, and makes their mistresses contemptible in their eyes. 'I am handsomer than my mistress,' says a young prinked-up baggage, 'what pity it is I should be her servant! I go as well dressed, or better, than she.' This makes the girl take the first offer to be made a whore, and there is a good servant spoiled; whereas, were her dress suitable to her condition, it would teach her humility, and put her in mind of her duty.

Besides, the fear of spoiling their clothes makes them afraid of household work; so that in a little time we shall have none but chambermaids and nurserymaids; and of this let me give one instance. My family is composed of myself and sister, a man and a maid; and being without the last, a young wench came to hire herself. The man was gone out, and my sister above stairs, so I opened the door myself, and this person presented herself to my view, dressed completely, more like a visitor than a servant-maid. She, not knowing me, asked for my sister; 'Pray, madam,' said I, 'be pleased to walk into the parlour, she shall wait on you presently.' Accordingly I handed madam in, who took it very cordially. After some apology I left her alone for a minute or two, while I, stupid wretch! ran up to my sister and told her there was a gentlewoman below come to visit her. 'Dear brother,' said she, 'don't leave her alone, go down and entertain her while I dress myself.' Accordingly, down I went, and talked of indifferent affairs; meanwhile my sister dressed herself all over again, not being willing to be seen in an undress. At last she came down dressed as clean as her visitor; but how great was my surprise when I found my fine lady a common servant-wench!

My sister understanding what she was, began to inquire what wages she expected? She modestly asked but eight pounds a year. The next question was, what work she could do to deserve such wages? to which she answered, she could clean a house, or dress a common family dinner. 'But cannot you wash,' replied my sister, 'or get up linen?' She answered in the negative, and said she would undertake neither, nor would she go into a family that did not put out their linen to wash, and hire a charwoman to scour. She desired to see the house, and having carefully surveyed it, said the work was too hard for her,

nor could she undertake it. This put my sister beyond all patience, and me into the greatest admiration. 'Young woman,' said she, 'you have made a mistake; I want a housemaid, and you are a chambermaid.' 'No, madam,' replied she, 'I am not needlewoman enough for that.' 'And yet you ask eight pounds a year,' replied my sister. 'Yes, madam,' said she, 'nor shall I bate a farthing.' 'Then get you gone for a lazy, impudent baggage,' said I; 'you want to be a boarder, not a servant. Have you a fortune or estate that you dress at that rate?' 'No, sir,' said she; 'but I hope I may wear what I work for without offence.' 'What you work!' interrupted my sister; 'why, you do not seem willing to undertake any work. You will not wash nor scour; you cannot dress a dinner for company; you are no needlewoman; and our little house of two rooms on a floor is too much for you. For God's sake, what can you do?' 'Madam,' replied she pertly, 'I know my business, and do not fear a service. There are more places than parish churches; if you wash at home, you should have a laundrymaid; if you give entertainments, you must have a cookmaid; if you have any needlework, you should have a chambermaid; and such a house as this is enough for a housemaid in all conscience.'

I was pleased at the wit, and astonished at the impudence of the girl; so dismissed her with thanks for her instructions, assuring her that when I kept four maids she should be housemaid if she pleased.

Were a servant to do my business with cheerfulness, I should not grudge at five or six pounds per annum; nor would I be so unchristian to put more upon any one than they can bear; but to pray and pay too is the devil. It is very hard that I must keep four servants or none.

In great families, indeed, where many servants are required, those distinctions of chambermaid, housemaid, cookmaid, laundrymaid, nurserymaid, &c., are requisite, to the end that each may take her particular business, and many hands may make the work light; but for a private gentleman, of a small fortune, to be obliged to keep so many idle jades, when one might do the business, is intolerable, and matter of great grievance.

I cannot close this discourse without a gentle admonition and reproof to some of my own sex, I mean those gentlemen who give themselves unnecessary airs, and cannot go to see a friend but they must kiss and slop the maid; and all this is done with an air of gallantry, and must not be resented. Nay, some gentlemen are so silly that they shall carry on an underhand affair with their friend's servant-maid, to their own disgrace, and the ruin of many a young creature. Nothing is more base and ungenerous, yet nothing more common, and withal so little taken notice of. 'D—n me, Jack,' says one friend to another, 'this maid of yours is a pretty girl, you do so and so to her, by G—d.' This makes the creature pert, vain, and impudent, and spoils many a good servant.

What gentleman will descend to this low way of intrigue, when he shall consider that he has a footboy or an apprentice for his rival, and that he is seldom or never admitted but when they have been his tasters; and the fool of fortune, though he comes at the latter end of the feast, yet pays the whole reckoning; and so indeed would I have all such silly cullies served.

If I must have an intrigue, let it be with a woman that shall not shame me. I would never go into the kitchen, when the parlour door was open. We are forbidden at Highgate to kiss the maid when we may kiss the mistress; why then will gentlemen descend so low, by too much familiarity with these creatures, to bring themselves into contempt?

I have been at places where the maid has been so dizzied with these idle compliments that she has mistook one thing for another, and not regarded her mistress in the least, but put on all the flirting airs imaginable. This behaviour is nowhere so much complained of as in taverns, coffeehouses, and places of public resort, where there are handsome bar-keepers, &c. These creatures being puffed up with the fulsome flattery of a set of flesh-flies, which are continually buzzing about them, carry themselves with the utmost insolence imaginable, insomuch that you must speak to them with a great deal of deference, or you are sure to be affronted. Being at a coffeehouse the other day, where one of these ladies kept the bar, I had bespoke a dish of rice tea; but madam was so taken up with her sparks, she had quite forgot it. I spake for it again, and with some temper, but was answered after a most taunting manner, not without a toss of the head, a contraction of the nostrils, and other impertinences, too many to enumerate. Seeing myself thus publicly insulted by such an animal, I could not choose but show my resentment. 'Woman,' said I sternly, 'I want a dish of rice tea, and not what your vanity and impudence may imagine; therefore treat me as a gentleman and a customer, and serve me with what I call for: keep your impertinent repartees and impudent behaviour for the coxcombs that swarm round your bar, and make you so vain of your blown carcass.' And indeed I believe the insolence of this creature will ruin her master at last, by driving away men of sobriety and business, and making the place a den of vagabonds and rakehells.

Gentlemen, therefore, ought to be very circumspect in their behaviour, and not undervalue themselves to servant-wenches, who are but too apt to treat a gentleman ill whenever he puts himself into their power.

Let me now beg pardon for this digression, and return to my subject by proposing some practicable methods for regulating of servants, which, whether they are followed or not, yet, if they afford matter of improvement and speculation, will answer the height of my expectation, and I will be the first who shall approve of whatever improvements are made from this small beginning.

The first abuse I would have reformed is, that servants should be restrained from throwing themselves out of place on every idle vagary. This might be remedied were all contracts between master and servant made before a justice of peace, or other proper officer, and a memorandum thereof taken in writing. Nor should such servant leave his or her place (for men and maids might come under the same regulation) till the time agreed on be expired, unless such servant be misused or denied necessaries, or show some other reasonable cause for their discharge. In that case, the master or mistress should be reprimanded or fined. But if servants misbehave themselves, or leave their places, not being regularly discharged, they ought to be amerced or punished. But all those idle, ridiculous customs, and laws of their own making, as a month's wages, or a month's warning, and such like, should be entirely set aside and abolished.

When a servant has served the limited time duly and faithfully, they should be entitled to a certificate, as is practised at present in the woolcombing trade; nor should any person hire a servant without a certificate or other proper

security. A servant without a certificate should be deemed a vagrant; and a master or mistress ought to assign very good reasons indeed when they object against giving a servant his or her certificate.

And though, to avoid prolixity, I have not mentioned footmen particularly in the foregoing discourse, yet the complaints alleged against the maids are as well masculine as feminine, and very applicable to our gentlemen's gentlemen; I would, therefore, have them under the very same regulations; and, as they are fellow-servants, would not make fish of one and flesh of the other, since daily experience teaches us that 'never a barrel the better herring.'

The next great abuse among us is, that under the notion of cleaning our shoes, above ten thousand wicked, idle, pilfering vagrants are permitted to patrol about our city and suburbs. These are called the black-guard, who black your honour's shoes, and incorporate themselves under the title of the Worshipful Company of Japanners.

Were this all, there were no hurt in it, and the whole might terminate in a jest; but the mischief ends not here, they corrupt our youth, especially our men-servants; oaths and impudence are their only flowers of rhetoric; gaming and thieving are the principal parts of their profession; japanning but the pretence. For example, a gentleman keeps a servant, who among other things is to clean his master's shoes; but our gentlemen's gentlemen are above it now-a-days, and your man's man performs the office, for which piece of service you pay double and treble, especially if you keep a table, nay, you are well off if the japanner has no more than his own diet from it.

I have often observed these rascals sneaking from gentlemen's doors with wallets or hats full of good victuals, which they either carry to their trulls, or sell for a trifle. By this means our butcher's, our baker's, our poulterer's, and cheesemonger's bills are monstrously exaggerated; not to mention candles just lighted, which sell for fivepence a pound, and many other perquisites best known to themselves and the pilfering villains their confederates.

Add to this that their continual gaming sets servants upon their wits to supply this extravagance, though at the same time the master's pocket pays for it, and the time which should be spent in a gentleman's service is loitered away among these rakehells, insomuch that half our messages are ineffectual, the time intended being often expired before the message is delivered.

How many frequent robberies are committed by these japanners? And to how many more are they confederates? Silver spoons, spurs, and other small pieces of plate, are every day missing, and very often found upon these sort of gentlemen; yet are they permitted, to the shame of all our good laws, and the scandal of our most excellent government, to lurk about our streets, to debauch our servants and apprentices, and support an infinite number of scandalous, shameless trulls, yet more wicked than themselves, for not a Jack among them but must have his Gill.

By whom such indecencies are daily acted, even in our open streets, as are very offensive to the eyes and ears of all sober persons, and even abominable in a Christian country.

In any riot, or other disturbance, these sparks are always the foremost; for most among them can turn their hands to picking of pockets, to run away with goods from a fire, or other public confusion, to snatch anything from a woman or child, to strip a house when the door is open, or any other branch of a thief's profession.

In short, it is a nursery for thieves and villains; modest women are every day insulted by them and their strumpets; and such children who run about the streets, or those servants who go on errands, do but too frequently bring home some scraps of their beastly profane wit; insomuch that the conversation of our lower rank of people runs only upon bawdy and blasphemy, notwithstanding our societies for reformation, and our laws in force against profaneness. For this lazy life gets them many proselytes, their numbers daily increasing from runaway apprentices and footboys, insomuch that it is a very hard matter for a gentleman to get him a servant, or for a tradesman to find an apprentice.

Innumerable other mischiefs accrue, and others will spring up from this race of caterpillars, who must be swept from out our streets, or we shall be overrun with all manner of wickedness.

But the subject is so low, it becomes disagreeable even to myself; give me leave, therefore, to propose a way to clear the streets of these vermin, and to substitute as many honest, industrious persons in their stead, who are now starving for want of bread, while these execrable villains live, though in rags and nastiness, yet in plenty and luxury.

I therefore humbly propose that these vagabonds be put immediately under the command of such taskmasters as the government shall appoint, and that they be employed, punished, or rewarded, according to their capacities and demerits; that is to say, the industrious and docible to woolcombing, and other parts of the woollen manufacture, where hands are wanted, as also to husbandry and other parts of agriculture.

For it is evident that there are scarce hands enow in the country to carry on either of these affairs. Now these vagabonds might not only by this means be kept out of harm's way, but be rendered serviceable to the nation. Nor is there any need of transporting them beyond seas, for if any are refractory they should be sent to our stannaries and other mines, to our coal-works and other places where hard labour is required. And here I must offer one thing never yet thought of, or proposed by any, and that is, the keeping in due repair the navigation of the river Thames, so useful to our trade in general; and yet of late years such vast hills of sand are gathered together in several parts of the river, as are very prejudicial to its navigation, one which is near London Bridge, another near Whitehall, a third near Battersea, and a fourth near Fulham. These are of very great hindrance to the navigation; and indeed the removal of them ought to be a national concern, which I humbly propose may be thus effected.

The rebellious part of these vagabonds, as also other thieves and offenders, should be formed into bodies under the command of proper officers, and under the guard and awe of our soldiery. These should every day at low water carry away these sandhills, and remove every other obstruction to the navigation of this most excellent and useful river.

It may be objected that the ballast men might do this; that as fast as the hills are taken away they would gather together again; or that the watermen might do it. To the first, I answer, that ballast men, instead of taking away from these hills, make holes in other places of the river, which is the reason so many young persons are drowned when swimming or bathing in the river.

Besides, it is a work for many hands, and of long continuance; so that ballast men do more

harm than good. The second objection is as silly; as if I should never wash myself, because I shall be dirty again, and I think needs no other answer. And as to the third objection, the watermen are not so public-spirited, they live only from hand to mouth, though not one of them but finds the inconvenience of these hills, every day being obliged to go a great way round about for fear of running aground; insomuch that in a few years the navigation of that part of the river will be entirely obstructed. Nevertheless, every one of these gentlemen-watermen hopes it will last his time, and so they all cry, 'The devil take the hindmost.' But yet I judge it highly necessary that this be made a national concern, like Dagenham breach, and that these hills be removed by some means or other.

And now I have mentioned watermen, give me leave to complain of the insolences and exactions they daily commit on the river Thames, and in particular this one instance, which cries aloud for justice.

A young lady of distinction, in company with her brother, a little youth, took a pair of oars at or near the Temple, on April day last, and ordered the men to carry them to Pepper-alley Stairs. One of the fellows, according to their usual impertinence, asked the lady where she was going. She answered, near St. Olave's church. Upon which he said, she had better go through the bridge. The lady replied she had never gone through the bridge in her life, nor would she venture for a hundred guineas; so commanded him once more to land her at Pepper-alley Stairs. Notwithstanding which, in spite of her fears, threats, and commands, nay, in spite of the persuasion of his fellow, he forced her through London Bridge, which frightened her beyond expression. And, to mend the matter, he obliged her to pay double fare, and mobbed her into the bargain.

To resent which abuse, application was made to the hall, the fellow summoned, and the lady ordered to attend, which she did, waiting there all the morning, and was appointed to call again in the afternoon. She came accordingly, they told her the fellow had been there, but was gone, and that she must attend another Friday. She attended again and again, but to the same purpose. Nor have they yet produced the man, but tired out the lady, who has spent above ten shillings in coach-hire, been abused and baffled into the bargain.

It is pity, therefore, there are not commissioners for watermen, as there are for hackney coachmen, or that justices of the peace might not inflict bodily penalties on watermen thus offending. But while watermen are watermen's judges, I shall laugh at those who carry their complaints to the hall.

The usual plea in behalf of abusive watermen is, that they are drunk, ignorant, or poor; but will that satisfy the party aggrieved, or deter the offender from reoffending? Whereas were the offenders sent to the house of correction, and there punished, or sentenced to work at the sand-hills afore mentioned for a time suitable to the nature of their crimes, terror of such punishments would make them fearful of offending, to the great quiet of the subject.

Now, it may be asked, How shall we have our shoes cleaned, or how are those industrious poor to be maintained? To this I answer that the places of these vagabonds may be very well supplied by great numbers of ancient persons, poor widows, and others, who have not enough from their respective parishes to maintain them. These poor people I would have authorized and stationed by the justices of the peace or other magistrates. Each of these should have a particular walk or stand, and no other shoe-cleaner should come into that walk, unless the person misbehave and be removed. Nor should any person clean shoes in the streets, but these authorized shoe-cleaners, who should have some mark of distinction, and be under the immediate government of the justices of the peace.

Thus would many thousands of poor people be provided for without burthening their parishes. Some of these may earn a shilling or two in a day, and none less than sixpence, or thereabouts.

And, lest the old japanners should appear again, in the shape of linkboys, and knock down gentlemen in drink, or lead others out of the way into dark remote places, where they either put out their lights, and rob them themselves, or run away and leave them to be pillaged by others, as is daily practised, I would have no person carry a link for hire but some of these industrious poor, and even such not without some ticket or badge to let people know whom they trust. Thus would the streets be cleared night and day of these vermin; nor would oaths, skirmishes, blasphemy, obscene talk, or other wicked examples, be so public and frequent. All gaming at orange and gingerbread barrows should be abolished, as also all penny and halfpenny lotteries, thimbles, and balls, &c., so frequent in Moorfields, Lincoln's Inn fields, &c., where idle fellows resort to play with children and apprentices, and tempt them to steal their parents' or master's money.

There is one admirable custom in the city of London which I could wish were imitated in the city and liberties of Westminster, and bills of mortality, which is, no porter can carry a burthen or letter in the city unless he be a ticket porter; whereas, out of the freedom part of London, any person may take a knot and turn porter, till he be entrusted with something of value, and then you never hear of him more.

This is very common, and ought to be amended. I would, therefore, have all porters under some such regulation as coachmen, chairmen, carmen, &c.; a man may then know whom he entrusts, and not run the risk of losing his goods, &c. Nay, I would not have a person carry a basket in the markets who is not subject to some regulation; for very many persons oftentimes lose their dinners in sending their meat home by persons they know nothing of.

Thus would all our poor be stationed, and a man or woman able to perform any of these offices must either comply or be termed an idle vagrant, and sent to a place where they shall be forced to work. By this means industry will be encouraged, idleness punished, and we shall be fitted, as well as happy, for our tranquillity and decorum.

THE APPARITION OF MRS. VEAL.

A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next day after her Death, to one Mrs. Bargrave, at Canterbury, the 8th of September 1705; *which Apparition recommends the perusal of Drelincourt's Book of Consolations against the Fears of Death. London.* 1705.

[THE following remarks on this curious production are from the pen of Sir Walter Scott:—

'An adventurous bookseller had ventured to print a considerable edition of a work by the Reverend Charles Drelincourt, minister of the Calvinist church in Paris, and translated by M. d'Assigny, under the title of *The Christian's Defence against the Fear of Death, with several directions how to prepare ourselves to die well.* But however certain the prospect of death, it is not so agreeable (unfortunately) as to invite the eager contemplation of the public; and Drelincourt's book, being neglected, lay a dead stock on the hands of the publisher. In this emergency, he applied to Defoe to assist him (by dint of such means as were then, as well as now, pretty well understood in the literary world) in rescuing the unfortunate book from the literary death to which general neglect seemed about to consign it.

'Defoe's genius and audacity devised a plan which, for assurance and ingenuity, defied even the powers of Mr. Puff in the *Critic;* for who but himself would have thought of summoning up a ghost from the grave to bear witness in favour of a halting body of divinity? There is a matter-of-fact, business-like style in the whole account of the transaction, which bespeaks ineffable powers of self-possession. The narrative is drawn up "by a gentleman, a *Justice of Peace* at Maidstone, in Kent, a very intelligent person." And, moreover, "the discourse is attested by a very sober gentlewoman, who lives in Canterbury, within a few doors of the house in which Mrs. Bargrave lives." The Justice believes his kinswoman to be of so discerning a spirit, as not to be put upon by any fallacy; and the kinswoman positively assures the Justice, "that the whole matter, as it is related and laid down, is really true, and what she herself heard, as near as may be, from Mrs. Bargrave's own mouth, who, she knows, had no reason to invent or publish such a story, or any design to forge and tell a lie, being a woman of so much honesty and virtue, and her whole life a course, as it were, of piety." Scepticism itself could not resist this triple court of evidence so artfully combined, the Justice attesting for the discerning spirit of the sober and understanding gentlewoman his kinswoman, and his kinswoman becoming bail for the veracity of Mrs. Bargrave. And here, gentle reader, admire the simplicity of those days. Had Mrs. Veal's visit to her friend happened in our time, the conductors of the daily press would have given the word, and seven gentlemen unto the said press belonging, would, with an obedient start, have made off for Kingston, for Canterbury, for Dover—for Kamtschatka if necessary,—to pose the Justice, cross-examine Mrs. Bargrave, confront the sober and understanding kinswoman, and dig Mrs. Veal up from her grave, rather than not get to the bottom of the story. But in our time we doubt and scrutinize; our ancestors wondered and believed.'

After some further critical remarks on the story, Sir Walter concludes thus:—

'When we have thus turned the tale, the seam without, it may be thought too ridiculous to have attracted notice. But whoever will read it as told by Defoe himself, will agree that, could the thing have happened in reality, so it would have been told. The sobering the whole supernatural visit into the language of middle or low life, gives it an air of probability

even in its absurdity. The ghost of an exciseman's housekeeper, and a seamstress, were not to converse like Brutus with his Evil Genius. And the circumstances of scoured silks, broken tea-china, and such like, while they are the natural topics of such persons' conversation, would, one might have thought, be the last which an inventor would have introduced into a pretended narrative betwixt the dead and living. In short, the whole is so distinctly circumstantial, that, were it not for the impossibility, or extreme improbability at least, of such an occurrence, the evidence could not but support the story.

'The effect was most wonderful. *Drelincourt upon Death*, attested by one who could speak from experience, took an unequalled run. The copies had hung on the bookseller's hands as heavy as a pile of lead bullets. They now traversed the town in every direction, like the same balls discharged from a field-piece. In short, the object of Mrs. Veal's apparition was perfectly attained.'—See *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, vol. iv. p. 305, ed. 1827.]

THIS thing is so rare in all its circumstances and on so good authority, that my reading and conversation has not given me anything like it: it is fit to gratify the most ingenious and serious inquirer. Mrs. Bargrave is the person to whom Mrs. Veal appeared after her death; she is my intimate friend, and I can avouch for her reputation, for these last fifteen or sixteen years, on my own knowledge; and I can confirm the good character she had from her youth to the time of my acquaintance. Though, since this relation, she is calumniated by some people, that are friends to the brother of this Mrs. Veal, who appeared, who think the relation of this appearance to be a reflection, and endeavour what they can to blast Mrs. Bargrave's reputation, and to laugh the story out of countenance. But by the circumstances thereof, and the cheerful disposition of Mrs. Bargrave, notwithstanding the ill-usage of a very wicked husband, there is not yet the least sign of dejection in her face; nor did I ever hear her let fall a desponding or murmuring expression; nay, not when actually under her husband's barbarity; which I have been witness to, and several other persons of undoubted reputation.

Now you must know Mrs. Veal was a maiden gentlewoman of about thirty years of age, and for some years last past had been troubled with fits, which were perceived coming on her, by her going off from her discourse very abruptly to some impertinence. She was maintained by an only brother, and kept his house in Dover. She was a very pious woman, and her brother a very sober man to all appearance; but now he does all he can to null or quash the story. Mrs. Veal was intimately acquainted with Mrs. Bargrave from her childhood. Mrs. Veal's circumstances were then mean; her father did not take care of his children as he ought, so that they were exposed to hardships; and Mrs. Bargrave, in those days, had as unkind a father, though she wanted neither for food nor clothing, whilst Mrs. Veal wanted for both; insomuch that she would often say, Mrs. Bargrave, you are not only the best, but the only friend I have in the world, and no circumstance of life shall ever dissolve my friendship. They would often condole each other's adverse fortunes, and read together *Drelincourt upon Death*, and other good books; and so, like two Christian friends, they comforted each other under their sorrow.

Some time after, Mr. Veal's friends got him a place in the custom-house at Dover, which occasioned Mrs. Veal, by little and little, to fall off from her intimacy with Mrs. Bargrave, though there was never any such thing as a quarrel but as an indifferency came on by degrees till at last Mrs. Bargrave had not seen her in two years and a half; though above a twelvemonth of the time Mrs. Bargrave had been absent from Dover, and this last half year has been in Canterbury about two months of the time, dwelling in a house of her own.

In this house, on the 8th of September [illegible] she was sitting alone in the forenoon, thinking over her unfortunate life, and arguing herself into a due resignation to providence, though her condition seemed hard. 'And,' said she, 'I have been provided for hitherto, and doubt not but shall be still; and am well satisfied that my afflictions shall end when it is most fit for me,' and then took up her sewing-work, which she had no sooner done, but she hears a knocking at the door. She went to see who was there, and this proved to be Mrs. Veal, her old friend, in a riding-habit. At that moment of time the clock struck twelve at noon.

'Madam,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'I am surprised to see you, you have been so long a stranger.' She told her, she was glad to see her, and offered to salute her; which Mrs. Veal complied with, kissing their lips almost touched; and then Mrs. Veal drew her hand across her own eyes, and said, 'I am not very well;' and so waived it. She told Mrs. Bargrave she was going a journey, and had a great mind to see her first. 'But,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'how came you to take a journey, [illegible] I am amazed at it, because I know you have a fond brother.' 'Oh,' says Mrs. Veal, 'I gave my brother the slip, and came away because I had so great a desire to see you before I took my journey.' So Mrs. Bargrave went [illegible] into another room within the first, where Mrs. Veal sat her down in an elbow-chair, where Mrs. Bargrave was sitting when she heard Mrs. Veal knock. Then says Mrs. Veal, 'My friend, I am come to renew our [illegible] again, and beg your pardon for my [illegible] and if you can forgive me, you are [illegible] women.' 'Oh,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'you need not mention such a thing; I have not h[illegible] thought about it; I can easily forgive [illegible] did you think of me?' said Mrs. Veal. '[illegible] Bargrave, 'I thought you were li[illegible] the world, and that prosperity h[illegible] forget yourself and me.' Then [illegible] minded Mrs. Bargrave of the [illegible] offices she did her in former d[illegible] the conversation they had with[illegible]

times of their adversity; what books they read, and what comfort, in particular, they received from *Drelincourt's Book of Death*, which was the best, she said, on that subject ever written. She also mentioned Dr. Sherlock, the two Dutch books which were translated, written upon death, and several others. 'But Drelincourt,' she said, 'had the clearest notions of death, and of the future state, of any who had handled that subject.' Then she asked Mrs. Bargrave whether she had Drelincourt. She said, 'Yes.' Says Mrs. Veal, 'Fetch it.' And so Mrs. Bargrave goes up stairs and brings it down. Says Mrs. Veal, 'Dear Mrs. Bargrave, if the eyes of our faith were as open as the eyes of our body, we should see numbers of angels about us for our guard. The notions we have of heaven now are nothing like what it is, as Drelincourt says; therefore be comforted under your afflictions, and believe that the Almighty has a particular regard to you; and that your afflictions are marks of God's favour; and when they have done the business they are sent for, they shall be removed from you. And, believe me, my dear friend, believe what I say to you, one minute of future happiness will infinitely reward you for all your sufferings. For I can never believe (and claps her hand upon her knee with great earnestness, which, indeed, ran through most of her discourse) that ever God will suffer you to spend all your days in this afflicted state; but be assured, that your afflictions shall leave you, or you them, in a short time.' She spake in that pathetical and heavenly manner that Mrs. Bargrave wept several times, she was so deeply affected with it.

Then Mrs. Veal mentioned Dr. Kenrick's *Ascetick*, at the end of which he gives an account of the lives of the primitive Christians. Their pattern she recommended to our imitation, and said, their conversation was not like this of our age: 'For now,' says she, 'there is nothing but frothy, vain discourse, which is far different from theirs. Theirs was to edification, and to build one another up in faith; so that they were not as we are, nor are we as they were. But,' says she, 'we ought to do as they did. There was an hearty friendship among them; but where is it now to be found?' Says Mrs. Bargrave, 'It is hard indeed to find a true friend in these days.' Says Mrs. Veal, 'Mr. Norris has a fine copy of verses, called *Friendship in Perfection*, which I wonderfully admire. Have you seen the book?' says Mrs. Veal. 'No,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'but I have the verses of my own writing out.' 'Have you?' says Mrs. Veal, 'then fetch them.' Which she did from above stairs, and offered them to Mrs. Veal to read, who refused, and waived the thing, saying, holding down her head would make it ache; and then desired Mrs. Bargrave to read them to her, which she did. As they were admiring friendship, Mrs. Veal said, 'Dear Mrs. Bargrave, I shall love you for ever. In these verses there is twice used the word Elysian. Ah!' says Mrs. Veal, 'these poets have such names for heaven.' She would often draw her hand across her own eyes, and say, 'Mrs. Bargrave, do not you think I am mightily impaired by my fits?' 'No,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'I think you look as well as ever I knew you.' After all this discourse, which the apparition put in much finer words than Mrs. Bargrave said she could pretend to, and as much more as she could remember (for it cannot be thought, that an hour and three-quarters' conversation could all be retained, though the main of it she thinks she does), she said to Mrs. Bargrave, she would have her write a letter to her brother, and tell him she would have him give rings to such and such; and that there was a purse of gold in her cabinet, and that she would have two broad pieces given to her cousin Watson.

Talking at this rate, Mrs. Bargrave thought that a fit was coming upon her, and so placed herself in a chair just before her knees, to keep her from falling to the ground, if her fits should occasion it; for the elbow-chair, she thought, would keep her from falling on either side. And to divert Mrs. Veal, as she thought, took hold of her gown-sleeve several times, and commended it. Mrs. Veal told her it was a scowered silk, and newly made up. But for all this Mrs. Veal persisted in her request, and told Mrs. Bargrave she must not deny her; and she would have her tell her brother all their conversation, when she had opportunity. 'Dear Mrs. Veal,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'this seems so impertinent, that I cannot tell how to comply with it; and what a mortifying story will our conversation be to a young gentleman! Why,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'it is much better, methinks, to do it yourself.' 'No,' says Mrs. Veal, 'though it seems impertinent to you now, you will see more reason for it hereafter.' Mrs. Bargrave then, to satisfy her importunity, was going to fetch a pen and ink; but Mrs. Veal said, 'Let it alone now, but do it when I am gone; but you must be sure to do it:' which was one of the last things she enjoined her at parting; and so she promised her.

Then Mrs. Veal asked for Mrs. Bargrave's daughter; she said she was not at home. 'But if you have a mind to see her,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'I'll send for her.' 'Do,' says Mrs. Veal. On which she left her, and went to a neighbour's, to see for her; and by the time Mrs. Bargrave was returning, Mrs. Veal was got without the door in the street, in the face of the beast-market, on a Saturday, which is market-day, and stood ready to part as soon as Mrs. Bargrave came to her. She asked her why she was in such haste. She said she must be going, though perhaps she might not go her journey till Monday; and told Mrs. Bargrave she hoped she should see her again at her cousin Watson's before she went whither she was going. Then she said she would take leave of her, and walked from Mrs. Bargrave in her view, till a turning interrupted the sight of her, which was three-quarters after one in the afternoon.

Mrs. Veal died the 7th of September, at twelve o'clock at noon, of her fits, and had not above four hours' senses before her death, in which time she received the sacrament. The next day after Mrs. Veal's appearing, being Sunday, Mrs. Bargrave was mightily indisposed with a cold, and a sore throat, that she could not go out that day; but on Monday morning she sent a person to Captain Watson's, to know if Mrs. Veal was there. They wondered at Mrs. Bargrave's inquiry; and sent her word that she was not there, nor was expected. At this answer Mrs. Bargrave told the maid she had certainly mistook the name, or made some blunder. And though she was ill, she put on her hood, and went herself to Captain Watson's, though she knew none of the family, to see if Mrs. Veal was there or not. They said, they wondered at her asking, for that she had not been in town; they were sure, if she had, she would have been there. Says Mrs. Bargrave, 'I am sure she was with me on Saturday almost two hours.' They said it was impossible; for they must have seen her if she had. In comes Captain Watson, while they were in dispute, and said that Mrs. Veal was certainly dead, and her escutcheons were making.

This strangely surprised Mrs. Bargrave, when she sent to the person immediately who had the care of them, and found it true. Then she related the whole story to Captain Watson's family, and what gown she had on, and how striped; and that Mrs. Veal told her it was scowered. Then Mrs. Watson cried out, 'You have seen her indeed, for none knew but Mrs. Veal and myself that the gown was scowered.' And Mrs. Watson owned that she described the gown exactly: 'For,' said she, 'I helped her to make it up.' This Mrs. Watson blazed all about the town, and avouched the demonstration of the truth of Mrs. Bargrave's seeing Mrs. Veal's apparition. And Captain Watson carried two gentlemen immediately to Mrs. Bargrave's house, to hear the relation of her own mouth. And when it spread so fast, that gentlemen and persons of quality, the judicious and sceptical part of the world, flocked in upon her, it at last became such a task, that she was forced to go out of the way. For they were, in general, extremely satisfied of the truth of the thing, and plainly saw that Mrs. Bargrave was no hypochondriac; for she always appears with such a cheerful air and pleasing mien, that she has gained the favour and esteem of all the gentry; and it is thought a great favour if they can but get the relation from her own mouth. I should have told you before that Mrs. Veal told Mrs. Bargrave that her sister and brother-in-law were just come down from London to see her. Says Mrs. Bargrave, 'How came you to order matters so strangely?' 'It could not be helped,' says Mrs. Veal. And her brother and sister did come to see her, and entered the town of Dover just as Mrs. Veal was expiring. Mrs. Bargrave asked her, whether she would drink some tea? Says Mrs. Veal, 'I do not care if I do; but I'll warrant you, this mad fellow (meaning Mrs. Bargrave's husband) has broke all your trinkets.' 'But,' says Mrs. Bargrave, 'I'll get something to drink in for all that;' but Mrs. Veal waived it, and said, 'It is no matter, let it alone;' and so it passed.

All the time I sat with Mrs. Bargrave, which was some hours, she recollected fresh sayings of Mrs. Veal. And one material thing more she told Mrs. Bargrave, that old Mr. Breton allowed Mrs. Veal ten pounds a year, which was a secret, and unknown to Mrs. Bargrave, till Mrs. Veal told it her.

Mrs. Bargrave never varies in her story, which puzzles those who doubt of the truth, or are unwilling to believe it. A servant in the neighbour's yard, adjoining to Mrs. Bargrave's house, heard her talking to somebody an hour of the time Mrs. Veal was with her. Mrs. Bargrave went out to her next neighbour's the very moment she parted with Mrs. Veal, and told her what ravishing conversation she had with an old friend, and told the whole of it. *Drelincourt's Book of Death* is, since this happened, bought up strangely. And it is to be observed, that notwithstanding all the trouble and fatigue Mrs. Bargrave has undergone upon this account, she never took the value of a farthing, nor suffered her daughter to take anything of anybody, and therefore can have no interest in telling the story.

But Mr. Veal does what he can to stifle the matter, and said he would see Mrs. Bargrave; but yet it is certain matter of fact that he has been at Captain Watson's since the death of his sister, and yet never went near Mrs. Bargrave; and some of his friends report her to be a liar, and that she knew of Mr. Breton's ten pounds a year. But the person who pretends to say so has the reputation of a notorious liar among persons whom I know to be of undoubted credit. Now Mr. Veal is more of a gentleman than to say she lies; but says a bad husband has crazed her. But she needs only present herself, and it will effectually confute that pretence. Mr. Veal says, he asked his sister on her death-bed, whether she had a mind to dispose of anything? And she said, No. Now, the things which Mrs. Veal's apparition would have disposed of were so trifling, and nothing of justice aimed at in their disposal, that the design of it appears to me to be only in order to make Mrs. Bargrave so to demonstrate the truth of her appearance, as to satisfy the world of the reality thereof, as to what she had seen and heard, and to secure her reputation among the reasonable and understanding part of mankind. And then, again, Mr. Veal owns that there was a purse of gold; but it was not found in her cabinet, but in a comb-box. This looks improbable; for that Mrs. Watson owned that Mrs. Veal was so very careful of the key of the cabinet that she would trust nobody with it. And if so, no doubt she would not trust her gold out of it. And Mrs. Veal's often drawing her hand over her eyes, and asking Mrs. Bargrave whether her fits had not impaired her, looks to me as if she did it on purpose to remind Mrs. Bargrave of her fits, to prepare her not to think it strange that she should put her upon writing to her brother to dispose of rings and gold, which looked so much like a dying person's request; and it took accordingly with Mrs. Bargrave, as the effects of her fits coming upon her: and was one of the many instances of her wonderful love to her, and care of her, that she should not be affrighted; which indeed appears in her whole management, particularly in her coming to her in the day-time, waiving the salutation, and when she was alone; and then the manner of her parting to prevent a second attempt to salute her.

Now, why Mr. Veal should think this relation a reflection, as it is plain he does, by his endeavouring to stifle it, I cannot imagine; because the generality believe her to be a good spirit, her discourse was so heavenly. Her two great errands were to comfort Mrs. Bargrave in her affliction, and to ask her forgiveness for the breach of friendship, and with a pious discourse to encourage her. So that, after all, to suppose that Mrs. Bargrave could hatch such an invention as this from Friday noon till Saturday noon, supposing that she knew of Mrs. Veal's death the very first moment, without jumbling circumstances, and without any interest too, she must be more witty, fortunate, and wicked too, than any indifferent person, I dare say, will allow. I asked Mrs. Bargrave several times, if she was sure she felt the gown? She answered modestly, 'If my senses be to be relied on, I am sure of it.' I asked her, if she heard a sound when she clapped her hand upon her knee? She said, she did not remember she did; but said she appeared to be as much a substance as I did, who talked with her. 'And I may,' said she, 'be as soon persuaded that your apparition is talking to me now, as that I did not really see her; for I was under no manner of fear, and received her as a friend, and parted with her as such. I would not,' says she, 'give one farthing to make any one believe it; I have no interest in it; nothing but trouble is entailed upon me for a long time, for aught I know; and had it not come to light by accident, it would never have been made public. But now,' she says, 'she will make her own private use of it, and keep herself out of the way as much

as she can;' and so she has done since. She says she had a gentleman who came thirty miles to her to hear the relation; and that she had told it to a room full of people at a time. Several particular gentlemen have had the story from Mrs. Bargrave's own mouth.

The thing has very much affected me, and I am as well satisfied as I am of the best-grounded matter of fact. And why we should dispute matter of fact, because we cannot solve things of which we can have no certain or demonstrative notions, seems strange to me. Mrs. Bargrave's authority and sincerity alone would have been undoubted in any other case.

SHORTEST WAY WITH DISSENTERS.

The Shortest way with the Dissenters: or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. London. 1702.

[We give the following as an excellent specimen of Defoe's polemical writings. According to Mr. Wilson, Defoe was prompted to this performance by the publications issued by the high-church party, having had more particularly in view a sermon of the notorious Sacheverell, entitled 'The Political Union,' in which the preacher had an expression to the purpose, 'that he could not be a true son of the Church of England' who did not lift up the banner of the Church against the Dissenters. 'Unlike the meek Founder of Christianity, who commanded his disciples to put up the sword, the champion of a new dispensation was for unsheathing and bathing it in the blood of innocent victims.' In the following piece of exquisite irony Defoe managed so artfully to conceal his design that all parties were at first imposed upon. A Tory writer of the time says that it passed currently as the work of one of those they call high-churchmen. Defoe himself says of the production: 'The wisest churchmen in the nation were deceived by this book. Those whose temper fell in with the times hugged and embraced it, applauded the proposal, filled their mouths with the arguments made use of therein; and an eminent churchman in the country wrote a letter to his friend in London, who had sent him the book, in the following words: "Sir, I received yours, and with it that pamphlet which makes so much noise, called *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, for which I thank you. I join with the author in all he says, and have such a value for the book, that, next to the Holy Bible and the Sacred Comments, I take it for the most valuable piece I have. I pray God put it into Her Majesty's heart to put what is there proposed in execution.—Yours, etc."' When the truth came out as to the authorship, Defoe was sent to the pillory as a punishment, which turned out to be for him a triumph.]

Sir Roger l'Estrange tells us a story in his collection of fables of the cock and the horses. The cock was gotten to roost in the stable among the horses, and there being no racks, or other conveniences for him, it seems he was forced to roost upon the ground; the horses jostling about for room, and putting the cock in danger of his life, he gives them this grave advice: 'Pray gentlefolks let us stand still, for fear we should tread upon one another.'

There are some people in the world, who now they are unpreached, and reduced to an equality with other people, and under strong and very just apprehensions of being further treated as they deserve, begin, with Æsop's cock, to preach up peace and union, and the Christian duties of moderation, forgetting, that when they had the power in their hands, those graces were strangers in their gates.

It is now near fourteen years that the glory and peace of the purest and most flourishing church in the world has been eclipsed, buffeted, and disturbed, by a sort of men who God in his providence has suffered to insult over her, and bring her down; these have been the days of her humiliation and tribulation. She was born with an invincible patience, the reproach of the wicked, and God has at last heard her prayers, and delivered her from the oppression of the stranger.

And now they find their day is over, their power gone, and the throne of this nation pos-

sessed by a royal, English, true, and ever constant member of, and friend to the Church of England. Now they find that they are in danger of the Church of England's just resentments; now they cry out peace, union, forbearance, and charity, as if the church had not too long harboured her enemies under her wing, and nourished the viperous brood, till they hiss and fly in the face of the mother that cherished them.

No, gentlemen, the time of mercy is past, your day of grace is over; you should have practised peace, and moderation, and charity, if you expected any yourselves.

We have heard none of this lesson for fourteen years past. We have been huffed and bullied with your Act of Toleration; you have told us that you are the church established by law, as well as others; have set up your canting synagogues at our church doors, and the church and members have been loaded with reproaches, with oaths, associations, abjurations, and what not; where has been the mercy, the forbearance, the charity, you have shown to tender consciences of the Church of England, that could not take oaths as fast as you made them; that having sworn allegiance to their lawful and rightful king, could not dispense with that oath, their king being still alive, and swear to your new hodge-podge of a Dutch government? These have been turned out of their livings, and they and their families left to starve; their estates double taxed, to carry on a war they had no hand in, and you got nothing by. What account can you give of the multitudes you have forced to comply, against their consciences, with your new sophistical politics, who, like new converts in France, sin because they can't starve? And now the tables are turned upon you, you must not be persecuted, 'tis not a Christian spirit.

You have butchered one king, deposed another king, and made a mock king of a third; and yet you could have the face to expect to be employed and trusted by the fourth; anybody that did not know the temper of your party, would stand amazed at the impudence as well as folly, to think of it.

Your management of your Dutch monarch, whom you reduced to a mere king of cl——s, is enough to give any future princes such an idea of your principles, as to warn them sufficiently from coming into your clutches; and, God be thanked, the queen is out of your hands, knows you, and will have a care of you.

There is no doubt but the supreme authority of a nation has in itself a power, and a right to that power, to execute the laws upon any part of that nation it governs. The execution of the known laws of the land, and that with but a gentle hand neither, was all that the fanatical party of this land have ever called persecution; this they have magnified to a height, that the sufferings of the Huguenots in France were not to be compared with. Now to execute the known laws of a nation upon those who transgress them, after voluntarily consenting to the making those laws, can never be called persecution, but justice. But justice is always violence to the party offending, for every man is innocent in his own eyes. The first execution of the laws against Dissenters in England was in the days of King James the First; and what did it amount to? Truly, the worst they suffered was at their own request, to let them go to New England, and erect a new colony, and give them great privileges, grants, and suitable powers, keep them under protection, and defend them against all invaders, and receive no taxes or revenue from them. This was the cruelty of the Church of England; fatal lenity. 'Twas the ruin of that excellent prince King Charles the First. Had King James sent all the Puritans in England away to the West Indies, we had been a national, unmixed church; the Church of England had been kept undivided and entire.

To requite the lenity of the father, they take up arms against the son; conquer, pursue, take, imprison, and at last put to death the anointed of God, and destroy the very being and nature of government, setting up a sordid impostor, who had neither title to govern, nor understanding to manage, but supplied that want with power, bloody and desperate counsels and craft, without conscience.

Had not King James the First withheld the full execution of the laws, had he given them strict justice, he had cleared the nation of them, and the consequences had been plain; his son had never been murdered by them, nor the monarchy overwhelmed. 'Twas too much mercy shown them was the ruin of his posterity, and the ruin of the nation's peace. One would think the Dissenters should not have the face to believe that we are to be wheedled and canted into peace and toleration, when they know that they have once requited us with a civil war, and once with an intolerable and unrighteous persecution for our former civility.

Nay, to encourage us to be easy with them, 'tis apparent that they never had the upper hand of the church, but they treated her with all the severity, with all the reproach and contempt as was possible. What peace and what mercy did they show the loyal gentry of the Church of England, in the time of their triumphant Commonwealth? How did they put all the gentry of England to ransom, whether they were actually in arms for the king or not, making people compound for their estates, and starve their families? How did they treat the clergy of the Church of England, sequestered the ministers, devoured the patrimony of the church, and divided the spoil, by sharing the church lands among their soldiers, and turning her clergy out to starve? Just such measure as they have meted should to measured them again.

Charity and love is the known doctrine of the Church of England, and 'tis plain she has put it in practice towards the Dissenters, even beyond what they ought, till she has been wanting to herself, and, in effect, unkind to her own sons; particularly in the too much lenity of King James the First, mentioned before. Had he so rooted the Puritans from the face of the land, which he had an opportunity early to have done, they had not had the power to vex the church, as since they have done.

In the days of King Charles the Second, how did the church reward their bloody doings with lenity and mercy? except the barbarous regicides of the pretended court of justice, not a soul suffered for all the blood in an unnatural war. King Charles came in all mercy and love, cherished them, preferred them, employed them, withheld the rigour of the law, and oftentimes even against the advice of his parliament gave them liberty of conscience; and how did they requite him with the villanous contrivance to depose and murder him and his successor at the Rye Plot!

King James, as if mercy was the inherent quality of the family, began his reign with unusual favour to them. Nor could their joining with the Duke of Monmouth against him move him to do himself justice upon them; but the mistaken prince thought to win them by gentle-

ness and love, proclaimed an universal liberty to them, and rather discountenanced the Church of England than them: how they requited him all the world knows.

The late reign is too fresh in the memory of all the world to need a comment; how, under pretence of joining with the church in redressing some grievances, they pushed things to that extremity, in conjunction with some mistaken gentlemen, as to depose the late king; as if the grievance of the nation could not have been redressed but by the absolute ruin of the prince. Here is an instance of their temper, their peace and charity. To what height they carried themselves during the reign of a king of their own; how they crept into all places of trust and profit; how they insinuated into the favour of the king, and were at first preferred to the highest places in the nation; how they engrossed the ministry, and above all, how pitifully they managed, is too plain to need any remarks.

But particularly their mercy and charity, the spirit of union they tell us so much of, has been remarkable in Scotland; if any man would see the spirit of a Dissenter, let him look into Scotland. There they made entire conquest of the church, trampled down the sacred orders, and suppressed the Episcopal government with an absolute, and, as they suppose, irretrievable victory, though it is possible they may find themselves mistaken. Now it would be a very proper question to ask their impudent advocate, the Observator, 'Pray how much mercy and favour did the members of the Episcopal Church find in Scotland, from the Scotch Presbyterian government?' and I shall undertake for the Church of England, that the Dissenters shall still receive as much here, though they deserve but little.

In a small treatise of the sufferings of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland, it will appear what usage they met with, how they not only lost their livings, but in several places were plundered and abused in their persons; the ministers that could not conform turned out with numerous families, and no maintenance, and hardly charity enough left to relieve them with a bit of bread; and the cruelties of the parties are innumerable, and not to be attempted in this short piece.

And now, to prevent the distant cloud which they perceived to hang over their heads from England, with a true Presbyterian policy, they put in for a union of nations, that England might unite their church with the Kirk of Scotland, and their Presbyterian members sit in our House of Commons, and their assembly of Scotch canting longcloaks in our convocation. What might have been if our fanatic, whiggish statesmen continued, God only knows; but we hope we are out of fear of that now.

It is alleged by some of the faction, and they began to bully us with it, that if we won't unite with them, they will not settle the crown with us again, but when her majesty dies, will choose a king for themselves.

If they won't, we must make them, and it is not the first time we have let them know that we are able. The crowns of these kingdoms have not so far disowned the right of succession, but they may retrieve it again, and if Scotland thinks to come off from a successive to an elective state of government, England has not promised not to assist the right heir, and put them into possession, without any regard to their ridiculous settlements.

These are the gentlemen, these their ways of treating the church, both at home and abroad. Now let us examine the reasons they pretend to give, why we should be favourable to them, why we should continue and tolerate them among us.

1st. They are very numerous, they say, they are a great part of the nation, and we cannot suppress them.

To this may be answered—1. They are not so numerous as the Protestants in France, and yet the French king effectually cleared the nation of them at once, and we don't find he misses them at home.

But I am not of the opinion they are so numerous as is pretended. Their party is more numerous than their persons; and those mistaken people of the church who are misled and deluded by their wheedling artifices, to join with them, make their party the greater; but those will open their eyes when the government shall set heartily about the work, and come off from them, as some animals, which they say always desert a house when it is likely to fall.

2d. The more numerous, the more dangerous, and therefore the more need to suppress them; and God has suffered us to bear them as goads in our sides, for not utterly extinguishing them long ago.

3d. If we are to allow them, only because we cannot suppress them, then it ought to be tried whether we can or no; and I am of opinion it is easy to be done, and could prescribe ways and means, if it were proper; but I doubt not the government will find effectual methods for the rooting the contagion from the face of this land.

Another argument they use, which is this, that it is a time of war, and we have need to unite against the common enemy.

We answer, this common enemy had been no enemy, if they had not made him so; he was quiet, in peace, and no way disturbed or encroached upon us, and we know no reason we had to quarrel with him.

But further, we make no question but we are able to deal with this common enemy without their help; but why must we unite with them because of the enemy? Will they go over to the enemy, if we do not prevent it by a union with them? We are very well contented they should; and make no question we shall be ready to deal with them and the common enemy too, and better without them than with them.

Besides, if we have a common enemy, there is the more need to be secure against our private enemies; if there is one common enemy, we have the less need to have an enemy in our bowels.

It was a great argument some people used against suppressing the old money, that it was a time of war, and it was too great a risk for the nation to run; if we should not master it, we should be undone. And yet the sequel proved the hazard was not so great but it might be mastered, and the success was answerable. The suppressing the Dissenters is not a harder work, nor a work of less necessity to the public. We can never enjoy a settled uninterrupted union and tranquillity in this nation, till the spirit of whiggism, faction, and schism, is melted down like the old money.

To talk of the difficulty, is to frighten ourselves with chimeras, and notions of a powerful party, which are indeed a party without power. Difficulties often appear greater at a distance, than when they are searched into with judgment, and distinguished from the vapours and shadows that attend them.

We are not to be frightened with it; this age is wiser than that, by all our own experience, and theirs too. King Charles the First had early

suppressed this party, if he had took more deliberate measures. In short, it is not worth arguing, to talk of their arms; their Monmouths, and Shaftesburys, and Argylls are gone, their Dutch sanctuary is at an end, Heaven has made way for their destruction; and if we do not close with the divine occasion, we are to blame ourselves, and may remember that we had once an opportunity to serve the Church of England, by extirpating her implacable enemies; and having let slip the minute that Heaven presented, may experimentally complain, *post est occasio calva.*

Here are some popular objections in the way.

As first, the queen has promised them to continue them in their tolerated liberty, and has told us she will be a religious observer of her word.

What her majesty will do we cannot help, but what, as the head of the church, she ought to do, is another case. Her majesty has promised to protect and defend the Church of England; and if she cannot effectually do that without the destruction of the Dissenters, she must of course dispense with one promise to comply with another. But to answer this cavil more effectually. Her majesty did never promise to maintain the toleration to the destruction of the church; but it is upon supposition that it may be compatible with the wellbeing and safety of the church which she has declared she would take especial care of. Now if these two interests clash, it is plain her majesty's intentions are to uphold, protect, defend, and establish the church, and this we conceive is impossible.

Perhaps it may be said, that the church is in no immediate danger from the Dissenters, and therefore it is time enough. But this is a weak answer.

For first, if a danger be real, the distance of it is no argument against, but rather a spur to quicken us to prevention, lest it be too late hereafter.

And secondly, here is the opportunity, and the only one perhaps that ever the church had to secure herself, and destroy her enemies.

The representatives of the nation have now an opportunity, the time is come which all good men have wished for, that the gentlemen of England may serve the Church of England, now they are protected and encouraged by a Church of England queen.

What will you do for your sister in the day that she shall be spoken for?

If ever you will establish the best Christian church in the world:

If ever you will suppress the spirit of enthusiasm:

If ever you will free the nation from the viperous brood that have so long sucked the blood of their mother:

If ever you will leave your posterity free from faction and rebellion, this is the time.

This is the time to pull up this heretical weed of sedition, that has so long disturbed the peace of our church, and poisoned the good corn.

But, says another hot and cold objector, this is renewing fire and faggot, reviving the act *De Heret. Comburendo.* This will be cruelty in its nature, and barbarous to all the world.

I answer, it is cruelty to kill a snake or a toad in cold blood; but the poison of their nature makes it a charity to our neighbours to destroy those creatures, not for any personal injury received, but for prevention; not for the evil they have done, but the evil they may do.

Serpents, toads, vipers, &c., are noxious to the body, and poison the sensitive life. These poison the soul, corrupt our posterity, ensnare our children, destroy the vitals of our happiness, our future felicity, and contaminate the whole mass.

Shall any law be given to such wild creatures? Some beasts are for sport, and the huntsmen give them advantages of ground; but some are knocked on the head by all possible ways of violence and surprise.

I do not prescribe fire and faggot, but as a Scipio said of Carthage, *Delenda est Carthago,* 'They are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we will live in peace, serve God, or enjoy our own.' As for the manner, I leave it to those hands who have a right to execute God's justice on the nation's and the church's enemies.

But if we must be frighted from this justice under the specious pretences and odious sense of cruelty, nothing will be effected. 'Twill be more barbarous to our own children and dear posterity, when they shall reproach their fathers, as we do ours, and tell us, 'You had an opportunity to root out this cursed race from the world, under the favour and protection of a true English queen; and out of your foolish pity you spared them, because, forsooth, you would not be cruel! and now our church is suppressed and persecuted, our religion trampled under foot, our estates plundered, our persons imprisoned and dragged to jails, gibbets, and scaffolds; your sparing this Amalekite race is our destruction, your mercy to them proves cruelty to your poor posterity.'

How just will such reflections be when our posterity shall fall under the merciless clutches of this uncharitable generation, when our church shall be swallowed up in schism, faction, enthusiasm, and confusion; when our government shall be devolved upon foreigners, and our monarchy dwindled into a republic.

'Twould be more rational for us, if we must spare this generation, to summon our own to a general massacre, and as we have brought them into the world free, send them out so, and not betray them to destruction by our supine negligence, and then cry, it is mercy.

Moses was a merciful, meek man, and yet with what fury did he run through the camp and cut the throats of three-and-thirty thousand of his dear Israelites that were fallen into idolatry! What was the reason? 'Twas mercy to the rest to make these examples, to prevent the destruction of the whole army.

How many millions of future souls we save from infection and delusion, if the present race of poisoned spirits were purged from the face of the land!

'Tis vain to trifle in this matter, the light foolish handling of them by mulcts, fines, &c., 'tis their glory and their advantage; if the gallows instead of the counter, and the galleys instead of the fines, were the reward of going to a conventicle to preach or hear, there would not be so many sufferers. The spirit of martyrdom is over; they that will go to church to be chosen sheriffs and mayors, would go to forty churches rather than be hanged.

If one severe law were made and punctually executed, that whoever was found at a conventicle should be banished the nation, and the preacher be hanged, we should soon see an end of the tale; they would all come to church, and one age would make us all one again.

To talk of 5s. a month for not coming to the sacrament, and 1s. per week for not coming to church, this is such a way of converting people as never was known, this is selling them a liberty to transgress for so much money. If it be not a crime, why don't we give them full

licence? And if it be, no price ought to compound for the committing it, for that is selling a liberty to people to sin against God and the government.

If it be a crime of the highest consequence both against the peace and welfare of the nation, the glory of God, the good of the church, and the happiness of the soul, let us rank it among capital offences, and let it receive a punishment in proportion to it.

We hang men for trifles, and banish them for things not worth naming, but an offence against God and the church, against the welfare of the world and the dignity of religion, shall be bought off for 5s.; this is such a shame to a Christian government that 'tis with regret I transmit it to posterity.

If men sin against God, affront his ordinances, rebel against his church, and disobey the precepts of their superiors, let them suffer as such capital crimes deserve; so will religion flourish, and this divided nation be once again united.

And yet the title of barbarous and cruel will soon be taken off from this law too. I am not supposing that all the Dissenters in England should be hanged or banished, but as in cases of rebellions and insurrections, if a few of the ringleaders suffer, the multitude are dismissed; so a few obstinate people being made examples, there's no doubt but the severity of the law would find a stop in the compliance of the multitude.

To make the reasonableness of this matter out of question, and more unanswerably plain, let us examine for what it is that this nation is divided into parties and factions, and let us see how they can justify a separation, or we of the Church of England can justify our bearing the insults and inconveniences of the party.

One of their leading pastors, and a man of as much learning as most among them, in his answer to a pamphlet entitled, *An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity*, hath these words, p. 27: 'Do the religion of the church and the meeting-houses make two religions? Wherein do they differ? The substance of the same religion is common to them both, and the modes and accidents are the things in which only they differ;' p. 28: 'Thirty-nine articles are given us for the summary of our religion, thirty-six contain the substance of it wherein we agree, three the additional appendices about which we have some differences.'

Now, if as by their own acknowledgment the Church of England is a true church, and the difference between them is only in a few modes and accidents, why should we expect that they will suffer galleys, corporal punishment, and banishment for these trifles? There is no question but they will be wiser, even their own principles won't bear them out in it, they will certainly comply with the laws, and with reason; and though at the first severity may seem hard, the next age will feel nothing of it, the contagion will be rooted out; the disease being cured, there will be no need of the operation; but if they should venture to transgress and fall into the pit, all the world must condemn their obstinacy, as being without ground from their own principles.

Thus the pretence of cruelty will be taken off, and the party actually suppressed, and the disquiets they have so often brought on the nation prevented.

Their numbers and their wealth make them haughty; and that 'tis so far from being an argument to persuade us to forbear them, that 'tis a warning to us, without any more delay, to reconcile them to the unity of the church, or remove them from us.

At present, Heaven be praised, they are not so formidable as they have been, and 'tis our own fault if ever we suffer them to be so; Providence and the Church of England seem to join in this particular, that now the destroyers of the nation's peace may be overturned, and to this end the present opportunity seems to be put into our hands.

To this end her present majesty seems reserved to enjoy the crown, that the ecclesiastic as well as civil rights of the nation may be restored by her hand.

To this end the face of affairs has received such a turn in the process of a few months as never has been before; the leading men of the nation, the universal cry of the people, the unanimous request of the clergy, agree in this, that the deliverance of our church is at hand.

For this end has Providence given such a parliament, such a convocation, such a gentry, and such a queen, as we never had before.

And what may be the consequences of a neglect of such opportunities? The succession of the crown has but a dark prospect, another Dutch turn may make the hopes of it ridiculous, and the practice impossible. Be the house of our future princes never so well inclined, they will be foreigners, and many years will be spent in suiting the genius of strangers to this crown and the interests of the nation; and how many ages it may be before the English throne be filled with so much zeal and candour, so much tenderness and hearty affection to the church, as we see it now covered with, who can imagine?

'Tis high time then for the friends of the Church of England to think of building up and establishing her in such a manner that she may be no more invaded by foreigners, nor divided by factions, schisms, and error.

If this could be done by gentle and easy methods, I should be glad; but the wound is corroded, the vitals begin to mortify, and nothing but amputation of members can complete the cure; all the ways of tenderness and compassion, all persuasive arguments, have been made use of in vain.

The humour of the Dissenters has so increased among the people that they hold the church in defiance, and the house of God is an abomination among them. Nay, they have brought up their posterity in such prepossessed aversions to our holy religion that the ignorant mob think we are all idolaters and worshippers of Baal, and account it a sin to come within the walls of our churches.

The primitive Christians were not more shy of a heathen temple, or of meat offered to idols, nor the Jews of swine's flesh, than some of our Dissenters are of the church and the divine service solemnized therein.

This obstinacy must be rooted out with the profession of it; while the generation are left at liberty daily to affront God Almighty, and dishonour his holy worship, we are wanting in our duty to God, and our mother, the Church of England.

How can we answer it to God, to the church, and to our posterity, to leave them entangled with fanaticism, error, and obstinacy, in the bowels of the nation; to leave them an enemy in their streets that in time may involve them in the same crimes, and endanger the utter extirpation of the religion in the nation?

What's the difference betwixt this and being subjected to the power of the Church of Rome,

from whence we have reformed? If one be an extreme on one hand, and one on another, 'tis equally destructive to the truth to have errors settled among us, let them be of what nature they will.

Both are enemies of our church and of our peace, and why should it not be as criminal to admit an enthusiast as a Jesuit? Why should the Papist, with his seven sacraments, be worse than the Quaker with no sacraments at all? Why should religious houses be more intolerable than meeting-houses? Alas! the Church of England! What with Popery on one hand, and schismatics on the other, how has she been crucified between two thieves!

Now let us crucify the thieves. Let her foundations be established upon the destruction of her enemies—the doors of mercy being always open to the returning part of the deluded people; let the obstinate be ruled with the rod of iron.

Let all true sons of so holy and oppressed a mother, exasperated by her afflictions, harden their hearts against those who have oppressed her.

And may God Almighty put it into the hearts of all the friends of truth to lift up a standard against pride and antichrist, that the posterity of the sons of error may be rooted out from the face of this land for ever.

A Brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, entituled, The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.

THE author professes, he thought, when he wrote the book, he should never need to come to an explication, and wonders to find there should be any reason for it.

If any man take the pains seriously to reflect upon the contents, the nature of the thing, and the manner of the style, it seems impossible to imagine it should pass for anything but a banter upon the high-flying churchmen.

That it is free from any seditious design, either of stirring up the Dissenters to any evil practice by way of prevention, much less of animating others to their destruction, will be plain, I think, to any man that understands the present constitution of England and the nature of our government.

But since ignorance or prejudice has led most men to a hasty censure of the book, and some people are like to come under the displeasure of the government for it, in justice to those who are in danger to suffer for it, in submission to the parliament and council who may be offended at it, and in courtesy to all mistaken people who, it seems, have not penetrated into the real design, the author presents the world with the native genuine meaning and design of the paper, which he hopes may allay the anger of the government, or at least satisfy the minds of such as imagine a design to inflame and divide us.

The paper—without the least retrospect to or concern in the public bills in parliament now depending, or any other proceedings of either house, or of the government relating to the Dissenters, whose occasional conformity the author has constantly opposed—has its immediate original from the virulent spirits of some men who have thought fit to express themselves to the same effect in their printed books, though not in words so plain, and at length, and by an irony not unusual, stands as a fair answer to several books published in this liberty of the press, which, if they had been handed to the government with the same temper as this has, would, no question, have found the same treatment.

The sermon preached at Oxford, the *New Association*, the *Poetical Observator*, with numberless others, have said the same thing in terms very little darker, and this book stands fair to let those gentlemen know that what they design can no farther take with mankind, than as their real meaning stands disguised by artifice of words; but that when the persecution and destruction of the Dissenters, the very thing they drive at, is put into plain English, the whole nation will start at the notion, and condemn the author to be hanged for his impudence.

The author humbly hopes he shall find no harder treatment for plain English without design, than those gentlemen for their plain design, in duller and darker English.

Any gentlemen who have patience to peruse the author of the *New Association*, will find gallows, galleys, persecution, and destruction of the Dissenters are directly pointed at as fairly intended and designed as in this shortest way as, had it been real, can be pretended; there is as much virulence against a union with Scotland, against King William's government, and against the line of Hanover, there is as much noise and pains taken in Mr. S—ll's sermon to blacken the Dissenters, and thereby to qualify them for the abhorrence of all mankind, as is possible.

The meaning then of this paper is, in short, to tell these gentlemen—

1. That 'tis nonsense to go round about and tell us of the crimes of the Dissenters, to prepare the world to believe they are not fit to live in a humane society, that they are enemies to the government and law, to the queen and the public peace, and the like; the shortest way and the soonest would be to tell us plainly that they would have them all hanged, banished, and destroyed.

2. But withal to acquaint those gentlemen who fancy the time is come to bring it to pass, that they are mistaken; for that, when the thing they mean is put into plain English, the whole nation replies with the Assyrian captain, 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do these things?' The gentlemen are mistaken in every particular, it will not go down; the queen, the council, the parliament are all offended to have it so much as suggested that such a thing was possible to come into their minds; and not a man, but a learned mercer, not far from the corner of Fenchurch-street, has been found to approve it.

Thus a poor author has ventured to have all mankind call him villain and traitor to his country and friends, for making other people's thoughts speak in his words.

From this declaration of his real design, he humbly hopes the lords of her majesty's council, or the House of Parliament, will be no longer offended, and that the poor people in trouble on this account shall be pardoned or excused.

He also desires that all men who have taken offence at the book, mistaking the author's design, will suffer themselves to think again and withhold their censure till they find themselves qualified to make a venture like this for the good of their native country.

As to expressions which seem to reflect upon persons or nations, he declares them to be only the cant of the nonjuring party exposed, and thinks it very necessary to let the world know that 'tis their usual language with which they treat the late king, the Scotch union, and the line of Hanover.

'Tis hard, after all, that this should not be perceived by all the town, that not one man can see it, either Churchman or Dissenter.

That not the Dissenters themselves can see that this was the only way to satisfy them, that whatever the parliament might think fit to do to restrain occasional communion, persecution and destruction was never in their intention, and that therefore they have nothing to do but to be quiet and easy.

For anything in the manner of the paper which may offend either the government or private persons, the author begs their pardon, and protesting the honesty of his intention, resolves, if the people now in trouble may be excused, to throw himself upon the favour of the government rather than others shall be ruined for his mistakes.

GIVING ALMS NO CHARITY.

Giving Alms no Charity, and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation. Being an Essay upon this Great Question, whether Workhouses, Corporations, and Houses of Correction for Employing the Poor, as now practised in England; or Parish Stocks, as proposed in a late Pamphlet, entituled, A Bill for the better Relief, Employment, and Settlement of the Poor, &c., are not mischievous to the Nation, tending to the Destruction of our Trade, and to Increase the Number and Misery of the Poor. London. 1704.

TO THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND BURGESSES IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

GENTLEMEN,—He that has truth and justice, and the interest of England in his design, can have nothing to fear from an English parliament.

This makes the author of these sheets, however despicable in himself, apply to this honourable house, without any apology for the presumption.

Truth, gentlemen, however meanly dressed, and in whatsoever bad company she happens to come, was always entertained at your bar; and the Commons of England must cease to act like themselves, or, which is worse, like their ancestors, when they cease to entertain any proposal, that offers itself at their door, for the general good and advantage of the people they represent.

I willingly grant that 'tis a crime in good manners to interrupt your more weighty counsels, and disturb your debates, with empty nauseous trifles in value, or mistaken schemes; and whoever ventures to address you ought to be well assured he is in the right, and that the matter suits the intent of your meeting, viz. to despatch the weighty affairs of the kingdom.

And as I have premised this, so I freely submit to any censure this honourable assembly shall think I deserve, if I have broke in upon either of the particulars.

I have but one petition to make with respect to the author, and that is, that no freedom of expression, which the arguments may oblige him to, may be construed as a want of respect, and a breach of the due deference every Englishman owes to the representing power of the nation.

It would be hard, that while I am honestly offering to your consideration something of moment for the general good, prejudice should lay snares for the author, and private pique make him an offender for a word.

Without entering upon other parts of my character, 'tis enough to acquaint this assembly, that I am an English freeholder, and have by that a title to be concerned in the good of that community of which I am an unworthy member.

This honourable house is the representative of all the freeholders of England; you are assembled for their good, you study their interest, you

possess their hearts, and you hold the strings of the general purse.

To you they have recourse for the redress of all their wrongs; and if at any time one of their body can offer to your assistance any fair, legal, honest and rational proposal for the public benefit, it was never known that such a man was either rejected or discouraged.

And on this account I crave the liberty to assure you, that the author of this seeks no reward; to him it shall always be reward enough to have been capable of serving his native country, and honour enough to have offered something for the public good worthy of consideration in your honourable assembly.

Pauper ubique jacet, said our famous Queen Elizabeth, when in her progress through the kingdom she saw the vast throngs of the poor flocking to see and bless her; and the thought put her majesty upon a continued study how to recover her people from that poverty, and make their labour more profitable to themselves in particular, and the nation in general.

This was easy then to propose, for that many useful manufactures were made in foreign parts, which our people bought with English money, and imported for their use.

The queen, who knew the wealth and vast numbers of people which the said manufactures had brought to the neighbouring countries then under the king of Spain, the Dutch being not yet revolted, never left off endeavouring what she happily brought to pass, viz. the transplanting into England those springs of riches and people.

She saw the Flemings prodigiously numerous, their cities stood thicker than her people's villages in some parts; all sorts of useful manufactures were found in their towns, and all their people were rich and busy, no beggars, no idleness, and consequently no want was to be seen among them.

She saw the fountain of all this wealth and workmanship, I mean the wool, was in her own hands, and Flanders became the seat of all these manufactures, not because it was naturally richer and more populous than other countries, but because it lay near England; and the staple of the English wool which was the foundation of all the wealth, was at Antwerp, in the heart of that country.

From hence it may be said of Flanders, it was not the riches and the number of people brought the manufactures into the Low Countries, but it was the manufactures brought the people thither; and multitudes of people make trade, trade makes wealth, wealth builds cities, cities enrich the land round them, land enriched rises in value, and the value of lands enriches the government.

Many projects were set on foot in England to erect the woollen manufacture here, and in some places it had found encouragement, before the days of this queen, especially as to making of cloth; but stuffs, bays, says, serges, and suchlike wares were yet wholly the work of the Flemings.

At last an opportunity offered perfectly unlooked for, viz. the persecution of the Protestants, and introducing the Spanish inquisition into Flanders, with the tyranny of the Duke d'Alva.

It cannot be an ungrateful observation here to take notice how tyranny and persecution, the one an oppression of property, the other of conscience, always ruin trade, impoverish nations, depopulate countries, dethrone princes, and destroy peace.

When an Englishman reflects on it, he cannot without infinite satisfaction look up to heaven, and to this honourable house, that as the spring, this as the stream, from and by which the felicity of this nation has obtained a pitch of glory, superior to all the people in the world.

Your councils especially, when blest from heaven, as now we trust they are, with principles of unanimity and concord, can never fail to make trade flourish, war successful, peace certain, wealth flowing, blessings probable, the queen glorious, and the people happy.

Our unhappy neighbours of the Low Countries were the very reverse of what we bless ourselves for in you.

Their kings were tyrants, their governors persecutors, their armies thieves and bloodhounds.

Their people divided, their councils confused, and their miseries innumerable.

D'Alva, the Spanish governor, besieged their cities, decimated the inhabitants, murthered their nobility, proscribed their princes, and executed 18,000 men by the hand of the hangman.

Conscience was trampled under foot, religion and reformation hunted like a hare upon the mountains, the inquisition threatened, and foreign armies introduced.

Property fell a sacrifice to absolute power, the country was ravaged, the towns plundered, the rich confiscated, the poor starved, trade interrupted, and the tenth penny demanded.

The consequence of this was, as in all tyrannies and persecutions it is, the people fled and scattered themselves in their neighbours' countries, trade languished, manufactures went abroad and never returned, confusion reigned, and poverty succeeded.

The multitude that remained, pushed to all extremities, were forced to obey the voice of nature, and in their own just defence to take arms against their governors.

Destruction itself has its uses in the world, the ashes of one city rebuild another, and God Almighty, who never acts in vain, brought the wealth of England and the power of Holland into the world from the ruin of the Flemish liberty.

The Dutch, in defence of their liberty, revolted, renounced their tyrant prince, and, prospered by Heaven and the assistance of England, erected the greatest commonwealth in the world.

Innumerable observations would flow from this part of the present subject; but brevity is my study. I am not teaching, for I know who I speak to, but relating and observing the connection of causes, and the wondrous births which lay then in the womb of providence, and are since come to life.

Particularly how Heaven directed the oppression and tyranny of the poor should be the wheel to turn over the great machine of trade from Flanders into England.

And how the persecution and cruelty of the Spaniards against religion should be directed by the secret overruling hand to be the foundation of a people and a body that should, in ages then to come, be one of the chief bulwarks of that very liberty and religion they sought to destroy.

In this general ruin of trade and liberty, England made a gain of what she never yet lost, and of what she has since increased to an inconceivable magnitude.

As D'Alva worried the poor Flemings, the queen of England entertained them, cherished them, invited them, encouraged them.

Thousands of innocent people fled from all parts from the fury of this merciless man; and as England, to her honour, has always been the sanctuary of her distressed neighbours, so now she was so to her special and particular profit.

The queen, who saw the opportunity put into her hands which she had so long wished for, not only received kindly the exiled Flemings, but invited over all that would come, promising them all possible encouragement, privileges, and freedom of her ports, and the like.

This brought over a vast multitude of Flemings, Walloons, and Dutch, who with their whole families settled at Norwich, at Ipswich, Colchester, Canterbury, Exeter, and the like. From these came the Walloon church at Canterbury, and the Dutch churches at Norwich, Colchester, and Yarmouth; from hence came the true-born English families at those places with foreign names; as the De Vinks at Norwich, the Rebows at Colchester, the Papilons, &c., at Canterbury, families to whom this nation are much in debt for the first planting those manufactures, from which we have since raised the greatest trades in the world.

This wise queen knew that number of inhabitants is the wealth and strength of a nation; she was far from that opinion we have of late shown too much of in complaining that foreigners came to take the bread out of our mouths, and ill-treating on that account the French Protestants who fled hither for refuge in the late persecution.

Some have said that above 50,000 of them settled here, and would have made it a grievance, though without doubt 'tis easy to make it appear that 500,000 more would be both useful and profitable to this nation.

Upon the settling of these foreigners, the scale of trade visibly turned both here and in Flanders.

The Flemings taught our women and children to spin, the youth to weave; the men entered the loom to labour, instead of going abroad to seek their fortunes by the war; the several trades of bays at Colchester, says and perpets at Sudbury, Ipswich, &c., stuffs at Norwich, serges at Exeter, silks at Canterbury, and the like, began to flourish. All the counties round felt the profit; the poor were set to work, the traders gained wealth, and multitudes of people flocked to the several parts where these manufactures were erected for employment; and the growth of England, both in trade, wealth, and people, since that time, as it is well known to this honourable house, so the causes of it appear to be plainly the introducing of these manufactures, and nothing else.

Nor was the gain made here by it more visible than the loss to the Flemings; from hence, and not, as is vainly suggested, from the building the Dutch fort of Lillo on the Scheld, came the decay of that flourishing city of Antwerp. From hence it is plain the Flemings, an industrious nation, finding their trade ruined at once, turned their hands to other things, as making of lace, linen, and the like, and the Dutch to the sea affairs and fishing.

From hence they become poor, thin of people, and weak in trade, the flux both of their wealth and trade running wholly into England.

I humbly crave leave to say, this long introduction shall not be thought useless, when I shall bring it home by the process of these papers to the subject now in hand, viz. the providing for, and employing the poor.

Since the times of Queen Elizabeth this nation has gone on to a prodigy of trade, of which the increase of our customs from 400,000 crowns to two millions of pounds sterling per annum, is a demonstration beyond the power of argument; and that this whole increase depends upon, and is principally occasioned by the increase of our manufactures is so plain, I shall not take up any room here to make it out.

Having thus given an account how we came to be a rich, flourishing, and populous nation, I crave leave, as concisely as I can, to examine how we came to be poor again, if it must be granted that we are so.

By poor here I humbly desire to be understood, not that we are a poor nation in general; I should undervalue the bounty of Heaven to England, and act with less understanding than most men are masters of, if I should not own that in general we are as rich a nation as any in the world; but by poor I mean burthened with a crowd of clamouring, unemployed, unprovided for poor people, who make the nation uneasy, burthen the rich, clog our parishes, and make themselves worthy of laws, and peculiar management to dispose of and direct them how these came to be thus in the question.

And first, I humbly crave leave to lay these heads down as fundamental maxims, which I am ready at any time to defend and make out.

1. There is in England more labour than hands to perform it, and consequently a want of people, not of employment.

2. No man in England, of sound limbs and senses, can be poor merely for want of work.

3. All our workhouses, corporations, and charities for employing the poor, and setting them to work, as now they are employed, or any Acts of Parliament to empower overseers of parishes, or parishes themselves, to employ the poor, except as shall be hereafter excepted, are, and will be public nuisances, mischiefs to the nation which serve to the ruin of families, and the increase of the poor.

4. That 'tis a regulation of the poor that is wanted in England, not a setting them to work.

If after these things are made out I am inquired of what this regulation should be, I am no more at a loss to lay it down than I am to affirm what is above; and shall always be ready when called to it, to make such a proposal to this honourable house as with their concurrence shall for ever put a stop to poverty and beggary, parish charges, assessments, and the like in this nation.

If such offers as these shall be slighted and rejected, I have the satisfaction of having discharged my duty, and the consequence must be that complaining will be continued in our streets.

'Tis my misfortune, that while I study to make every head so concise, as becomes me in things to be brought before so honourable and august an assembly, I am obliged to be short upon heads that in their own nature would very well admit of particular volumes to explain them.

I. I affirm that in England there is more labour than hands to perform it. This I prove—

1. From the dearness of wages, which in England outgoes all nations in the world, and I know no greater demonstration in trade. Wages, like exchanges, rise and fall as the remitters and drawers, the employers and the workmen balance one another.

The employers are the remitters, the workmen are the drawers; if there are more employers than workmen, the price of wages must rise, because the employer wants that work to be done more than the poor man wants to do it; if there are more workmen than employers, the price of labour falls, because the poor man wants his wages more than the employer wants to have his business done.

Trade, like all nature, most obsequiously obeys the great law of cause and consequence; and this is the occasion why even all the greatest articles of trade follow, and as it were pay

homage to this seemingly minute and inconsiderable thing, the poor man's labour.

I omit, with some pain, the many very useful thoughts that occur on this head, to preserve the brevity I owe to the dignity of that assembly I am writing to. But I cannot but note how from hence it appears that the glory, the strength, the riches, the trade, and all that's valuable in a nation as to its figure in the world depends upon the number of its people, be they never so mean or poor; the consumption of manufactures increases the manufacturers, the number of manufacturers increases the consumption, provisions are consumed to feed them, land improved, and more hands employed to furnish provision. All the wealth of the nation, and all the trade, is produced by numbers of people; but of this by the way.

The price of wages not only determines the difference between the employer and the workman, but it rules the rates of every market. If wages grow high, provisions rise in proportion; and I humbly conceive it to be a mistake in those people who say labour in such parts of England is cheap because provisions are cheap, but 'tis plain provisions are cheap there because labour is cheap, and labour is cheaper in those parts than in others, because being remoter from London there is not that extraordinary disproportion between the work and the number of hands; there are more hands, and consequently labour cheaper.

'Tis plain to any observing eye, that there is an equal plenty of provisions in several of our south and western counties as in Yorkshire, and rather a greater; and I believe I could make it out that a poor labouring man may live as cheap in Kent or Sussex as in the bishopric of Durham, and yet in Kent a poor man shall earn 7s., 10s., 9s., a week, and in the north 4s., or perhaps less; the difference is plain in this, that in Kent there is a greater want of people, in proportion to the work there, than in the north.

And this, on the other hand, makes the people of our northern counties spread themselves so much to the south, where trade, war, and the sea carrying off so many, there is a greater want of hands.

And yet 'tis plain there is labour for the hands which remain in the north, or else the country would be depopulated, and the people come all away to the south to seek work; and even in Yorkshire, where labour is cheapest, the people can gain more by their labour than in any of the manufacturing countries of Germany, Italy, or France, and live much better.

If there was one poor man in England more than there was work to employ, either somebody else shall stand still for him or he must be starved; if another man stands still for him, he wants a day's work, and goes to seek it, and by consequence supplants another, and this a third, and this contention brings it to this; ('No,' says the poor man that is like to be put out of his work, 'rather than that man shall come in, I'll do it cheaper;' 'Nay,' says the other, 'but I'll do it cheaper than you;' and thus one poor man, wanting but a day's work, would bring down the price of labour in a whole nation, for the man cannot starve, and will work for anything rather than want it.

It may be objected here, this is contradicted by the number of beggars.

I am sorry to say I am obliged here to call begging an employment, since 'tis plain if there is more work than hands to perform it, no man that has his limbs and his senses need to beg, and those that have not ought to be put into a condition not to want it.

So that begging is a mere scandal in the general; in the able 'tis a scandal upon their industry, and in the impotent 'tis a scandal upon the country.

Nay, the begging, as now practised, is a scandal upon our charity, and perhaps the foundation of all our present grievance.—How can it be possible that any man or woman, who being sound in body and mind, may, as 'tis apparent they may, have wages for their work, should be so base, so meanly spirited, as to beg an alms for God's sake?—Truly the scandal lies on our charity; and people have such a notion in England of being pitiful and charitable, that they encourage vagrants, and by a mistaken zeal do more harm than good.

This is a large scene, and much might be said upon it; I shall abridge it as much as possible.—The poverty of England does not lie among the craving beggars, but among poor families, where the children are numerous, and where death or sickness has deprived them of the labour of the father. These are the houses that the sons and daughters of charity, if they would order it well, should seek out and relieve; an alms ill directed may be charity to the particular person, but becomes an injury to the public, and no charity to the nation. As for the craving poor, I am persuaded I do them no wrong when I say, that if they were incorporated they would be the richest society in the nation; and the reason why so many pretend to want work is, that they can live so well with the pretence of wanting work, they would be mad to leave it and work in earnest; and I affirm of my own knowledge, when I have wanted a man for labouring work, and offered 9s. per week to strolling fellows at my door, they have frequently told me to my face they could get more a begging, and I once set a lusty fellow in the stocks for making the experiment.

I shall, in its proper place, bring this to a method of trial, since nothing but demonstration will affect us, 'tis an easy matter to prevent begging in England, and yet to maintain all our impotent poor at far less charge to the parishes than now they are obliged to be at.

When Queen Elizabeth had gained her point as to manufactories in England, she had fairly laid the foundation, she thereby found out the way how every family might live upon their own labour. Like a wise princess, she knew 'twould be hard to force people to work when there was nothing for them to turn their hands to; but as soon as she had brought the matter to bear, and there was work for everybody that had no mind to starve, then she applied herself to make laws to oblige the people to do this work, and to punish vagrants, and make every one live by their own labour; all her successors followed this laudable example, and from hence came all those laws against sturdy beggars, vagabonds, strollers, &c., which, had they been severely put in execution by our magistrates, 'tis presumed these vagrant poor had not so increased upon us as they have.

And it seems strange to me from what just ground we proceed now upon other methods, and fancy 'tis now our business to find them work, and to employ them, rather than to oblige them to find themselves work and go about it.

From this mistaken notion come all our workhouses and corporations, and the same error, with submission, I presume was the birth of this bill now depending, which enables every parish to erect the woollen manufacture within itself, for the employing their own poor.

'Tis the mistake of this part of the bill only which I am inquiring into, and which I endeavour to set in a true light.

In all the parliaments since the revolution, this matter has been before them, and I am justified in this attempt by the House of Commons having frequently appointed committees to receive proposals upon this head.

As my proposal is general, I presume to offer it to the general body of the house; if I am commanded to explain any part of it, I am ready to do anything that may be serviceable to this great and noble design.

As the former Houses of Commons gave all possible encouragement to such as could offer, or but pretend to offer at this needful thing, so the imperfect essays of several, whether for private or public benefit,—I do not attempt to determine which have since been made, and which have obtained the powers and conditions they have desired,—have by all their effects demonstrated the weakness of their design; and that they either understood not the disease, or know not the proper cure for it.

The imperfection of all these attempts is acknowledged, not only in the preamble of this new Act of Parliament, but even in the thing, in that there is yet occasion for any new law.

And having surveyed, not the necessity of a new Act, but the contents of the Act which has been proposed as a remedy in this case, I cannot but offer my objections against the sufficiency of the proposal, and leave it to the consideration of this wise assembly, and of the whole nation.

I humbly hope the learned gentleman, under whose direction this law is now to proceed, and by whose order it has been printed, will not think himself personally concerned in this case; his endeavours to promote so good a work, as the relief, employment, and settlement of the poor, merit the thanks and acknowledgment of the whole nation, and no man shall be more ready to pay his share of that debt to him than myself. But if his scheme happen to be something superficial, if he comes in among the number of those who have not searched this wound to the bottom, if the methods proposed are not such as will either answer his own designs or the nation's, I cannot think myself obliged to dispense with my duty to the public good, to preserve a personal value for his judgment, though the gentleman's merit be extraordinary.

Wherefore, as in all the schemes I have seen laid for the poor, and in this Act now before your honourable house, the general thought of the proposers runs upon the employing the poor by workhouses, corporations, houses of correction, and the like, and that I think it plain to be seen that those proposals come vastly short of the main design, these sheets are humbly laid before you, as well to make good what is alleged, viz. that all these workhouses, &c., tend to the increase and not the relief of the poor, as to make an humble tender of mean, plain, but I hope, rational proposals for the more effectual cure of this grand disease.

In order to proceed to this great challenge, I humbly desire the bills already passed may be reviewed, the practice of our corporation workhouses and the contents of this proposed Act examined.

In all these it will appear that the method chiefly proposed for the employment of our poor, is by setting them to work on the several manufactures before mentioned; as spinning, weaving, and manufacturing our English wool.

All our workhouses, lately erected in England, are in general thus employed, for which, without enumerating particulars, I humbly appeal to the knowledge of the several members of this honourable house, in their respective towns where such corporations have been erected.

In the present Act now preparing, as printed by direction of a member of this honourable house, it appears that in order to set the poor to work, it shall be lawful for the overseers of every town, or of one or more towns joined together, to occupy any trade, mystery, &c., and raise stocks for the carrying them on, for the setting the poor at work, and for the purchasing wool, iron, hemp, flax, thread, or other materials for that purpose. *Vide* the Act published by Sir Humphry Mackworth.

And that charities given so and so, and not exceeding £200 per annum for this purpose, shall be incorporated of course for these ends.

In order now to come to the case in hand, it is necessary to premise, that the thing now in debate is not the poor of this or that particular town. The House of Commons are acting like themselves, as they are the representatives of all the commons of England, 'tis the care of all the poor of England which lies before them, not of this or that particular body of the poor.

In proportion to this great work, I am to be understood that these workhouses, houses of correction, and stocks to employ the poor, may be granted to lessen the poor in this or that particular part of England; and we are particularly told of that at Bristol, that it has been such a terror to the beggars, that none of the strolling crew will come near the city. But all this allowed in general, 'twill be felt in the main, and the end will be an increase of our poor.

1. The manufactures that these gentlemen employ the poor upon, are all such as are before exercised in England.

2. They are all such as are managed to a full extent, and the present accidents of war and foreign interruption of trade considered, rather beyond the vent of them than under it.

Suppose now a workhouse for employment of poor children sets them to spinning of worsted.—For every skein of worsted these poor children spin, there must be a skein the less spun by some poor family or person that spun it before; suppose the manufacture of making bays to be erected in Bishopsgate-street, unless the makers of these bays can at the same time find out a trade or consumption for more bays than were made before, for every piece of bays so made in London, there must be a piece the less made at Colchester.

I humbly appeal to the honourable House of Commons what this may be called, and with submission, I think it is nothing at all to the employing the poor, since 'tis only the transposing the manufacture from Colchester to London, and taking the bread out of the mouths of the poor of Essex, to put it into the mouths of the poor of Middlesex.

If these worthy gentlemen, who show themselves so commendably forward to relieve and employ the poor, will find out some new trade, some new market, where the goods they make shall be sold, where none of the same goods were sold before; if they will send them to any place where they shall not interfere with the rest of that manufacture, or with some other made in England; then indeed they will do something worthy of themselves, and may employ the poor to the same glorious advantage as Queen Elizabeth did, to whom this nation, as a trading country, owes its peculiar greatness.

If these gentlemen could establish a trade to

Muscovy for English serges, or obtain an order from the Czar that all his subjects should wear stockings who wore none before, every poor child's labour in spinning and knitting those stockings, and all the wool in them, would be clear gain to the nation, and the general stock would be improved by it, because all the growth of our country, and all the labour of a person who was idle before, is so much clear gain to the general stock.

If they will employ the poor in some manufacture which was not made in England before, or not bought with some manufacture made here before, then they offer at something extraordinary.

But to set poor people at work on the same thing which other poor people were employed on before, and at the same time not increase the consumption, is giving to one what you take away from another, enriching one poor man to starve another, putting a vagabond into an honest man's employment, and putting his diligence on the tenters to find out some other work to maintain his family.

As this is not at all profitable, so, with submission for the expression, I cannot say 'tis honest, because 'tis transplanting and carrying the poor people's lawful employment from the place where was their lawful settlement; and the hardship of this our law considered is intolerable. For example,—

The manufacture of making bays is now established at Colchester in Essex: suppose it should be attempted to be erected in Middlesex, as a certain worthy and wealthy gentleman near Hackney once proposed, it may be supposed, if you will grant the skill in working the same, and the wages the same, that they must be made cheaper in Middlesex than in Essex, and cheapness certainly will make the merchant buy here rather than there, and so in time all the bay making at Colchester dies, and the staple for that commodity is removed to London.

What must the poor of Colchester do? There they buy a parochial settlement; those that have numerous families cannot follow the manufacture and come up to London, for our parochial laws empower the churchwardens to refuse them a settlement, so that they are confined to their own country, and the bread taken out of their mouths; and all this to feed vagabonds, and to set them to work, who by their choice would be idle, and who merit the correction of the law.

There is another grievance which I shall endeavour to touch at, which every man that wishes well to the poor does not foresee, and which, with humble submission to the gentlemen that contrived this Act, I see no notice taken of.

There are arcana's in trade, which, though they are the natural consequences of time and casual circumstances, are yet become now so essential to the public benefit, that to alter or disorder them would be an irreparable damage to the public.

I shall explain myself as concisely as I can.

The manufactures of England are happily settled in different corners of the kingdom, from whence they are mutually conveyed by a circulation of trade to London by wholesale, like the blood to the heart, and from thence disperse in lesser quantities to the other parts of the kingdom by retail. For example,—

Serges are made at Exeter, Taunton, &c.; stuffs at Norwich; bays, says, shaloons, &c., at Colchester, Bocking, Sudbury, and parts adjacent; fine cloth in Somerset, Wilts, Gloucester and Worcestershire; coarse cloth in Yorkshire, Kent, Surrey, &c.; druggets at Farnham, Newbury, &c. All these send up the gross of their quantity to London, and receive each other's sorts in retail for their own use again. Norwich buys Exeter serges, Exeter buys Norwich stuffs, all at London; Yorkshire buys fine cloths, and Gloucester coarse, still at London; and the like of a vast variety of our manufactures.

By this exchange of manufactures, abundance of trading families are maintained by the carriage and re-carriage of goods, vast numbers of men and cattle are employed, and numbers of inholders, victuallers, and their dependencies subsisted.

And on this account I cannot but observe to your honours, and 'tis well worth your consideration, that the already transposing a vast woollen manufacture from several parts of England to London is a manifest detriment to trade in general; the several woollen goods now made in Spitalfields, where within this few years were none at all made, has already visibly affected the several parts where they were before made, as Norwich, Sudbury, Farnham, and other towns, many of whose principal tradesmen are now removed hither, employ their stocks here, employ the poor here, and leave the poor of those countries to shift for work.

This breach of the circulation of trade must necessarily distemper the body, and I crave leave to give an example or two.

I'll presume to give an example in trade, which perhaps the gentlemen concerned in this bill may, without reflection upon their knowledge, be ignorant of.

The city of Norwich, and part adjacent, were for some ages employed in the manufacture of stuffs and stockings.

The latter trade, which was once considerable, is in a manner wholly transposed into London, by the vast quantities of worsted hose wove by the frame, which is a trade within this twenty years almost wholly new.

Now, as the knitting frame performs that in a day which would otherwise employ a poor woman eight or ten days, by consequence a few frames performed the work of many thousand poor people; and the consumption being not increased, the effect immediately appeared; so many stockings as were made in London, so many the fewer were demanded from Norwich, till in a few years the manufacture there wholly sunk, the masters there turned their hands to other business; and whereas the hose trade from Norfolk used to returned at least £5000 per week, and as some say twice that sum, 'tis not now worth naming.

'Tis in fewer years, and near our memory, that Spitalfields men have fallen into another branch of the Norwich trade, viz. making of stuffs, druggets, &c.

If any man say the people of Norfolk are yet full of employ, and do not work,—and some have been so weak as to make that reply, avoiding the many other demonstrations which could be given,—this is past answering, viz. that the combers of wool in Norfolk and Suffolk, who formerly had all, or ten parts in eleven of their yarn manufactured in the country, now comb their wool indeed, and spin the yarn in the country, but send vast quantities of it to London to be wove; will any man question whether this be not a loss to Norwich? Can there be as many weavers as before? And are there not abundance of workmen and masters too removed to London?

If it be so at Norwich, Canterbury is yet more a melancholy instance of it, where the houses stand empty, and the people go off, and the trade dies, because the weavers are following the manu-

facture to London; and whereas there was within few years 200 broad looms at work, I am well assured there are not 50 now employed in that city.

These are the effects of transposing manufactures and interrupting the circulation of trade.

All methods to bring our trade to be managed by fewer hands than it was before are in themselves pernicious to England in general, as it lessens the employment of the poor, unhinges their hands from the labour, and tends to bring our hands to be superior to our employ, which as yet it is not.

In Dorsetshire and Somersetshire there always has been a very considerable manufacture for stockings; at Colchester and Sudbury for bays, says, &c. Most of the wool these countries use is bought at London and carried down into those counties, and then the goods being manufactured, are brought back to London to market. Upon transposing the manufacture as before, all the poor people and all the cattle who hitherto were employed in that *voiture*, are immediately disbanded by their country, the innkeepers on the roads must decay, so much land lie for other uses, as the cattle employed, houses and tenements on the roads, and all their dependencies, sink in value.

'Tis hard to calculate what a blow it would be to trade in general should every county but manufacture all the several sorts of goods they use; it would throw our inland trade into strange convulsions, which at present is perhaps, or has been, in the greatest regularity of any in the world.

What strange work must it then make when every town shall have a manufacture, and every parish be a warehouse! Trade will be burthened with corporations which are generally equally destructive as monopolies, and by this method will easily be made so.

Parish stocks, under the direction of justices of peace, may soon come to set up petty manufactures, and here shall all useful things be made, and all the poorer sort of people shall be awed or biassed to trade there only. Thus the shopkeepers who pay taxes, and are the support of our inland circulation, will immediately be ruined, and thus we shall beggar the nation to provide for the poor.

As this will make every parish a market town, and every hospital a storehouse, so in London and the adjacent parts, to which vast quantities of the woollen manufacture will be thus transplanted thither, will in time too great and disproportioned numbers of the people assemble.

Though the settled poor can't remove, yet single people will stroll about and follow the manufacturer, and thus in time such vast numbers will be drawn about London as may be inconvenient to the government, and especially depopulating to those countries where the numbers of people, by reason of these manufactures, are very considerable.

An eminent instance of this we have in the present trade to Muscovy, which, however designed for an improvement to the English nation, and boasted of as such, appears to be converted into a monopoly, and proves injurious and destructive to the nation. The persons concerned removing and carrying out our people to teach that unpolished nation the improvements they are capable of.

If the bringing the Flemings to England brought with them their manufacture and trade, carrying our people abroad, especially to a country where the people work for little or nothing, what may it not do towards instructing that populous nation in such manufactures as may in time tend to the destruction of our trade, or the reducing our manufacture to an abatement in value, which will be felt at home by an abatement of wages, and that in provisions, and that in rent of land? and so the general stock sinks of course.

But as this is preparing by eminent hands to be laid before this house, as a grievance meriting your care and concern, I omit insisting on it here.

And this removing of people is attended with many inconveniences which are not easily perceived, as—

1. The immediate fall of the value of all lands in those countries where the manufactures were before; for as the numbers of people by the consumption of provisions must, wherever they increase, make rents rise and land valuable, so those people removing, though the provisions would, if possible, follow them, yet the price of them must fall by all that charge they are at for carriage, and consequently lands must fall in proportion.

2. This transplanting of families, in time, would introduce great and new alterations in the countries they removed to, which as they would be to the profit of some places, would be to the detriment of others, and can by no means be just any more than it is convenient, for no wise government studies to put any branch of their country to any particular disadvantages, though it may be found in the general account in another place.

If it be said here will be manufactures in every parish, and that will keep the people at home;

I humbly represent what strange confusion and particular detriment to the general circulation of trade mentioned before, it must be to have every parish make its own manufactures.

1. It will make our towns and counties independent of one another, and put a damp to correspondence, which all will allow to be a great motive of trade in general.

2. It will fill us with various sorts and kinds of manufactures, by which our stated sorts of goods will in time dwindle away in reputation, and foreigners not know them one from another. Our several manufactures are known by their respective names, and our serges, bays, and other goods are bought abroad by the character and reputation of the places where they are made; when there shall come new and unheard-of kinds to market, some better, some worse, as, to be sure, new undertakers will vary in kinds, the dignity and reputation of the English goods abroad will be lost, and so many confusions in trade will follow as are too many to recount.

3. Either our parish stock must sell by wholesale, or by retail, or both: if the first, 'tis doubted they will make sorry work of it, and having other business of their own, make but poor merchants; if by retail, then they turn pedlars, will be a public nuisance to trade, and at last quite ruin it.

4. This will ruin all the carriers in England, the wool will be all manufactured where it is sheared, everybody will make their own clothes, and the trade, which now lives by running through a multitude of hands, will go then through so few, that thousands of families will want employment; and this is the only way to reduce us to the condition spoken of, to have more hands than work.

'Tis the excellence of our English manufacture, that it is so planted as to go through as

many hands as 'tis possible; he that contrives to have it go through fewer, ought, at the same time, to provide work for the rest. As it is, it employs a great multitude of people, and can employ more; but if a considerable number of these people be unhinged from their employment, it cannot but be detrimental to the whole.

When I say we could employ more people in England, I do not mean that we cannot do our work with those we have, but I mean thus—

First, It should be more people brought over from foreign parts. I do not mean that those we have should be taken from all common employments and put to our manufacture; we may unequally dispose of our hands, and so have too many for some works, and too few for others; and 'tis plain that in some parts of England it is so, what else can be the reason; why, in our southern parts of England, Kent in particular borrows 20,000 people of other counties to get in her harvest.

But if more foreigners came among us, if it were two millions, it could do us no harm, because they would consume our provisions, and we have land enough to produce much more than we do, and they would consume our manufactures, and we have wool enough for any quantity.

I think therefore, with submission, to erect manufactures in every town, to transpose the manufactures from the settled places into private parishes and corporations, to parcel out our trade to every door, it must be ruinous to the manufacturers themselves, will turn thousands of families out of their employments, and take the bread out of the mouths of diligent and industrious families to feed vagrants, thieves, and beggars, who ought much rather to be compelled, by legal methods, to seek that work which it is plain is to be had; and thus this Act will, instead of settling and relieving the poor, increase their number, and starve the best of them.

It remains now, according to my first proposal, to consider from whence proceeds the poverty of our people; what accident, what decay of trade, what want of employment, what strange revolution of circumstances, makes our people poor, and consequently burthensome, and our laws deficient, so as to make more and other laws requisite, and the nation concerned to apply a remedy to this growing disease. I answer—

1. Not for want of work; and besides what has been said on that head, I humbly desire these two things may be considered—

First, 'Tis apparent that if one man, woman, or child can by his or her labour earn more money than will subsist one body, there must consequently be no want of work, since any man would work for just as much as would supply himself rather than starve. What a vast difference then must there be between the work and the workmen, when 'tis now known that in Spitalfields, and other adjacent parts of the city, there is nothing more frequent than for a journeyman weaver, of many sorts, to gain from 15s. to 30s. per week wages; and I appeal to the silk throwsters whether they do not give 8s., 9s., and 10s. per week to blind men and cripples to turn wheels, and do the meanest and most ordinary works.

Cur Moriatur Homo, &c.

Why are the families of these men starved, and their children in workhouses, and brought up by charity? I am ready to produce to this honourable house the man who for several years has gained of me, by his handy labour at the mean scoundrel employment of tile-making, from 16s. to 20s. per week wages, and all that time would hardly have a pair of shoes to his feet, or clothes to cover his nakedness, and had his wife and children kept by the parish.

The meanest labours in this nation afford the workman sufficient to provide for himself and his family, and that could never be if there was a want of work.

2. I humbly desire this honourable house to consider the present difficulty of raising soldiers in this kingdom, the vast charge the kingdom is at to the officers to procure men, the many little and not over honest methods made use of to bring them into the service, the laws made to compel them. Why are jails rummaged for malefactors, and the mint and prisons for debtors? The war is an employment of honour, and suffers some scandal in having men taken from the gallows, and immediately from villains and housebreakers made gentlemen soldiers. If men wanted employment, and consequently bread, this could never be; any man would carry a musket rather than starve, and wear the queen's cloth, or anybody's cloth, rather than go naked and live in rags and want. 'Tis plain the nation is full of people, and 'tis as plain our people have no particular aversion to the war, but they are not poor enough to go abroad. 'Tis poverty makes men soldiers, and drives crowds into the armies; and the difficulty to get Englishmen to 'list is, because they live in plenty and ease, and he that can earn 20s. per week at an easy, steady employment, must be drunk or mad when he 'lists for a soldier to be knocked on the head for 3s. 6d. per week; but if there was no work to be had, if the poor wanted employment, if they had not bread to eat, nor knew not how to earn it, thousands of young lusty fellows would fly to the pike and musket, and choose to die like men in the face of the enemy rather than lie at home, starve, perish in poverty and distress.

From all these particulars and innumerable unhappy instances which might be given, 'tis plain the poverty of our people which is so burthensome, and increases upon us so much, does not arise from want of proper employments, and for want of work, or employers; and consequently,

Workhouses, corporations, parish stocks, and the like, to set them to work, as they are pernicious to trade, injurious and impoverishing to those already employed, so they are needless and will come short of the end proposed.

The poverty and exigence of the poor in England is plainly derived from one of these two particular causes.

Casualty or Crime.

By casualty, I mean sickness of families, loss of limbs or sight, and any, either natural or accidental, impotence as to labour.

These, as infirmities merely providential, are not at all concerned in this debate; ever were, will, and ought to be the charge and care of the respective parishes where such unhappy people chance to live; nor is there any want of new laws to make provision for them, our ancestors having been always careful to do it.

The crimes of our people, and from whence their poverty derives, as the visible and direct fountains, are—

1. Luxury.
2. Sloth.
3. Pride.

Good husbandry is no English virtue; it may have been brought over, and in some places

where it has been planted it has thriven well enough; but 'tis a foreign species, it neither loves nor is beloved by an Englishman; and, 'tis observed, nothing is so universally hated, nothing treated with such a general contempt, as a rich covetous man, though he does no man any wrong, only saves his own; every man will have an ill word for him. If a misfortune happens to him, hang him a covetous old rogue, 'tis no matter, he's rich enough. Nay, when a certain great man's house was on fire, I have heard the people say one to another, 'Let it burn and 'twill, he's a covetous old miserable dog, I won't trouble my head to help him; he'd be hanged before he'd give us a bit of bread if we wanted it.'

Though this be a fault, yet I observe from it something of the natural temper and genius of the nation; generally speaking, they cannot save their money.

'Tis generally said the English get estates and the Dutch save them; and this observation I have made between foreigners and Englishmen, that where an Englishman earns 20s. per week, and but just lives, as we call it, a Dutchman grows rich and leaves his children in very good condition; where an English labouring man with his 9s. per week lives wretchedly and poor, a Dutchman with that wages will live very tolerably well, keep the wolf from the door, and have everything handsome about him. In short, he will be rich with the same gain as makes an Englishman poor, he'll thrive when the other goes in rags, and he'll live when the other starves or goes a tagging.

The reason is plain. A man with good husbandry and thought in his head, brings home his earnings honestly to his family, commits it to the management of his wife, or otherwise disposes it for proper subsistence; and this man with mean gains lives comfortably, and brings up a family, when a single man getting the same wages, drinks it away at the ale-house, thinks not of to-morrow, lays up nothing for sickness, age, or disaster, and when any of these happen, he's starved and a beggar.

This is so apparent in every place that I think it needs no explication, that English labouring people eat and drink, but especially the latter, three times as much in value as any sort of foreigners of the same dimensions in the world.

I am not writing this as a satire on our people. 'Tis a sad truth, and worthy the debate and application of the nation's physicians assembled in parliament. The profuse extravagant humour of our poor people in eating and drinking keeps them low, causes their children to be left naked and starving to the care of the parishes whenever sickness or disaster befalls the parent.

The next article is their sloth.

We are the most lazy diligent nation in the world. Vast trade, rich manufactures, mighty wealth, universal correspondence, and happy success have been constant companions of England, and given us the title of an industrious people, and so in general we are.

But there is a general taint of slothfulness upon our poor. There's nothing more frequent than for an Englishman to work till he has got his pocket full of money, and then go and be idle, or perhaps drunk, till 'tis all gone, and perhaps himself in debt; and ask him in his cups what he intends, he'll tell you honestly, 'He'll drink as long as it lasts, and then go to work for more.'

I humbly suggest this distemper is so general, so epidemic, and so deep rooted in the nature and genius of the English, that I much doubt its being easily redressed, and question whether it be possible to reach it by an Act of Parliament.

This is the ruin of our poor; the wife mourns, the children starve, the husband has work before him, but lies at the ale-house, or otherwise idles away his time and won't work.

'Tis the men that won't work, not the men that can get no work, which make the numbers of our poor. All the workhouses in England, all the overseers setting up stocks and manufactures, won't reach this case; and I humbly presume to say, if these two articles are removed there will be no need of the other.

I make no difficulty to promise, on a short summons, to produce above a thousand families in England, within my particular knowledge, who go in rags, and their children wanting bread, whose fathers can earn their 15s. to 25s. per week, but will not work, who may have work enough, but are too idle to seek after it, and hardly vouchsafe to earn anything more than bare subsistence and spending-money for themselves.

I can give an incredible number of examples in my own knowledge among our labouring poor. I once paid six or seven men together on a Saturday night, the least 10s., and some 30s. for work, and have seen them go with it directly to the ale-house, lie there till Monday, spend it every penny, and run in debt to boot, and not give a farthing of it to their families, though all of them had wives and children.

From hence comes poverty, parish charges, and beggary. If ever one of these wretches falls sick, all they would ask was a pass to the parish they lived at, and the wife and children to the door a begging.

If this honourable house can find out a remedy for this part of the mischief, if such Acts of Parliament may be made as may effectually cure the sloth and luxury of our poor, that shall make drunkards take care of wife and children, spendthrifts lay up for a wet day, idle, lazy fellows diligent, and thoughtless sottish men careful and provident;

If this can be done, I presume to say there will be no need of transposing and confounding our manufactures and the circulation of our trade, they will soon find work enough, and there will soon be less poverty among us; and if this cannot be done, setting them to work upon woollen manufactures, and thereby encroaching upon those that now work at them, will but ruin our trade, and consequently increase the number of the poor.

I do not presume to offer the schemes I have now drawn of methods for the bringing much of this to pass, because I shall not presume to lead a body so august, so wise, and so capable as this honourable assembly.

I humbly submit what is here offered as reasons to prove the attempt now making insufficient, and doubt not but in your great wisdom you will find out ways and means to set this matter in a clearer light, and on a right foot.

And if this obtains on the house to examine further into this matter, the author humbly recommends it to their consideration to accept, in behalf of all the poor of this nation, a clause in the room of this objected against, which shall answer the end without this terrible ruin to our trade and people.

THE COMPLETE ENGLISH TRADESMA

The Complete English Tradesman: directing him in the several parts an gressions of Trade, from his first entering upon business to his leavi Calculated for the use of our Inland Tradesmen, and especially for Beginners.

[THE first part of this, one of the latest works of the versatile Defoe, was published in a second part following in 1727. From both parts we here give copious extracts, h selected those chapters which we thought would be of some interest and value at the p day. 'This well-contrived and ably-written performance,' says Wilson, 'whilst it fur much information upon the subject of trade, abounds in practical lessons that discov ordinary acquaintance with the world. If his former writings had not given abu evidence of the fact, these volumes are sufficient to show the penetration of the writer that he was an accurate painter of life and manners in the middle classes of society. Alth the lapse of a century has necessarily produced a considerable change both in habits manners, yet the instruction conveyed in *The Complete Tradesman* will be always ser able. The caustic satire of the writer reaches to the buyer as well as the seller, and he see how much the honesty of the one is affected by the dealings of the other. Few per perhaps, would expect to meet with amusement upon so dull a subject as trade; yet, inv by the genius of Defoe, it has furnished materials for one of the most entertaining wor the English language.']

Of the Tradesman in his preparations while an Apprentice.

THE first part of a trader's beginning is ordinarily very young, I mean when he goes apprentice, and the notions of trade are scarce got into his head. For the first three or four years they are rather to be taught submission to family orders, subjection to their masters, and dutiful attendance in their shops or warehouses; and this being a part already well performed, we shall not dwell upon it here.

But after they have entered the fifth or sixth year, and begin to think of setting up for themselves, then is the time to instruct them in such things as may qualify them best to enter upon the world, and act for themselves when they are so entered.

The first thing a youth in the latter part of his time is to do, is to endeavour to gain a good judgment in the wares of all kinds that he is like to deal in. The first years of his time he of course learns to weigh and measure either liquids or solids, to pack up and make bales, trusses, packs, &c., and to do the coarser and laborious part of business; but all that gives him little knowledge in the species of the goods he is to deal in, less a nice judgment in their value and which, however, is one of the principal that belongs to trade.

It is supposed that by this time, if his is a man of considerable business, his become the eldest apprentice, and is tak the counting-house, where, among other he sees the bills of parcels of goods bou thereby knows what everything cost hand; what gain is made of them, and wh if any; by which he is led, of course, to kn the goodness of the goods, and see the re things. If the goods are not to expectati sees the reason of that loss, and he looks in goods, and sees where and how far they w ficient; this, if he be careful to make his vations, brings him naturally to have a judgment in the goods, and in the value of

If a young man neglects this part and over the season for such improvement, h rarely ever recovers it; for this part lost is and that lost, never comes again; a judgm goods taken in early is never lost, as a ju taken in late is seldom good.

For want of this knowledge he is liable

imposed upon in the most notorious manner by the sharp-sighted world; for his bad judgment cannot be hid; the very boys in the warehouses of wholesale men and merchants will play upon him, sell him a worse sort for a better, and when they have bubbled him, will triumph over his ignorance behind his back; and the further consequence is, he sells, as he buys, an inferior sort for a better; and this is the way to blast his reputation; since it will be charitable to think no worse of him, than that he has been imposed upon himself, and is ignorant of his business.

2. The next thing to be recommended to an apprentice, in the latter part of his time, is to choose to cultivate an acquaintance, as his opportunities will give him leave, with young people of his own standing, who serve those who are his master's chapmen and customers, and who have the prospect of beginning the world much about his own time, and even with such of his master's chapmen themselves, as, by dealing with several tradesmen of the same business, may, upon an opinion of his good behaviour in his apprenticeship, and knowledge in his business, dispense to him some part of their business.

What I mean by this, is not that the young man should confine himself absolutely to such as are of like standing with himself, and not seek, as occasion offers, to make himself friends among his master's customers, in a fair, and not undermining manner; for this would be to circumscribe him too unreasonably, and is what no master who takes an apprentice ought honestly to expect. If any inconveniences are likely to arise to a master on such account, he ought to have considered them before he took an apprentice, and not think to abridge the young man of any honest means to get his livelihood, when the time of his service is expired; so far otherwise, he ought, in conscience and duty, to do all in his power, that is not detrimental to himself, to further and promote the young man in his setting out in the world, and to do by him as he would have been glad to be done by, whether he was so or not, at his own beginning.

But what I mean is, in the first place, to hint to the young man to choose his acquaintance and friends principally from among those that are most likely to contribute to his future welfare; and next, that as the less detriment he shall do to his master on beginning for himself cannot but be most pleasing to an ingenuous mind, so, by such a choice of companions or intimates, he will strike out, as it were, a new train of business, and possibly receive and confer a reciprocal benefit, without hurting any other person.

But where this more eligible course cannot be taken, the young man, no doubt, is to acquaint himself with his master's chapmen of both sorts; that is to say, as well those he sells to, as, still more particularly, those he buys of, that he may be able, in the latter case, to purchase upon the best terms, and so form his conduct, as well upon his master's, as his own experience.

To hinder an apprentice from an acquaintance with the dealers of both sorts, is somewhat like Laban's usage of Jacob, viz. keeping back the beloved Rachel, whom he served his seven years' time for, and putting him off with a blear-eyed Leah in her stead; it is indeed a kind of robbing him, taking from him the advantage which he served his time for, and perhaps for which his friends gave a considerable sum of money with him, and sending him into the world like a man out of a ship set ashore among savages, who instead of feeding, are indeed more ready to eat him up and devour him.

An apprentice who has served faithfully and diligently, ought to claim it as a debt to his indentures, that his master should make him master of his business, or enable him as he ought to set up in the world; for as buying is the first, so selling is the last end of trade, and the faithful apprentice ought to be fully made acquainted with them both; or how can he be said to be taught the art and mystery which his master engages to learn him?

3. In the next place, the apprentice, when his time is near expiring, ought to learn his master's method of bookkeeping, that he may follow it, if good, and learn a better, in time, if not.

The tradesman should not be at a loss how to keep his books, when he is to begin his trade; that would be to put him to school when he is just come from it; for his apprenticeship is, and ought to be, a school to him, where he should learn everything that may qualify him for his business; and if he finds his master either backward or unwilling to teach him, he should complain in time to his own friends, that they may somehow or other supply the defect.

A tradesman's books are his repeating clock, which upon all occasions are to tell him how he goes on. If they are not duly posted, and if everything is not carefully entered in them, the debtor's accounts kept even, the cash constantly balanced, and the credits all stated, the tradesman is like a ship at sea steered without a helm; he is all in confusion, he can give no account of himself to himself, much less to anybody else; and is far from being qualified either to receive or make proposals in relation to marriage, or any other considerable event in life.

It is true there is not a great deal of difficulty in keeping a tradesman's books, especially if he be a retailer only; but yet even in the meanest trades they ought to know how to keep them: and if the bookkeeping be small, 'tis the sooner learned, and the apprentice is the more to blame if he neglects it. Besides, the objection is much more trifling than the advice. The tradesman cannot carry on any considerable trade without books; and he must, during his apprenticeship, prepare himself for business by acquainting himself with everything needful for his going on with his trade, among which that of bookkeeping is least to be dispensed with.

The last essential article to a young tradesman, is to know how to buy. If his master is kind and generous, he will consider the justice of this part, and let him into the secret of it, of his own free will, before his time is fully expired; but if that should not happen, as often it does not, let the apprentice know that it is one of the most needful things to him that can be, and that he ought to lose no opportunity to get into it, even whether his master approves of it or no.

Indeed the case, in this age, between masters and their apprentices stands in a different view from what it did a few years past; the state of apprenticeship is not a state of servitude now, and hardly of subjection; and their behaviour is, accordingly, more like companions than servants. On the other hand, many masters seem to have given up all expectations of duty from their apprentices for a sum of money; what is now taken with apprentices being very exorbitant, compared to what it was in former times.

It is evident that this is no furtherance to apprentices; the liberties they take towards the conclusion of their time are so great, that they come out of their times much worse finished for business and trade than they did formerly. And though it is not the proper design of this work

to enlarge on the injustice done both to master and servant by this change of custom, yet it renders the advice to apprentices, to endeavour to finish themselves for business during the time of their indentures, so much the more needful and seasonable.

Nor will any but the apprentice himself suffer by the neglect of it; for if he neither will acquaint himself with the customers, or the books, or with the buying part, or gain judgment in the wares he is to deal in, the loss is his own, not his master's; and both his money and his seven years are all thrown away.

Nay, one way 'tis the master's advantage to have his servant be good for nothing when he comes near out of his time; since he will do his master the less injury at his going away: though an honest master will not desire an advantage at such a price to his apprentice. But if this was really always the case, it would still strengthen the argument; for so much more ought the apprentice to take care of himself, and to qualify himself while he is with his master, that, at his coming away, he may be able to make as good a figure as possibly he can in business upon his own account.

Of Diligence and Application in Business.

SOLOMON was certainly a friend to men of business, as it appears by his frequent good advice to them. Prov. xviii. 9, he says, *He that is slothful in business, is brother to him that is a great waster*; and in another place, *The sluggard shall be clothed in rags*: Prov. xxiii. 1. On the contrary, by way of encouragement, he tells them, *The diligent hand maketh rich*: Prov. x. 4; and, *The diligent shall bear rule, but the slothful shall be under tribute.*

Nothing can give a greater prospect of thriving to a young tradesman than his own diligence; it fills him with hope, and gives him credit with all that know him. Without application nothing in this world goes forward as it should do: let the man have the most perfect knowledge of his trade, and the best situation for his shop, yet, without application, nothing will go on. What is the shop without the master? What the books without the bookkeeper? The cash without the cashkeeper? What the credit without the man? I knew two negligent partners in a once well-accustomed shop, who drew two ways, but both in extravagance; and I heard them justly painted out as follows, by an experienced trader, who had grown rich by a quite contrary conduct:—

'Such a shop,' says he, 'stands well, and there is a good stock of goods in it, but there is nobody to serve but a prentice-boy or two, and an idle journeyman; one finds them all at play together, rather than looking out for customers; and when you come to buy, they look as if they did not care whether they showed you anything or no. You don't see a master in the shop if you go twenty times; nor anything that bears the face of authority. Then it is a shop always exposed; it is perfectly haunted with thieves and shop-lifters; they see nobody but raw boys in it, that mind nothing; so that there are more outcries of, Stop thief! at their door, and more constables fetched to that shop, than to all the shops in the street. There was a fine trade at that shop in Mr. Tradewell's time; he was a true shopkeeper; you never missed him from seven in the morning to twelve, and from two till nine at night; and he throve accordingly; he left a good estate behind him. But I don't know what these people are; they say there are two partners of them; but there had as good be none, for they are never at home, nor in their shop. One wears a long purse and a sword, I hear; and you see him often at the hall and at court, but very seldom in his shop or waiting on his customers; and the other, they say, lies in bed till eleven o'clock every day; he comes into the shop and shows himself, then stalks about to the tavern to take a whet, then to the coffeehouse to hear the news; comes home to dinner at one, takes a long sleep in his chair after it, and about four o'clock comes into the shop for half an hour, or thereabouts: then to the tavern where he stays till two in the morning, goes drunk, and is led home by the watch, and so lies till eleven again; and thus he walks round like the hand of a dial. And what will it all come to? They'll certainly break; they can't hold it long.'

Nor were the inferences unjust, any more than the description unlike; for such was quickly the end of such management.

Besides, customers love to see the master's face in the shop; when he cannot take the price offered, they are not disobliged; and if they do not deal at one time, they may at another; if they do deal, the master generally gets a better price for his goods than a servant can. Besides which, he is sure to give better content; for the customers always think they buy cheaper of the master than of a journeyman, as he has a property in his own goods, and the journeyman is limited, and cannot exceed, as they think, the general directions of his master.

Trade must not be entered into as a thing of light concern; it is called business very properly, for it is a business for life, and ought to be followed as one of the great businesses of life. He that trades in jest, will certainly break in earnest; and this is one reason why so many tradesmen come to so hasty a conclusion of their affairs. It must be followed with a full attention of the mind, and full attendance of the person; nothing but what are to be called the necessary duties of life are to intervene; and even those are to be limited so as not to be prejudicial to business.

The duties of life, which are either spiritual or secular, must not interfere with, nor justle one another out of its place. It is the duty of every Christian to worship God, to pay his homage morning and evening to his Maker, and at all other proper seasons to behave as become a sincere worshipper of God; nor must any vocation, however necessary, interfere with this duty, either in public or in private. Nor, on the other hand, must a man be so intent upon religious duties as to neglect the proper times and seasons of business. There is a medium to be observed in everything, and works of supererogation are not required at any man's hands; though it must be confessed, there is far less need of caution to be given on this side of the question than on the other; for alas! so little danger are we in generally of being hurt by too much religion, that it is more than twenty times for one that tradesmen neglect their shops and business to follow the track of their vices and extravagances by taverns, gaming-houses, balls, masquerades, plays, harlequinery, and operas, inasmuch that this may be truly called an age of gallantry and gaiety. The playhouses and balls are now filled with citizens and young tradesmen, more than with gentlemen and families of distinction; the shopkeepers wear different garbs than what they were wont to do, are decked out with long wigs and swords, and all the frugal badges of trade are quite disdained and thrown aside.

But what is the consequence? You did not

see in those days such frequent acts of grace for the relief of insolvent debtors, and yet the jails filled with insolvents before the next year, though ten or twelve thousand have been released at a time by those acts. Nor did you see so many commissions of bankrupt in the *Gazette* as now. The wise man said long ago, *He that loves pleasure shall be a poor man.* But nothing ruins a tradesman so effectually as the neglect of his business; he, therefore, who is not determined to pursue his trade diligently, had much better never begin it.

Nor can a man, without diligence, ever thoroughly understand his business; and how should he thrive when he does not perfectly know what he is doing, or how to do it? Application to his trade teaches him how to carry it on as much as his going apprentice taught him how to set it up. The diligent tradesman is always the knowing and complete tradesman.

Now in order to have a man apply heartily, and pursue earnestly the business he is engaged in, there is yet another thing necessary, namely, that he should delight in it. To follow a trade, and not to love and delight in it, is making it a slavery or bondage, not a business; the shop becomes a bridewell, and the warehouse a house of correction to the tradesman, if he does not delight in his trade.

To delight in business is making business pleasant and agreeable, and such a tradesman cannot but be diligent in it. This, according to Solomon, makes him certainly rich, raises him above the world, and makes him able to instruct and encourage those who come after him.

Of Over-trading.

I BELIEVE it will hold true, in almost all the chief trading towns in England, that there are more tradesmen undone by having too much trade than for having too little; for the latter, if he be industrious, will try twenty ways to mend his case. Overtrading is among tradesmen as overlifting is among strong men; such people, vain of their strength, and their pride prompting them to put it to the utmost trial, at last lift at something too heavy for them, overstrain their sinews, break some of nature's bands, and are cripples ever after.

For a young tradesman to over-trade himself, is like a young swimmer going out of his depth, when, if help does not come immediately, it is a thousand to one but he sinks and is drowned.

All rash adventurers are condemned by the prudent part of mankind; but it is as hard to restrain youth in trade as it is in any other thing where the advantage stands in view, and the danger out of sight. The profits of trade are baits to the avaricious shopkeeper, and he is forward to reckon them up to himself, but does not perhaps cast up the difficulty which there may be to compass it, or the unhappy consequences of a miscarriage. Avarice is the ruin of many people besides tradesmen; and I might give the late South Sea calamity for an example, in which the longest heads were most overreached, not so much by the wit or cunning of those they had to deal with, as by the secret promptings of their own avarice, wherein they abundantly verified an old proverbial saying, 'All covet, all lose.'

There are two things which may be properly called over-trading in a young beginner, and by both which tradesmen are overthrown:—

1. Trading beyond their stock;
2. Giving too large credit.

A tradesman ought to consider and measure well the extent of his own strength; his stock of money and credit is properly his beginning, for credit is a stock as well as money. He that takes too much credit is really in as much danger as he that gives too much, and the danger lies particularly in this; if the tradesman overbuys himself, the payments perhaps come due too soon for him, the goods not being sold, he must answer the bills upon the strength of his proper stock, that is, pay for them out of his own cash. If that should not hold out, he is obliged to put off his bills after they are due, or suffer the impertinence of being dunned by the creditor, and perhaps by servants, and that with the usual indecencies of such kind of people.

This impairs his credit; and if he comes to deal with the same tradesman again, he is treated like one that is but an indifferent paymaster; and though he may give him credit as before, yet depending that if he bargains for six months he will take eight or nine in the payment, he considers it in the price, and uses him accordingly, and this impairs his gain; so that loss of credit is indeed loss of money, and this weakens him both ways.

A tradesman, therefore, especially at his beginning, ought to be very wary of taking too much credit; he had much better slip the occasion of buying now and then a bargain to his advantage, (for that is usually the temptation), than venture to buy a greater quantity of goods than he can pay for, by which he runs into debt, is insulted, and at last ruined. Merchants and wholesale dealers, to put off their goods, are very apt to prompt young shopkeepers and young tradesmen to buy great quantities of goods, and take large credit at first; but it is a snare that many a young beginner has fallen into, and been ruined in the very bud; for if the said young beginner does not find a vend for the quantity, he is undone, for at the time of payment the merchant expects his money, whether the goods are sold or not.

The tradesman who buys warily always pays surely. If he has money to pay, he need never fear goods to be had; the merchants' warehouses are always open, and he may supply himself upon all occasions as he wants, and as his customers call.

It may pass for a kind of an objection here that there some goods which a tradesman may deal in which are to be bought at such and such markets chiefly, and at such and such fairs, as the cheesemongers buy their stocks of cheese and of butter, the cheese at several fairs in Warwickshire and Gloucestershire, and at Stourbridge fair, and their butter at Ipswich fair in Suffolk, and so of many other things. But the answer is plain: those things which are generally bought thus are ready-money goods, and the tradesman has a sure rule for buying, namely, his cash. But as I am speaking of taking credit, so I must be necessarily supposed to speak of such goods as are bought upon credit, as the linen-draper buys of the Hambro' and Dutch merchants; the woollen-draper, of the Blackwell-hall men; the haberdasher, of the thread merchants; the mercer, of the weavers and Italian merchants; the silkman, of the Turkey merchants; and the like. Here they are under no necessity of running deep into debt, but may buy sparingly, and recruit again as they sell off.

Some tradesmen are fond of seeing their shops well stocked, and their warehouses full of goods; this is a snare to them, and brings them to buy in more goods than they want. It is a foolish as well as a fatal error, whether it lies in their judgment or their vanity; for, except in retailers'

shops, and that in some trades where they must have a great choice of goods or else may want a trade, a well-experienced tradesman had rather see his warehouse too empty than too full: if it be too empty, he can fill it when he pleases, if his credit be good, or his cash strong; but a thronged warehouse is a sign of the want of customers, and of a bad market; whereas an empty warehouse is a sign of a quick demand. A few goods, and a quick sale, is the beauty of a tradesman's warehouse, or his shop either; and it is his wisdom to keep himself in that posture, that his payments may come in on his front as fast as they go out in his rear; that he may be able to answer the demands of his merchants or dealers, and, if possible, suffer no man to come twice for his money.

The reason of this is plain, and leads me back to where I began. Credit is stock; and if well supported, is as good as a stock, and will be as durable. A tradesman whose credit is good shall in many cases buy his goods as cheap at three or four months' time of payment, as another man shall with ready money, and in goods which are ordinarily sold for time, as all our manufactures, the bay-trade excepted, generally are.

He then that keeps his credit unshaken, has a double stock; I mean, it is an addition to his real stock, and often superior to it. Nay, I have known several considerable tradesmen in this city, who have traded with great success, and to a very considerable degree, and yet have had at bottom hardly any real stock; but by the strength of their reputation, being sober and diligent, and having with care preserved the character of honest men, and the credit of their business by cautious dealing and punctual payments, they have gone on till the gain of their trade has effectually established them, and they have raised estates out of nothing.

But to return to the dark side, viz. over-trading; the second danger is, the giving too much credit. He that takes credit may give credit, but he must be exceeding watchful; for it is the most dangerous state of life that a tradesman can live in; he is in as much jeopardy as a seaman upon a lee-shore.

If the people he trusts fail, or fail but of a punctual compliance with him, he can never support his own credit, unless by the caution I am now giving, that is, to be very sure not to give so much credit as he takes; that is to say, either he must sell for shorter time than he takes, or in less quantity; the last is the safest, namely, that he should be sure not to trust out so much as he is trusted with. If he has a real stock, indeed, besides the credit he takes, that makes the case differ; and a man that can pay his own debts, whether other people pay him or no, is out of the question, he is past danger, and cannot be hurt; but if he trust beyond the extent of his stock and credit, even he may be overthrown too.

There were many sad examples of this in the time of the late war, and in the days when the public credit was in a more precarious condition than it has been since. Then it often happened that tradesmen who had good estates at bottom, and were in full credit, trusted the public with great sums, which not coming in at the time expected, either by the deficiency of the funds given by parliament, and the parliament themselves not soon making good those deficiencies, or by other disasters, their credit was wounded, and some were quite undone, who yet, had they been paid, could have paid all their own debts, and had good sums of money left.

Others were obliged to sell their tallies and orders at forty or fifty per cent. loss; from whence proceeded that black trade of buying and selling navy and victualling-bills, and transport-debts, by which the brokers and usurers got estates, and many thousands of tradesmen were brought to nothing; even those who stood it lost great sums of money by selling their tallies. But credit cannot be bought too dear, and the throwing away one half to save the other, was much better than sinking under the burden; like a sailor in a storm, who, to lighten the ship wallowing in the trough of the sea, will throw the choicest goods overboard, even to half the cargo, in order to keep the ship above water and save the rest.

These were terrible examples of over-trading indeed; men were tempted by the high price which the government were obliged to give, because of the badness of the public credit at that time; but this was not sufficient to make good the loss sustained in the sale of the tallies; so that even they that sold, and were able to stand without ruin, were very great sufferers, and had enough to do to keep up their credit.

This was the effect of giving overmuch credit; for though it was the government itself which they trusted, yet neither could the government itself keep up the sinking credit of those to whom it was indebted; and, indeed, how should it, when it was not able to support its own? But I return to the young tradesman, whom we are now speaking about.

It is his greatest prudence, therefore, after he has considered his own fund, and the stock he has to rest upon, to take care of his credit; and, next to limiting his buying, let him be sure to limit his selling. Could the tradesman buy all upon credit, and sell all for ready money, he might turn usurer, and put his own stock out to interest, or buy land with it, for he would have no occasion for one shilling of it; but since that is not expected, nor can be done, it is his business to act with prudence in both parts, I mean, of taking and giving credit; and the best rule to be given him for it, is never to give so much credit as he takes by at least one-third part.

By giving credit, I do not mean that even all the goods which he buys upon credit may not be sold upon credit; perhaps they are goods which are usually sold so, and no otherwise; but the alternative is before him thus: either he must not give so much credit in quantity of goods, or not so long credit in relation to time. For example:—

Suppose the young tradesman buys £10,000 value of goods on credit, and this £10,000 are sold for £11,000 likewise on credit; if the time given be the same, the man is in a state of apparent destruction, and it is a hundred to one but he is blown up. Perhaps he owes the £10,000 to twenty men; perhaps the £11,000 is owing to him by two hundred men; it is scarce possible that these two hundred petty customers of his should all so punctually comply with their payments as to enable him to comply with his; and if £2000 or £3000 fall short, the poor tradesman, unless he has a fund to support the deficiency, must be undone.

But if the man had bought £10,000 at six or eight months' credit, and had sold them all again, as above, to his two hundred customers, at three months' and four months' credit, then it might be supposed all, or the greatest part of them, would have paid time enough to make his payments good; if not, all would be lost still.

But, on the other hand, suppose he had sold but £3000 worth of the ten for ready money, and had sold the rest for six months' credit; it might

be supposed that the £3000 in cash, and what else the two hundred debtors might pay in time, might stop the mouths of the tradesman's creditors till the difference might be made good.

So easy a thing is it for a tradesman to lose his credit in trade, and so hard is it once, upon such a blow, to retrieve it again. What need then is there for the tradesman to guard himself against running too far into debt, or letting other people run too far into debt to him! for if they do not pay him, he cannot pay others, and the next thing is a commission of bankrupt; and so the tradesman may be undone, though he has £11,000 to pay £10,000 with.

It is true it is not possible, in a country where there is such an infinite extent of trade as in this kingdom, that, either on the one hand or the other, it can be carried on without a reciprocal credit; but it is so nice an article, that I am of opinion as many tradesmen break with giving too much credit as with taking it. The danger, indeed, is mutual, and very great; whatever, then, the young tradesman omits, let him guard against both.

But there are divers ways of over-trading, besides this of taking and giving too much credit; and one of these is, the running into projects, and heavy undertakings, either out of the common road which the tradesman is already engaged in, or grasping at too many undertakings at once, and having, as it is vulgarly expressed, too many irons in the fire at a time; in both which cases the tradesman is often wounded too deep to recover.

The consequences of those adventures are generally such as these: First, That they stock-starve the tradesman, and impoverish him in his ordinary business, which is the main support of his family; they lessen his strength, and while his trade is not lessened, yet his stock is lessened; and as they very rarely add to his credit, so, if they lessen the man's stock, they weaken him in the main, and he must at last faint under it.

Secondly, As they lessen his stock, so they wound him in the tenderest and most nervous part, for they always draw away his ready money. And what follows? The money which was before the sinews of his business, the life of his trade, maintained his shop, and kept up his credit, being drawn off, like the blood let out of the veins, his trade languishes, his credit by degrees flags and goes off, and the tradesman falls under the weight.

Thus have I seen many a flourishing tradesman sensibly decay: his credit has first a little suffered; then, for want of that, trade has declined; that is to say, he has been obliged to trade for less, till at last he is wasted and reduced. If he had been wise enough and wary enough to draw out betimes, and avoid breaking, he has yet come out of trade, like an old invalid soldier out of the wars, maimed, bruised, and sick, reduced, and fitter for an hospital than a shop. Such miserable havoc has launching out into projects and remote undertakings made among tradesmen.

But the safe tradesman is he that, avoiding all such remote excursions, keeps close within the verge of his own affairs, minds his shop or warehouse, and confining himself to what belongs to him there, goes on in the road of his business, without launching into unknown oceans; and, content with the gain of his own trade, is neither led by ambition nor avarice, and neither covets to be greater or richer by such uncertain and hazardous attempts.

Of the ordinary occasions of the Ruin of Tradesmen.

Having thus given advice to tradesmen, on their falling into difficulties, and, finding they are run behindhand, to break in time; 'tis but just I should give them some needful directions, to avoid, if possible, breaking at all.

In order to this, I will briefly inquire what are ordinarily the original causes of a tradesman's ruin in business; some of which are as follow:—

1. Some, especially retailers, ruin themselves by fixing their shops in such places as are improper for their business. In most towns, but particularly in the city of London, there are places, as it were, appropriated to particular trades, and where the trades which are placed there succeed very well, but would do very ill anywhere else; as the orange-merchants and wet-salters about Billingsgate, and in Thames-street; the costermongers at the Three Cranes; the wholesale cheesemongers in Thames-street; the mercers and drapers in Cheapside, Ludgate-street, Cornhill, Round Court, Covent Garden, Gracechurch-street, &c.

What would a bookseller make of his business at Billingsgate, or a mercer in Tower-street, or near the Custom House; a draper in Thames-street, or about Queenhithe? Many trades have their peculiar streets, and proper places for the sale of their goods, where people expect to find such shops; and consequently, when they want such goods, they go thither for them; as the booksellers in St. Paul's Churchyard, about the Exchange, the Temple, and the Strand, &c., the mercers on both sides Ludgate, in Round Court, Gracechurch and Lombard-streets; the coach-makers in Long-acre, Queen-street, and Bishopsgate-street, and such like.

For a tradesman to open his shop in a place unresorted to, or in a place where his trade is not agreeable, and where 'tis not expected, 'tis no wonder if he has no business. What retail trade would a milliner have among the fishmongers' shops on Fish-street Hill, or a toyman about Queenhithe? When a shop is ill-chosen, the tradesman starves, he is out of the way, and business will not follow him that runs away from it. Suppose a ship chandler should set up in Holborn, or a blockmaker in Whitecross-street, an anchor-smith at Moorgate, or a coachmaker in Rotherhithe, and the like?

It is true, we have seen a kind of fate attend the very streets and rows where such trades have been gathered together; and a street famous for this or that particular trade some years ago, shall, in a few years after, be quite forsaken; as Paternoster Row for mercers, St. Paul's Churchyard for woollen-drapers. Now we see hardly any of those trades left in those places.

I mention it for this reason, and this makes it to my purpose in an extraordinary manner, that whenever the principal shopkeepers of any trade remove from such a street, or settled place, where that particular trade used to be, the rest soon follow; knowing, that if the fame of the trade is not there, the customers will not resort thither, and that a tradesman's business is to follow wherever the trade leads. For a mercer to set up now in Paternoster Row, or a woollen-draper in St. Paul's Churchyard, the one among the sempstresses, and the other among the chair-makers, it would be the same thing as for a country shopkeeper in a town not to set up in or near the market-place.

The place, therefore, is to be prudently chosen by the retailer, when he first begins his trade,

the Strand, or near the Exchange, is likely to sell more rich silks, more fine hollands, more fine broadcloths, more fine toys and trinkets, than one of the same trade setting up in the skirts of the town, or at Ratcliffe, or Wapping, or Rotherhithe; and he that sets up in the capital city of a county, than he that is placed in a private market-town, in the same county; and he that is placed in a market-town, than he that is placed in a country village. A tradesman in a seaport town sorts himself differently from one of the same trade in an inland town, though larger and more populous; and this the tradesman must weigh very maturely before he lays out his stock.

Sometimes it happens a tradesman serves his apprenticeship in one town and sets up in another; and sometimes, circumstances altering, he removes from one town to another: the change is very important to him; for the goods which he is to sell in the town he removes to, are sometimes so differing from the sorts of goods which he sold in the place he removed from, though in the same way of trade, that he is at a great loss, both in changing his hand, and in the judgment of buying. This made me insist, in my fourth chapter, that a tradesman should take all occasions to extend his knowledge in every kind of goods, that which way soever he may turn his hand, he may have the requisite judgment; for, otherwise, he will not only lose the customers for want of proper goods, but will very much lose by the goods which he lays in for sale, there being no demand for them where he is going.

When merchants send adventures to our British colonies, 'tis usual with them to make up to each factor what they call a sortable cargo; that is to say, they want something of everything that may furnish the tradesman there with parcels fit to fill their shops, and invite their customers; and if they fail, and do not thus sort their cargoes, the factors there not only complain, as being ill sorted, but the cargo often lies by unsold, because there is not a sufficient quantity of sorts to answer the demand, and make them

flesh and blood about him; no passions, no
sentment; he must never be angry; no, no
much as seem to be so. If a customer tur
him £500 worth of goods, and scarce bids m
for anything; nay, though they really com
his shop with no intent to buy, as many do,
to see what is to be sold, and though he kn
they cannot be better pleased anywhere, it i
one, the tradesman must take it; he must p
it to the account of his calling, that it is
business to be ill-used and resent nothing;
so must answer as obligingly to those that
him an hour or two's trouble, and buy noth
as he does to those who, in half the time, lay
ten or twenty pounds. The case is plain:
his business to get money; to sell and pl
and if some do give him trouble, and do not
others make him amends, and do buy; and
those who do not buy at one time, may at anot

I have heard that some ladies, and those,
persons of good note, have taken their coac
and spent a whole afternoon in Ludgate-str
or Covent Garden, only to divert themselve
going from one mercer's shop to another, to
upon their fine silks, and to rattle and banter
shopkeepers, having not so much as the
occasion, much less intention, to buy anythi
nay, not so much as carrying any money
with them to buy anything, if they fancied
yet this the mercers, who understand themsel
know their business too well to resent; no
they really knew it, would they take the
notice of it, but perhaps tell the ladies they
welcome to look upon their goods; that is
their business to show them; and that if
did not come to buy now, they might see
were furnished to please them when they
have occasion.

On the other hand, I have been told that
times those sort of ladies have been caught
their own snare; that is to say, have been
engaged by the good usage of the shopke
and so unexpectedly surprised with some
thing or other that has been shown them

upon the general usage of customers in it; and it is not to be imagined how, in this gossiping, tea-drinking age, the scandal will run, even among people who have had no knowledge of the person first complaining.

It is true natural tempers are not to be always counterfeited; the man cannot easily be a lamb in his shop and a lion in himself; but let it be easy or hard, it must be done, and it is done. There are men who have by custom and usage brought themselves to it, that nothing could be meeker and milder than they when behind the counter, and yet nothing be more passionate and choleric in every other part of life; nay, the provocations they have met with in their shops have so irritated some men, that they have gone up stairs from their shop, and vented their passion on the most innocent objects—their wives, children, or servants, as they fell in their way; and when their heat was over, would go down into their shop again, and be as humble, as courteous, and as calm as before; so absolute a government of their passions had they in the shop, and so little out of it. [And all this will be the more reconcilable to a tradesman when he considers that he is intending to get money by those who make these severe trials of his patience], and that it is not for him that gets money to offer the least inconvenience to them by whom he gets it. He is to consider that, as Solomon says, the borrower is servant to the lender, so the seller is servant to the buyer.

When a tradesman has thus conquered all his passions, and can stand before the storm of impertinence, he is said to be fitted up for the main article, namely, the inside of the counter.

On the other hand, we see that the contrary temper, nay, but the very suggestion of it, hurries people on to ruin their trade, to disoblige their customers, to quarrel with them, and drive them away.

Other reasons for the Tradesman's Disasters; and first, of Innocent Diversions.

TRADE is a straight and direct road, but there are many turnings and openings in it, both to the right hand and to the left, in which, if a tradesman but once ventures to step awry, it is ten thousand to one but he loses himself, and very rarely finds his way back again; at least, if he does, 'tis like a man that has been lost in a wood, he comes out with a scratched face and torn clothes, tired and spent, and does not recover himself for a long while after.

In a word, one steady motion carries him up, but many things assist to pull him down; there are many ways open to his ruin, but few to his rising; and though employment is said to be the best fence against temptations, and he that is busy heartily in his business, temptations to idleness and negligence will not be so busy about him, yet tradesmen are as often drawn from their business as other men; and when they are so, it is more fatal to them a great deal, than it is to gentlemen and persons whose employments do not call for their personal attendance so much as a shop does.

Among the many turnings and bye-lanes which are to be met with in the straight road of trade, there are two as dangerous and fatal to the tradesman's prosperity as the worst, though they both carry an appearance of good, and promise contrary to what they perform; these are,—

1. Pleasures and diversions, especially such as they will have us call innocent diversions.

2. Projects and adventures, and especially such as promise mountains of profit, and are therefore the more likely to ensnare the avaricious tradesman. Of this last I have already spoken in my fourth chapter.

I am, therefore, now to speak of the first, viz. pleasures and diversions. I cannot allow any pleasures to be innocent when they turn away either the body or the mind of a tradesman from the one needful thing, which his calling makes necessary; I mean, the application both of his hands and head to his business; those pleasures and diversions may be innocent in themselves, which are not so to him.

When I see young shopkeepers keep horses, ride a hunting, learn dog-language, and keep the sportman's brogue upon their tongues, I am always afraid for them, especially when I know that either their fortunes and beginnings are below it, or that their trades are such as in a particular manner require their constant attendance; as to see a barber abroad on a Saturday, a corn-factor on a Wednesday and Friday, or a Blackwell-hall man on a Thursday: you may as well say a country shopkeeper should go a hunting on a market-day, or go a feasting at the fair day of the town where he lives; and yet riding and hunting are otherwise lawful diversions, and, in their kind, very good for exercise and health.

I am not for making a galley-slave of a shopkeeper, and have him chained down to the oar; but if he be a wise, a prudent, and a diligent tradesman, he will allow himself as few excursions as possible.

Business neglected is business lost. It is true there are some businesses which require less attendance than otherwise, and give a man less occasion of application; but in general that tradesman who can satisfy himself to be absent from his business, must not expect success; if he is above the character of a diligent tradesman, he must then be above the business too, and should leave it to somebody that will think it worth his while to mind it better.

Nor, indeed, is it possible a tradesman should be master of any of the qualifications which I have set down to denominate him complete, if he neglects his shop and his time, following his pleasures and diversions.

For a tradesman to follow his pleasures, which indeed is generally attended with a slighting his business, leaving his shop to servants or others, it is evident that his heart is not in his business; that he does not delight in it, or look on it with pleasure. To a complete tradesman there is no pleasure equal to that of being in his business, no delight equal to that of seeing trade flow in upon him, and to be satisfied that he goes on prosperously. He will never thrive that cares not whether he thrives or no; as trade is the chief employment of his life, and is therefore called by way of eminence his business, so it should be made the chief delight of his life; the tradesman that does not love his business will never give it due attendance.

Pleasure is a bait to the mind, and the mind will attract the body; where the heart is, that object shall always have the body's company. The great objection I meet with from some young tradesmen against this argument is, they follow no unlawful pleasures; they do not spend their time in taverns and drinking to excess; they do not spend their money in gaming, and so stock-starve their business, and rob the shop to supply the extravagant losses of play; or they do not spend their hours in ill company and

absence is long at a time, or if often practised, the diversion so taken becomes criminal to him, though the same diversion might be innocent in another.

Thus I have heard a young tradesman, who loved his bottle, excuse himself, and say, 'Tis true I have been at the tavern; but I was treated, it cost me nothing.' And this, he thinks, clears him of all blame; not considering that when he spends no money, yet he spends five times the value of the money in time, his business being neglected, his shop unattended, his books not posted, his letters not written, and the like; for all those things are works necessary to a tradesman, as well as the attendance on his shop, and infinitely above the pleasure of being treated at the expense of his time. All manner of pleasure should be subservient to business: he that makes his pleasure his business, will never make his business a pleasure. Innocent pleasures become sinful when they are used to excess; and so it is here, the most innocent diversion becomes criminal when it breaks in upon that which is the due and just employment of the man's life. Pleasures rob the tradesman; and how then can he call them innocent? They are downright thieves; they rob his shop of his attendance, and of the time which he ought to bestow there; they rob his family of their due support, by the man's neglecting that business by which they are to be maintained; and they oftentimes rob the creditors of their just debts, the tradesman sinking by the inordinate use of those innocent diversions, as he calls them, as well by the expense attending them as the loss of his time and neglect of his business, by which he is at last reduced to the necessity of shutting up shop in earnest, which was indeed as good as shut before; for a shop without a master is like the same shop on a middling holiday, half shut up; and he that keeps it long so, need not doubt but he may, in a little time, shut it quite up, and keep holiday for altogether.

If I am asked, How much pleasure an honest-

diversion; but to the tradesman no pl
diversion can be innocent if it injures
ness, or takes either his time, his mind
light, or his attendance from that.

Of Extravagant and Expensive Living, as to a Tradesman's Disaster.

Next to immoderate pleasures, the tr
ought to be warned against immoderate
This is a terrible article, and more partic
to the tradesman, as custom has now intr
general habit of, and as it were a general
tion among all sorts of people to, an e
way of living; to which might be adde
of necessity of it, for that even with the
prudence and frugality a man cannot s
port a family with the ordinary expen
the same family might have been ma
with some few years ago. There is so
weight of taxes upon almost all the ne
of life, bread and flesh excepted, as co
malt, candles, soap, leather, hops, win
and all foreign consumptions. 2. A bad
upon the temper of the nation, which, in
taxes and the unusual dearness of eve
yet prompts people to a profusion in t
penses.

This is not so properly called a *ter*
tradesman,—I think rather it may be
plague upon them; for there is, first, the de
every necessary thing to make living ex
and, secondly, an unconquerable aversio
restraint: so that the poor will be like
and the rich like the great, and the great
greatest; and thus the world runs on to
a distraction at this time; where it will
must discover.

Now, for the tradesman I speak of, if
thrive, he must resolve to begin as he
and if he does so, in a word, he must
live more under restraint than ever trad
his class used to do: for every necess

call them, those secret dangers, in the first place, that they may know how to avoid them; and as for the other common ways, common discretion will supply them with caution, and their senses will be their protection.

Expensive living is a kind of slow fever; it is not so open, so threatening, and dangerous as the ordinary distemper which goes by that name, but it preys upon the spirits; and when its degrees are increased to a height, is as fatal, and as sure to kill, as the other. It is a secret enemy that feeds upon the vitals; and when it has gone its full length, and the languishing tradesman is weakened in his solid part, I mean his stock, then it overwhelms him at once.

Expensive living feeds upon the life and blood of the tradesman, for it eats into the two most essential branches of his trade, namely, his credit and his cash; the first is its triumph, and the last is its food. Nothing goes out to cherish the exorbitance but the immediate money; expenses seldom go on trust, they are generally supplied and supported with ready money, whatever are not.

This expensive way of living consists in several things, which are all indeed in their degree ruinous to the tradesman; such as—

1. Expensive housekeeping, or family extravagance.
2. Expensive dressing, or the extravagance of fine clothes.
3. Expensive company, or keeping company above himself.
4. Expensive equipage, making a show and ostentation of figure in the world.

I might take them all in bulk, and say, what has a young tradesman to do with these? and yet where is there a tradesman now to be found who is not more or less guilty? It is, as I have said, the general vice of the times; the whole nation are, more or less, in the crime. What with necessity and inclination, where is the man or the family that lives as such families used to live?

In short, good husbandry and frugality are quite out of fashion; and he that goes about to set up for the practice of it must mortify everything about him that has the least tincture of vanity. It is the mode to live high, to spend more than we get, to neglect trade, contemn care and concern, and go on without forecast, or without consideration; and in consequence it is the mode to go on to extremity, to break, become bankrupts and beggars; and so, going off of the trading stage, leave it open for others to come after us and do the same.

To begin with housekeeping. I have already hinted that everything belonging to family subsistence bears a higher price than formerly: at the same time I can neither undertake to prove that there is more got by selling, or more ways to get it, than heretofore; the consequence then must be, that if there is less got, there must necessarily be less laid up; for how should it be otherwise, when tradesmen get less and spend more than ever they did?

That all things are dearer than formerly to a housekeeper needs little demonstration: the taxes necessarily infer it from the weight of them, and the number of the things charged; for, besides the things enumerated above, we find all articles of foreign importation are increased in value to the consumer, by the high duties laid on them; such as linen, especially fine linen; silk, especially foreign wrought silk. Almost all things eatable, drinkable, and wearable, are made heavy to us by high and exorbitant customs and excises; as brandies, tobacco, sugar, deals and timber for building, oil, wine, spice, raw silk, calicoes, chocolate, coffee, tea; on some of these the duties are more than doubled. And yet that which is most observable is, that such is the expensive humour of the times, that not a family, no, hardly of the meanest tradesman, but treat their friends with wine or punch, or fine ale; and have their parlours set off with the tea-table, and the chocolate-pot, [and the silver coffee-pot, and oftentimes an ostentation of plate into the bargain.] Treats and liquors, all foreign and new among tradesmen, are terrible articles in their modern expenses, which have nothing to be said for them, either as to the expense or the helps to health which they boast of: on the contrary, they procure us rheumatic bodies and consumptive purses, and can no way pass with me for necessaries; but being needless, they add to the expense, by sending us to the physicians and apothecaries to cure the breaches which they make in our health, and are themselves the very worst sort of superfluities.

But I come back to necessaries; and even in them family expenses are extremely risen: provisions are higher rated; nothing of provisions that I know of, except bread, mutton, and fish, but which are made dearer than ever; house rent, in almost all the cities and towns of note in England, is a very heavy article, as are also the increased wages of servants.

A tradesman, be he ever so much inclined to good husbandry, cannot always do his kitchen-work himself, suppose him a bachelor; nor can his wife, suppose him married, and suppose her to have brought him any portion, be his bedfellow and his cook too. These maid-servants, however, are a great tax upon housekeepers: those who were formerly hired at three pounds to four pounds a year wages, now demand five, six, and seven pounds a year; nor do they double anything upon us, but their wages and their pride; for, instead of doing more work for the advance of wages, they do less; and the ordinary work of families cannot now be performed by the same number of maids; which, in short, is a tax upon the upper sort of tradesmen, and contributes very often to their disasters, by the extravagant keeping three or four maid-servants in a house, nay, sometimes five, where two formerly were thought sufficient. This very extravagance is such that, talking lately with a man very well experienced in this matter, he told me he had been making his calculations on that very particular; and he found, by computation, that the number of servants kept by all sorts of people, tradesmen as well as others, was so much increased, that there are in London, and the towns within ten miles of it, take it every way, above a hundred thousand more maid-servants and footmen at this time in place, than used to be in the same compass of ground thirty years ago; and that their wages amounted to above forty shillings a head per annum more than the wages of the like number of servants did amount to at the same length of time past; the advance to the whole body amounting to no less than two hundred thousand pounds a year.

Indeed it is not easy to guess what the expense of wages to servants amounts to in a year in this nation; and, consequently, we cannot easily determine what the increase of that expense amounts to in England; but, certainly, it must rise to a very prodigious annual sum in the whole.

The tradesmen bear their share of this expense, and indeed too great a share; many common tradesmen in London keeping two maids, and

waste of provisions in England than in any other nation in the world of equal extent of ground; and that England consumes, for their whole subsistence, more flesh than half Europe besides; and that the beggars of London, and within ten miles round it, eat more white bread than the whole kingdom of Scotland.

The young tradesman will not, I hope, think this the way to thrive, or find it for his convenience to fall in with this common height of living, at least not presently, in his beginning; if he comes gradually into it after he has gotten something considerable to lay by, 'tis early enough, and he may then be said to be insensibly drawn into it by the necessity of the times; because, forsooth, 'tis a received notion, We must be like other folks; but to begin thus, to set up at this rate when he first looks into the world, it will not be difficult to guess where he will end.

Trade is not a ball, where people appear in mask, and act a part to make sport; where they strive to seem what they really are not, and to think themselves best dressed when they are least known; but 'tis a plain, visible scene of honest life, shown best in its native appearance, without disguise; supported by prudence and frugality; and, like strong, stiff clay land, grows fruitful only by good husbandry, culture, and manuring.

A tradesman dressed up fine, with his long wig and sword, may go to the ball when he pleases, for he is already dressed up in the habit; like a piece of counterfeit money, he is brass washed over with silver; but no tradesman will take him for current. With money in his hand, indeed, he may go to the merchant's warehouse, and buy anything; but nobody will deal with him without it: he may write upon his edged hat, as a certain tradesman did in his shop, after having been once broke, and set up again, I neither give or take credit; in which he was right, for he could trust nobody, because nobody would trust him. In short, thus equipped, he is truly a tradesman in masquerade, and must pass for such wherever he is known. How long it come, 'tis easy to suppose. In short, t
sures have sent many tradesmen to t
where they have still carried on their
living, till they have come at last to star
misery; but have been so used to it, t
not quite leave it off, though they wa
money to pay for it.

Nor is expensive dressing a light
tradesmen, as it is now come up to an
formerly known among them. It is
excess particularly respects the ladies
tradesmen's wives now claim that title
as, by their dress, the appearance); y
justice to them, it must be acknowle
men have their share in it; for do we no
wigs, fine holland shirts of six to seven
an ell, and perhaps laced also, all lately
down to the level of the apron, and be
common wear of tradesmen, nay, I ma
tradesmen's apprentices, and that in so
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If the tradesman is thriven, and can
this and his credit too, that makes the co
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but for a tradesman to begin thus is very
dent, because the expense of this, as I sai
drains the very life-blood of his trade
away his ready money only, and no
return, but the worst return, repro
poverty.

I am loath to make any part of my
satire upon the woman; nor, indeed,
extravagance, either of dress or hous
lie always at the door of the tradesmen's
the husband is often the prompter of it:
he does not let his wife into the detail of
cumstances, he does not make her mistre
own condition; but either gives her g
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profits, and his flourishing circumstance
the innocent woman spends high and liv
believing her husband is in a condition to

I cannot but mention, on this occa
great and indispensable obligation these

'Tis an agreeable thing for a man to see himself valued, and his company desired by men of fashion and distinction; and it is really a snare which is very hard to be resisted, even by men of sense; for who would not value himself upon being rendered acceptable to men, both in station and figure, above himself? and it is really a piece of excellent advice, which a learned man gave to his son, always to keep company with men above himself.

But I am now speaking, not to the man merely, but to his circumstances: if he were a man of fortune, and had the view of great things before him, it would hold good; but if he is a young tradesman, who is newly entered into business, and must depend upon that for his subsistence and support, I must say that keeping company with men superior to himself in knowledge, in figure, and estate, is not his business; for as such conversation must necessarily take up a great deal of his time, so it ordinarily must occasion a great expense of money, nay, sometimes the first may be more fatal to him than the last, as the money may be recovered and gotten up again, but the time cannot.

Above all things, the tradesman should take care not to be absent in the season of business; for the warehousekeeper to be absent from 'Change, which is his market, or from his warehouse at the times when the merchants generally go about to buy, he had better be absent all the rest of the day.

I know nothing is more frequent than for the tradesman, when company invites, or an excursion from business offers, to say, 'Well, come, I have nothing to do; here's no business to hinder, there's nothing neglected, I have no letters to write,' and the like; and away he goes to take the air for the afternoon, or to sit and enjoy himself with a friend—things innocent in themselves. But here, it is possible, is the crisis of a tradesman's prosperity; in that very moment business presents, a valuable customer comes to his warehouse to buy, who, finding him absent, goes somewhere else; an unexpected bargain offers to be sold, which may never offer again; another calls to pay money, and the like. In short, diligence, and the tradesman's constant attendance in his shop, is so necessary and so reputable a thing to him, that even merchants and others, who may not want to deal with him just then, yet seeing his application, and that he is hardly ever at the times of business out of his shop, will be encouraged to call on him when they want anything in his way, and look upon such a one as the best and safest man either to buy of, or sell to; and how advantageous this will be to him, and how promotive of his prosperity in every branch of business, let any man judge.

The tradesman's pleasure, therefore, should be in his business; his chief companions should be his books; and if he has a family, he will make his excursions upstairs, and no further; when he is there, a bell, or a call, brings him down; and while he is in his parlour, his shop or his warehouse never misses him, his customers never go away unserved, and his letters never come in and are unanswered.

It will be observed that none of my cautions aim at restraining a tradesman from diverting himself, as we call it, with his fireside, or keeping company with his wife and children. There are so few that ruin themselves that way, and ill consequences so seldom happen upon an uxorious temper, that 'tis too often the want of a due complacency, and of taking delight there, that estranges the man, not from his parlour only, but his warehouse and shop, and every part of business that ought to engross his attention and time. That tradesman that does not delight in his family, will never long delight in his business; for as one great end of an honest tradesman's diligence is the support of his family, so the very sight of an affectionate wife and children is the spur of his diligence; this puts an edge upon his mind, and makes a good parent or husband hunt the world for business, as eager as hounds hunt the woods for their game. When he is dispirited, or discouraged by crosses and disappointments, and ready to lie down and despair, the very sight of his family rouses him again, and he flies to his business with a new vigour. 'I must follow my business,' says he, 'or we must all starve; my poor children must perish.' In a word, he that is not animated to diligence by the very apprehension that his wife and children may be otherwise brought to misery and distress, is a kind of a deaf adder, that no music will charm; he is not to be called a human creature, but a wretch, hardened against all the passions and affections that nature has furnished the meanest animals with.

The bad Consequences of a Tradesman marrying too soon.

It was a prudent provision which our ancestors made in the indentures of tradesmen's apprentices, that they should not contract matrimony during their apprenticeship; and they bound it with a penalty that was then thought sufficient, however custom has taken off the edge of it since, viz. that they who did thus contract matrimony should forfeit their indentures; that is to say, should lose the benefit of their whole service, and not be made free.

Doubtless our forefathers were better acquainted with the advantages of frugality than we are; and saw further into the desperate consequences of expensive living in the beginning of a tradesman's setting out into the world than we do; at least, it is evident they studied more and practised more of the prudential part, in those cases, than we do.

Hence we find them very careful to bind their youth under the strongest obligations they could to temperance, modesty, and good husbandry, as the grand foundations of their prosperity in trade, and to prescribe to them such rules and methods of frugality and good husbandry as they thought would best conduce to their prosperity.

Among these rules, this was one of the chief, viz. 'that they should not wed before they had sped;' it is an old homely rule, and coarsely expressed, but the meaning is evident, that a young beginner should never marry too soon. While he was a servant he was bound from it, as above; and when he had his liberty he was persuaded against it, by all the arguments which, indeed, ought to prevail with a considering man, namely, the expenses that a family necessarily would bring with it, and the care he ought to take to be able to support the expense, before he brought it upon himself.

On this account it is, I say, our ancestors took more care of their youth than we now do; at least, I think they studied more the best methods of thriving, and were better acquainted with the steps by which a young tradesman ought to be introduced into the world than we are, and the difficulties which those people would necessarily involve themselves in, who, despising those rules and methods of frugality, involved themselves in the expense of a family before

they were in a way of gaining sufficient to support it.

A married apprentice will always make a repenting tradesman; and those stolen matches, a very few excepted, are generally attended with infinite broils and troubles, difficulties, and cross events, to carry them on, at first, by way of intrigue; to conceal them afterwards, under fear of superiors; to manage, after that, for the keeping off scandal, and preserve the character as well of the wife as of the husband; and all this necessarily attended with a heavy expense, even before the young man is out of his time, before he has set a foot forward, or gotten a shilling in the world; so that all this expense is out of his original stock, even before he gets it, and is a sad drawback upon him when it comes.

Nay, this unhappy part is often attended with worse consequences still; for this expense coming upon him while he is but a servant, and while his portion, or whatever it is to be called, is not yet come into his hand, he is driven to terrible exigences to supply it. If his circumstances are mean, and his trade mean, he is frequently driven to wrong his master, and rob his shop or his till for money, if he can come at it; and this, as it begins in rashness, generally ends in destruction; for often he is discovered, exposed, and perhaps punished; and so the man is undone before he begins. If his circumstances are good, and he has friends who are able, and expectations that are considerable, then his expense is still the greater, and ways and means are found out, or at least looked for, to supply the expense and conceal the fact, that his friends may not know of it till he has gotten what he expects into his hands, and is put in a way to stand upon his own legs; and then it comes out, with a great many grieving aggravations to a parent, to find himself tricked and defeated in the expectations of his son's marrying handsomely and to his advantage, instead of which he is obliged, perhaps, to receive a dishclout for a daughter-in-law, and see his name and family propagated by the descendants of a race of beggars, and yet, perhaps, as haughty, as insolent, and as expensive as if she had brought a fund with her to support the charge of her posterity.

When this happens, the poor young man's case is really deplorable. Before he is out of his time, and while he nourishes his new spouse in the dark, he is obliged to borrow of friends, if he has any, on pretence his father does not make him a sufficient allowance; or he entrenches upon his master's cash, which, perhaps, he being the eldest apprentice, is in his hands; and this he does, depending that when he is out of his time, and his father gives him wherewith to set up, he will make good the deficiency. And if this happens accordingly, which is not often the case, so that his reputation as to his master is preserved, and he comes off clear as to dishonesty in his trust, yet what a sad chasm does it make in his fortune!

I knew a certain young tradesman, whose father, knowing nothing of his son's measures, gave him £2000 to set up with, straining himself to the utmost for the well introducing his son into the world; but who, when he came to set up, having near a year before married the servant-maid of the house, and kept her privately at a great expense, had above £600 of his stock already wasted and sunk before he began for himself; the consequence of which was, that going in partner with another young man, who had likewise £2000 to begin with, he was, instead of a half of the profits, obliged to make a private article to accept of a third of the trade; beggar-wife proving more expensive by the partner's wife (who had doubled his the first young man was obliged to quit and with his remaining stock set up by in which case, his expenses continuing stock being insufficient, he sank gradu then broke and died poor; in a word, the heart of his father, wasted what he h never recover it, and at last it broke heart too.

But I shall bring it a little further. the youth not to act so grossly neither marry in his apprenticeship; not to be keep a wife in the dark, and eat the never got; but suppose him to be ente the world; that he has set up, opened fitted up his warehouse, and is ready his trade; the next thing, in the ordinar of the world, at this time is a wife: nay met with some parents who have promp sons to marry as soon as they are set up reason they give for it is the wickedne age; that youth are drawn in a hundred ruinous matches or debaucheries; and therefore needful to marry them to keep home, to preserve them diligent, and bu down close to their business.

This, be it just or not, as it possibly some few cases, where the friends take only of finding a wife but a fortune too, to the charges that attend wedlock, yet is rally a bad cure of an ill disease; it is quently ruining the young man's fortune him sober, and making him a slave fo make him diligent. Be it that the wife marry is a frugal, housewifely woman, nothing is to be laid to her charge but t necessary addition of a family expense, with the utmost moderation; yet at the she bring not a greater sum than a young ner usually can expect, he cripples his stock-starves his business, and brings a g pense upon himself before he can lay up to support the charge.

For it is reasonable to suppose that at ginning in the world he cannot expect good a portion with a wife as he might had been set up a few years, and by his di and frugality, joined to a small expense in keeping, had increased both his stock and the trade itself; then he would be look forward boldly, and would have tence for insisting on a fortune, when he make out his improvements in trade, and that he was both able to maintain a wife able to live without her. When a young man in Holland or Germany goes a cou am told the first question the young wom of him, or perhaps her friends for her, is, A able to pay the charges? meaning the ex that inevitably attend the state of w However blunt this question may be, 'tis necessary one; and he must be very u enter into the state, that has not so wel sidered it as to be able to give an answer As the custom now is, generally speakin wife and the shop make the first show tog but how few of these early marriages su How hard such a tradesman finds it to sta support the weight that attends it, I appeal experience of those who, having taken this step, and being with difficulty got over it, best judges of that particular circumsta others that come after them.

When a tradesman marries, there are nec consequences, I mean of expenses, whi

wife ought not to be charged with, and cannot be made accountable for; such as, first, furnishing the house; and let this be done with the utmost plainness, so as to be only decent, yet it must be done; and this calls for ready money, and that ready money by so much diminishes his stock in trade. Nor is the wife at all to be charged in this case, unless she either put him to more charge than was needful, or showed herself dissatisfied with things necessary, and required extravagant gaiety and expense. Secondly, servants: if the man was frugal before, it may be he shifted with a shop, and a servant in it, an apprentice or journeyman, or perhaps without one at first, and a lodging for himself, where he kept no other servant, and so his expenses went on small and easy; or if he was obliged to take a house, because of his business, and the situation of his shop, he then either let part of the house to lodgers, keeping himself a chamber in it, or at the worst left it unfurnished, and without any one but a maid-servant to dress his victuals and keep the house clean; and thus he goes on while a bachelor with a middling expense at most.

But when he brings home a wife, besides the furnishing his house, he must have formal housekeeping, even at the very first; and as children come on, more servants, that is, maids and nurses, that are as necessary as the bread he eats, especially if he multiplies apace, as he ought to suppose he may. In this case let the wife be frugal and managing, let her be unexceptionable in her expense, yet the man finds his charge mount high, and perhaps too high for his gettings, notwithstanding the additional stock obtained by her portion; and what is the end of this but inevitable decay, and at last poverty and ruin?

Nay, the more the woman is blameless, the more certain is his overthrow; for if it was an expense that was extravagant and unnecessary, and that his wife ran him out by her high living and gaiety, he might find ways to retrench, to take up in time, and prevent the mischief that is in view. A woman may, with kindness and just reasoning, be easily convinced that her husband cannot maintain such an expense as she now lives at; and let tradesmen say what they will, and endeavour to excuse themselves as much as they will, by loading their wives with the blame of their miscarriage, as I have known some do, and as old father Adam, in another case, did before them, I must say so much in the woman's behalf at a venture, that if her husband truly and timely represented his case to her, and how far he was or was not able to maintain the expense of their way of living, I have not the least doubt but she would comply with her husband's circumstances, and retrench her expenses, rather than go on for a while, and come to poverty and misery. Let, then, the tradesman lay it early and seriously before his wife, and with kindness and plainness tell her his circumstances, or never let him pretend to charge her with being the cause of his ruin; let him tell her how great his annual expense is; for a woman who receives what she wants as she wants it, that only takes it with one hand, and lays it out with another, does not, and perhaps cannot, always keep an account, or cast up how much it comes to by the year; let him tell her honestly how much his expense for her and himself amounts to yearly, and tell her as honestly that it is too much for him; that his income in trade will not answer it; that he goes backward, and the last year his family expenses amounted to so much, say £400 (for that is but an ordinary sum now for a tradesman to spend, whatever it has been esteemed formerly); and that his whole trade, though he made no bad debts, and had no losses, brought him in but £320 the whole year, so that he was £80 that year a worse man than he was before; that this coming year he had met with a heavy loss already, having had a shopkeeper in the country broke in his debt, say £200, and that he offered but eight shillings in the pound, so that he should lose £120 by him; and this, added to the £80 run out last year, came to £200; and that, if they went on thus, they should be soon reduced.

What could the woman say to so reasonable a discourse, if she was a woman of any sense, but to reply, she would do anything that lay in her power to assist him; and if her way of living was too great for him to support, she would lessen it in anything she could, as he should direct, and as much as he thought was reasonable? And thus, going hand in hand, she and he together abating what reason required, they might bring their expenses within the compass of their gettings, and be able to go on again comfortably.

But now, when the man, finding his expenses greater than his income, and yet, when he looks into those expenses, finds that his wife is frugal too, and industrious, and applies diligently to the managing her family and bringing up her children, spends nothing idly, saves everything that can be saved, that, instead of keeping too many servants, she is a servant to everybody herself; and that, in short, when he makes his strictest examination, he finds she lays out nothing but what is absolutely necessary; what now must this man do? He is ruined inevitably, for all his expense is necessary; there is no retrenching, no abating anything.

This, I say, is the worst case of the two indeed; and this man, though he may say he is undone by *marrying*, yet cannot blame the woman, and say he is undone by his *wife*. This, therefore, is the very case I am speaking of: the man should not have married so soon; he should have stayed until, by pushing on his trade, and living close in his expense, he had increased his stock, and been what we call *beforehand* in the world; and had he done thus, he had not been undone by marrying.

It is a little hard to say, but in this respect it is very true, there is many a young tradesman ruined by marrying even a *good* wife, when they have married before they had inquired into the necessary charge of a wife and a family, or seen the profits of their business, whether it would maintain them or no; and whether, as above, they could pay the charges, the increasing necessary charges, of a large and growing family.

Let no man, then, when he is brought to distress by this early rashness, turn short upon his wife, and reproach her with being the cause of his ruin, unless at the same time he can charge her with extravagant living, needless expense, squandering away his money, spending it in trifles and toys, and running him out until the shop cannot maintain the kitchen, much less the parlour; nor even then, unless he had given her timely notice of it, and warned her that he was not able to maintain so large a family or so great expense, and that therefore she would do well to consider of it, and manage with a straighter hand, and the like. If indeed he had done so, and she had not complied with him, then she had been guilty, and without excuse too; but as the woman cannot judge of his affairs, and he sees and bears a share in the riotous way of their living, and does not either show his dislike of it, or let her know by some means or other that he cannot

support it, the woman cannot be charged with being his ruin; no, though her way of extravagant, expensive living were really the cause of it. I met with a short dialogue the other day between a tradesman and his wife upon such a subject as this, the substance of which was as follows:—

I. The man was melancholy, and oppressed with the thoughts of his declining circumstances, and yet had not any design of making it known to his wife, whose way of living was high and expensive, and more than he could support; but though it must have ended in ruin, he would rather let it have gone on until she was surprised in it, than to tell the danger that was before her.

His wife argues the injustice and unkindness of such usage, and how hard it was to a wife, who, being of necessity to suffer in the fall, ought certainly to have the most early notice of it, that, if possible, she might prevent it, or at least that she might not be overwhelmed with the suddenness and the terror of it.

II. Upon discovering it to his wife, or rather her drawing the discovery from him by her importunity, she cheerfully enters into measures to retrench her expenses, and, as far as she was able, to prevent the blow, which was otherwise unavoidable.

Hence it is apparent that the expensive living of most tradesmen in their families is for want of a serious acquainting their wives with their circumstances, and acquainting them also *in time*; for there are very few of the sex so unreasonable, but, if their husbands seriously informed them how things stood with them, and that they could not support their way of living, would not willingly come into measures to prevent their own destruction.

III. That of consequence, while the tradesman put his wife on retrenching of her expenses, he at the same time resolved to lessen his own; for certainly the keeping of horses and high company is every way as great and expensive, and as necessary to be abated, as any of the family extravagances, let them be which they will, when a man's circumstances require it.

All this relates to the duty of a tradesman in preventing his family expenses being ruinous to his business. But the true method to prevent all this, and never to let it come so far, is still, as I said before, not to marry too soon; not to marry, until by a frugal, industrious management of his trade in the beginning, he has laid a foundation for maintaining a wife and bringing up a family, and has made an essay by which he knows what he can and cannot do, and also before he has laid up and increased his stock, that he may not cripple his fortune at first, and be ruined before he knows where he is.

Of the Tradesman's Leaving his Business to Servants.

It is the ordinary excuse of the gentlemen-tradesmen of our times, that they have good servants, and that therefore they take more liberty to be out of their business, than they would otherwise do. 'Oh!' says the shopkeeper, 'I have an apprentice, 'tis an estate to have such a servant! I am as safe in him, as if I had my eye upon the business from morning to night; let me be where I will, I am always satisfied he is at home; if I am at the tavern, I am sure he is in the counting-house, or behind the counter; he is never from his post.

'And then, for my other servants, the y apprentices,' says he, ''tis all one as if I wer myself; they would be idle, it may be; will not let them, I assure you; they mu close to it, or he will make them do it. I them boys do not come apprentices to pl to work; not to sit idle, and be doing n but to mind their master's business, th may learn how to do their own.'

'Very well; and you think, sir, this you being so much in the shop, and so diligen faithful, is an estate to you? and so indee but are your customers as well pleased w man, too, as you are? or are they as well p with him as they would be if you were yourself?'

'Yes, they are,' says the shopkeeper; abundance of the customers take him master of the shop, and do not know any oth he is so very obliging, and pleases so well, content to everybody, that if I am in an part of the shop, and see him serving a cu I never interrupt them, unless sometime so modest he will call me, and, turning ladies, say, There's my master, madam; think he will abate you anything, I w him; and sometimes they will look a lit prised, and say, Is that your master? I we thought you had been the master of th yourself.'

'Well,' said I, 'and you think yourse happy in all this, don't you? Pray, ho has this young gentleman to serve? how is it before his time will be out?' 'Oh, almost a year-and-half to serve,' says the keeper. 'I hope then,' say I, 'you will tak to have him knocked on the head as soo time is out.' 'God forbid,' says the keeper; 'what do you mean by that?' 'Mean!' say I, if you do not, he will certainly knock you on the head, as soon as the year-and-half to be up; either you must dispose of him say, or take care that he does not set up you; no, not in the same street; if you d customers will all run thither; when the him in the shop, they will presently inq him; and, as you say they generally ta for the master, they will ask you, What gentleman is removed that kept the shop b

All my shopkeeper could say, was, that got a salve for that sore; and that was, that Timothy was out of his time (that was his he resolved to take him in partner.

A very good thing, indeed! So you ma Timothy into half the trade, when he w his time, for fear he should run away with quarters of it, when he sets up for himself had not the master much better have been hi himself? Then he had been sure never t the customers take Timothy for the mast when he went away, and set up, perhaps door, leave the shop and go after him.

It is certain a good servant, a faithful trious, obliging servant, is a blessing to a man; but the master, by laying the stre business upon him, divests himself of all vantages of such a servant, and turns the into a blast; for by giving up the sho were, to him, and indulging himself i abroad, and absent from his business, the tice gets the mastery of the business, the the shop depends upon him; and, when up, certainly follows him. Such a servan with the master's attendance too, be very and yet not be dangerous; such a servant when he is visibly an assistant to the ma is ruinous when he is taken for the master

is a great deal of difference between a servant's being the stay of his master, and his being the stay of his trade; when he is the first, the master is served by him; and when he is gone, he breeds up another to follow his steps; but when he is the latter, he carries the trade with him, and does his master infinitely more hurt than good.

A tradesman has a great deal of trouble with a bad servant, but must take heed he is not wounded by a good one. The extravagant, idle, vagrant servant hurts himself; but the diligent servant endangers his master: the greater reputation the servant gets in his business, the more care the master has upon him, lest he gets within him, and worms him out of his business.

The only way to prevent this, and yet not injure a diligent servant, is, that the master be as diligent as the servant; that the master be as much in the shop as the man: he that will keep in his business, need never fear keeping his business, let his servant be as diligent as he will. It is a hard thing that a tradesman should have the blessing of a good servant, and make it a curse to him by his appearing less capable than his man; and so make that which would be a felicity to any other man, the ruin of himself.

Apprentices ought to be considered as they really are, in their moveable station; that they are with you but seven years, and then act in a station of their own: their diligence is now for you, but ever after it is for themselves; that the better servants they have been while they were with you, the more dangerous they will be to you when you part; that, therefore, though you are bound in justice to them to let them into your business, in every branch of it, yet you are not bound to give your business away to them; the diligence, therefore, of a good servant in the master's business should be a spur to the master's diligence to take care of himself.

There is a great deal of difference also between trusting a servant in your business, and trusting him with your business; the first is leaving your business with him, the other is leaving your business to him: he that trusts a servant in his business, leaves his shop only to him; but he that leaves his business to his servant, leaves his family at his dispose. In a word, such a trusting, or leaving the business to the servant, is no less than a giving up all to him; abandoning the care of his shop and all his affairs to him; and when such a servant is out of his time, the master runs a terrible risk, such as indeed it is not fit any tradesman should run, namely, of losing the best of his business.

What I have been now saying is of the tradesman leaving his business to his apprentices and servants when they prove good, when they are honest and diligent, faithful and industrious; and if there are dangers even in trusting good servants, what then must it be when the business is left to idle, negligent, and extravagant servants, who both neglect their master's business and their own; who neither learn their trade for themselves, nor regard it for the interest of their masters? If the first are a blessing to their masters, and may only be made dangerous by their carrying away the trade with them when they go, these are made curses to their masters early; for they lose the trade for themselves and their masters too. The first carry the customers away with them, the last drive the customers away before they go. 'What signifies going to such a shop?' (say the ladies, either speaking of a mercer, or draper, or any other trade), 'there's nothing to be met with there but a crew of saucy boys, that are always at play when you come in, and can hardly refrain it when you are there; one hardly ever sees a master in the shop, and the young rude boys hardly mind you when you are looking on their goods; they talk to you as if they cared not whether you laid out your money or no, and as if they had rather you were gone, that they might go to play again. I'll go there no more, not I.'

If this be not the case, then you are in danger of worse still; and that is, that they are often thieves. Idle ones are seldom honest ones; nay, they cannot indeed be honest, in a strict sense, if they are idle. But by dishonest I mean downright thieves: and what is more dangerous than for an apprentice, to whom the whole business, the cash, the books, and all is committed, to be a thief?

For a tradesman, therefore, to commit his business thus into the hand of a false, a negligent, and a thievish servant, is like a man that travels a journey, and takes a highwayman into the coach with him: such a man is sure to be robbed, and to be fully and effectually plundered, because he discovers where he hides his treasure. Thus the tradesman places his confidence in the thief; and how should he avoid being robbed?

It is answered, that generally tradesmen who have any considerable trust to put into the hands of an apprentice, take security of them for their honesty by their friends, when their indentures are signed; and it is their fault then if they are not secure. It is true it is often so; but in a retail business, if the servant be unfaithful, there are so many ways to defraud a master, besides that of merely not balancing the cash, that it is impossible to detect them; and unless Providence, as sometimes it does, makes the discovery by wonder and miracle, it is never found out at all, till the tradesman, declining insensibly by the weight of the loss, is ruined and undone.

What necessity, then, is a tradesman under to give a close attendance, and preserve himself from plunder, by acquainting himself in and with his business and servants, by which he makes it very difficult for them to deceive him, and much easier to him to discover it if he suspects them! But if the tradesman lives abroad, keeps at his country house or lodgings, and leaves his business thus in the hands of his servants, committing his affairs to them, as is often the case, if they prove thieves, negligent, careless, and idle, what is the consequence? He is insensibly wronged, his substance wasted, his business neglected; and how shall a tradesman thrive under such circumstances? Nay, how is it possible he should avoid ruin and destruction? I mean, as to his business; for, in short, every such servant has his hand in his master's pocket, and may use him as he pleases.

Again, if they are not thieves, yet if they are idle and negligent, it is, in some cases, the same thing; and I wish it were well enforced upon all such servants as call themselves honest, that it is as criminal to neglect their master's business as to rob him; and he is as really a thief who robs him of his time, as he that robs him of his money.

I know, as servants are now, this is a principle not one servant in fifty acts by; on the contrary, if the master be absent, the servant is generally at his heels; that is to say, is as soon out of doors as his master; and having none but his conscience to answer to, he makes shift to compound with himself, like a bankrupt with his creditor, to pay half the debt; that is to say, half the time to his master, and half to himself; and thinks it good pay too.

vant a kind of different figure in the family, places him above the ordinary class of servants hired for wages, and exempts him from all the laws of family government; so that a master seems now to have nothing to do with his apprentice, any other than in what relates to his business.

And as the servant knows this, so he fails not to take the advantage of it, and to pay no more service than he thinks is due; and the hours of his shop-business being run out, he claims all the rest for himself, without the above restraint. Nor do servants in these times over-well bear any examinations with respect to the disposing of their surplus time, or with respect to the company they keep, or the houses or places they go to.

Is it not then apparent, that by how much the apprentices and servants in this age are loose, wild, and ungovernable, by so much the more should a master think himself obliged not to depend upon them, much less to leave his business to them, and dispense with his own attendance in it? If he does, he must have much better luck than his neighbours if he does not find himself very much wronged and abused, seeing, as I said above, the servants and apprentices of this age do very rarely act from a principle of conscience in serving their master's interest; which, however, I do not see they can be good Christians without.

I knew one very considerable tradesman in this city, and who had always five or six servants in his business, apprentices and journeymen, who lodged in his house, and having a little more the spirit of government in him than most masters I now meet with, he took this method with them: when he took an apprentice, he told them beforehand the orders of his family, and which he should oblige them to; particularly, that they should none of them be absent from his business without leave, nor out of the house after nine o'clock at night; and that he would not have it thought hard if he exacted three things of them:—

1. That if they had been out, he should ask them where they had been, and in what company? and that they should give him a true and

famous in England for being remiss in point; and that we have the best laws executed of any nation in the world.

But my friend was a man who kne how to make his laws be well execut did how to make the laws themselves. was thus: he kept a country house a miles from London, in the summer tin air for his wife and children, and there tained them very comfortably. But it with him, that he who expects his se obey his orders, must be always upon with them to see it done; to this pu confined himself to lie always at hom his family was in the country; and ev noon he walked out to see them, and himself the air too; but always so or diversions, that he was sure to be at hou nine at night, that he might call over h and see that they observed orders; tha they were all at home at their time, sober.

As this was, indeed, the only way to h servants, and an orderly family, so he h but it was owing much, if not all, to th ness of his government; and would all take the same method, I doubt not th have the like success. But what serva man expect, when he leaves them to th government, not regarding whether th God or the devil?

Now, though this man had a very family, and very good servants, yet he particular qualification too for a goo man, viz. that he never left his business to them, nor could any of them boast t were trusted to more than another.

This is certainly the way to have reg vants, and to have business thrive; bu not practised by one master in a thousan time; if it were, we should soon see in the families of tradesmen very muc better; nor, indeed, would this family ment be good for the tradesman only would be the servant's advantage too; a practice, we may say, would in time r

thought themselves obliged to attend at the usual hours for such services; nay, it has been known, where such orders have been observed, that if the master of the family has been sick, or indisposed, or out of town, the eldest apprentice has read prayers to the family in his place.

How ridiculous, to speak in the language of the present times, would it be for any master to expect this of a servant in our days! Nay, it is but very rare now that masters themselves do it; it is rather thought to be a low step, and beneath the character of a man in business, as if worshipping God was a disgrace, and not an honour to a family; and I doubt not, but in a little while, either the worship of God will be quite banished out of families, or the better sort of tradesmen, and such as have any regard to it, will keep chaplains, as persons of quality do. It is confessed, the first is most probable; though the last, as I am informed, is already begun in the city, in some houses, where the reader of the parish is allowed a small additional salary to come every evening to read prayers in the house.

But I am not now directing myself to citizens or townsmen as masters of families, but as heads of trade, and masters in their business: the other part would, indeed, require a whole book by itself, and would insensibly run me into a long satirical discourse upon the loss of all family government among us; in which, indeed, the practice of housekeepers and heads of families is grown not remiss only in all serious things, but even scandalous in their own morals, and in the personal examples they show to their servants, and all about them.

But to come back to my subject, viz. that the case of tradesmen differs extremely from what it was formerly: the second head of difference is this, that whereas in former times the servants were better and humbler than they are now, submitted more to family government, and to the regulations made by their masters, and masters were more moral, set better examples, and kept better order in their houses, and by consequence of it all servants were soberer, and fitter to be trusted than they are now; yet, on the other hand, notwithstanding all their sobriety, masters did not then so much depend upon them, leave business to them, and commit the management of their affairs so entirely to their servants as they do now.

All that masters have to say to this, so far as I can learn, is contained in two heads:

I. That they have security for their servants' honesty, which in former times they pretend they had not.

II. That they receive greater premiums, or present-money, now with their apprentices, than they did formerly.

I. The first of these is of no moment; for, *first*, it does not appear that the friends of apprentices in those former days gave no security to their masters for their integrity, which, though perhaps not so generally as now, yet I have good reason to know was *then* practised among tradesmen of note, and is not *now* among inferior tradesmen; but, *secondly*, this security extends to nothing but to make the master satisfaction for any misapplications or embezzlements which are discovered and can be proved, but extend to no secret concealed mischiefs; neither, *thirdly*, do those securities reach to the negligence, idleness, or debaucheries of servants; but, which is still more than all the rest, they do not reach to the worst sort of robbery between the servant and his master, I mean the loss of his time; so that still there is as much reason for the master's inspection, both into his servants and their business, as ever.

But least of all does this security reach to make the master any satisfaction for the loss of his business, the ill-management of his shop, the disreputation brought upon it by being committed to servants, and those servants behaving ill, slighting, neglecting, or disobliging customers; this does not relate to securities given or taken, nor can the master make himself any amends upon his servant, or upon his securities, for this irrecoverable damage. He, therefore, that will keep up the reputation of his shop or of his business, and preserve his trade to his own advantage, must resolve to attend it himself, and not leave it to servants, whether good or bad. If he leaves it to good servants, they improve it for themselves, and carry the trade away with them when they go; if to bad servants, they drive his customers away, bring a scandal upon his shop, and destroy both their master and themselves.

II. As to the receiving great premiums with their apprentices, which indeed is grown up to a strange height in this age, beyond whatever it was before, it is an unaccountable excess, which is the ruin of more servants at this time than all the other excesses they are subject to; nay, in some respect it is the cause of it all; and, on the contrary, is far from being an equivalent to their masters for the defect of their service, but is an unanswerable reason why the master should not leave his business to their management.

This premium was originally not a condition of indenture, but was a kind of usual or customary present to the tradesman's wife to engage her to be kind to the youth, and take a motherly care of him, being supposed to be young when first put out.

By length of time this compliment or present became so customary as to be made a debt, and to be conditioned for as a demand, but still was kept within bounds, and thirty or forty pounds was sufficient to a very good merchant, which now is run up to five hundred, nay, to a thousand pounds with an apprentice; a thing which formerly would have been thought monstrous, and not to be named.

The ill consequences of giving these large premiums are such and so many, that it is not to be entered upon in such a small tract as this, nor is it the design of this work; but it is thus far to the purpose here, as it shows that this sets up servants into a class of gentlemen above their business, and they neither have a sufficient regard to that or their masters, and consequently are the less fit to be trusted by the master in the essential parts of his business; and this brings it down to the case in hand.

Upon the whole, the present state of things between masters and servants is such, that now, more than ever, the caution is needful and just, that he that leaves his business to the management of his servants, it is ten to one but he ruins his business and his servants too.

The former, viz. ruining his business, is indeed my present subject; but ruining his servants is also a consideration that an honest, conscientious master ought to think of great weight, and what he ought to concern himself about. Servants out of government are like soldiers without an officer, fit for nothing but to rob and plunder.

Besides, it is letting loose his apprentices to levity and liberty in that particular critical time of life when they have the most need of government and restraint. When should laws and limits be useful to mankind but in their youth, when

unlimited liberty is most fatal to them, and when they are least capable of governing themselves?

If there is any duty on the side of a master to his servant, any obligation on him as a Christian and as a trustee for his parents, it lies here—to limit and restrain them, if possible, in the liberty of doing evil; and this is certainly a debt due to the trust reposed in masters by the parents of the youth committed to them. If he is let loose here, he is undone of course, and it may be said indeed he was ruined by his master; and if the master is afterwards ruined by such a servant, what can be said for it but this, He could expect no other?

To leave a youth without government is indeed unworthy of any honest master: he cannot discharge himself as a master; for instead of taking care of him, he indeed casts him off, abandons him, and, to put it into Scripture words, he leads him into temptation; nay, he goes farther, to use another Scripture expression, he delivers him over to Satan.

It is confessed, and it is fatal both to masters and servants at this time, that not only servants are made haughty, and above the government of their masters, and think it below them to submit to any family government, or any restraints of their masters, as to their morals and religion, but masters also seem to have given up all family government, and all care or concern for the morals and manners, as well as for the religion of their servants, thinking themselves under no obligation to meddle with those things, or to think anything about them, so that their business be but done, and their shop or warehouse duly looked after.

But to bring it all home to the point in hand: if it is so with the master and servant, there is the less room still for the master of such servants to leave any considerable trust in the hands of such apprentices, or to expect much from them; to leave the weight of their affairs with them, and, living at their country lodgings, and taking their own diversions, depend upon such servants for the success of their business; this is indeed abandoning their business, throwing it away, and committing themselves, families, and fortunes, to the conduct of those who, they have all the reason in the world to believe, have no concern upon them for their good, or care one farthing what becomes of them.

Of Honesty and Veracity in Dealing.

There is a specific difference between honesty and knavery, which can never be altered by trade or any other thing; nor can that integrity of mind, which describes and is peculiar to a man of honesty, be ever abated to a tradesman; the rectitude of his soul must be the same, and he must not only *intend* or *mean* honestly and justly, but he must *act* so, and that in all his dealings. He must neither cheat nor defraud, overreach nor circumvent his neighbour, or anybody he deals with; nor must he design to do so, or lay any plots or snares to that purpose in his dealing, as is frequent in the general conduct of too many, who yet would take it very ill to have any one tax their integrity.

But after all this is premised, there are some latitudes which a tradesman is and must be allowed, and which, by the custom and usage of trade, he may give himself a liberty in, which cannot be allowed in other cases; some of which are—

1. The liberty of asking more than he will *take*. I know some people have condemned this practice as dishonest; and the Quakers for a time strictly stood to their point in the contrary practice, resolving to ask no more than they would take, upon any occasion whatsoever, and choosing rather to lose the selling of their goods, though they could afford sometimes to take what was offered, rather than abate a farthing of the price they had asked. But time and the necessities of trade have brought them a good deal off of that severity, and they by degrees came to ask and abate just as other honest tradesmen do, though not perhaps as those do who give themselves too great a liberty that way.

Indeed it is the buyers that make this custom necessary; for they, especially those who buy for immediate use, will first pretend positively to tie themselves up to a limited price, and bid them a little and a little more, until they come so near the price, that the sellers cannot find in their hearts to refuse it, and then they are tempted to take it, notwithstanding their first words to the contrary. It is common indeed for the tradesmen to say, They cannot abate anything, when yet they do and can afford it; but the tradesman should indeed not be understood strictly and literally to his words, but as he means it, that is to say, that he cannot reasonably abate, and that he cannot abate without underselling the market, or underrating the value of his goods, and there he may say true; and so the meaning is honest, that he cannot abate; and yet, rather than not take your money, he may at last resolve to do it, in hopes of getting a better price for the remainder, or being willing to abate his ordinary gain, rather than disoblige the customer, or being perhaps afraid he should not sell off the quantity in tolerable time, having possibly a large stock by him, the disposing of some of which will enhance the value of the rest.

In these cases I cannot say a shopkeeper should be tied down to the literal meaning of his words in the price he asks, or that he is guilty of lying in not adhering stiffly to the letter of his first demand; though at the same time I would have every tradesman take as little liberty that way as may be: and if the buyers would expect the tradesman should keep strictly to his demand, they should not stand and haggle, and screw the shopkeeper down, bidding from one penny to another to a trifle within his price, as it were to push him to the extremity either to turn away his customer for a sixpence, or some such trifle, or to break his word; as if he would say, I will force you to speak falsely, or turn me away for a trifle.

In such cases, if indeed there is a breach, the sin is the buyer's; at least he puts himself in the devil's stead, and makes himself both tempter and accuser: nor can I say that the seller is in that case so much to blame as the buyer; for the latter as often says, 'I won't give a farthing more,' and yet advances; as the former says, 'I can't abate a farthing,' and yet complies. These are, as I call them, *trading lies*, and it were to be wished they could be avoided on both sides; and the honest tradesman does avoid them as much as possible; but yet must not, I say, in all cases be tied up to the strict literal sense of the expression.

2. Another trading licence is that of appointing and promising payments of money, which men in business are often forced to make, and so often obliged to break. Let us state this case as clearly as we can.

The credit usually given by one tradesman to another, as particularly by the merchant to the wholesale man, and by the wholesale man to the

retailer, is such, that without tying the buyer up to a particular day of payment, they go on buying and selling, and the buyer pays money upon account, as his convenience admits, and as the seller is content to take it. This occasions the merchants, or the wholesale men, to go about, as they call it, *a dunning* among their dealers, and which is generally the work of every Saturday. When the merchant comes to his customer the wholesale man, or warehousekeeper, for money, he puts him off, very probably, from week to week, making each time promises of payment, which he is forced to break; but at last, after several disappointments, he makes shift to pay him.

The occasion of this is, the wholesale man sells the merchant's goods to several retailers; and if they paid him in time, he would be able to keep his word, but they disappointing him, he is forced in his turn to disappoint the merchant; but all the while, it is presumed, if he be an honest man, he never makes a promise but he intends otherwise, and has reasonable and very probable grounds for hoping he shall be enabled so to do.

The merchant, in his turn, except his circumstances are very good, is obliged to put off the Blackwell-hall factor, or the packer, or the clothier, or whoever he deals with, in proportion; and thus promises go round for payment, and those promises are kept or broken as money comes in or as disappointments happen, and all this while here is no breach of honesty or parole, no lying or supposition of it among the tradesmen, either on one side or other.

But let us come to the morality of it. To break a solemn promise is a very bad thing, that is certain; there is no coming off of it; and here the first fault might be enlarged upon, viz. of making the promise, which, say the strict objectors, they should not do. But the tradesman's answer is this, all those promises ought to be taken as they are made, namely, with a contingent dependence upon the circumstances of trade, such as promises made them by others who owe them money, or the supposition of a week's trade bringing in money by retail, as usual, both of which are liable to fail, or at least to fall short; and this the person who calls for the money knows, and takes the promise with those attending casualties, which, if they fail, he knows the shopkeeper, or whoever he is, must fail him too.

The case is plain, if the man had the money in cash, he need not make a promise or appointment for a further day; for that promise is no more or less than a capitulation for a week's forbearance, on his assurance that, if possible, he will not fail to pay him at that time. It is objected, that the words, if possible, should then be mentioned; which would solve the morality of the case. To this I must answer that I think it needless, unless the man, to whom the promise was made, could be supposed to believe the promise was to be performed, whether it was possible or no; which no reasonable man can be supposed to do.

There is a parallel case to this in the ordinary appointment of people to meet either at place or time, upon occasions of business. Two friends make an appointment to meet the next day at such a house; one says to the other, 'Do not fail me at that time, for I will certainly be there;' the other answers, 'I will not fail.' Some people object against these positive appointments, and tell us we ought to say, I will, if it please God; or, I will, life and health permitting.

But to say a word to our present custom: since Christianity is the public profession of the country, and we are to suppose we not only are Christians ourselves, but that all those we are talking to, or of, are also Christians, we must add that Christianity supposes we acknowledge that life, and all the contingencies of life, are subjected to the dominion of Providence, and liable to all those accidents which God permits to befall us in the ordinary course of our living in the world; therefore we expect to be taken in that sense in all such appointments; and it is but justice to us as Christians, in the common acceptation of our words, that when I say I will certainly meet my friend at such a place, and at such a time, he should understand me to mean, if it pleases God to give me life and health, or that his providence permits me to come. For we all know that else I cannot meet, or so much as live.

Not to understand me thus, is as much as to say, you do not understand me to be a Christian, or to act like a Christian in anything; and, on the other hand, they that understand it otherwise I ought not to understand to be Christians. Nor should I be supposed to put any neglect or dishonour upon the government of Providence in the world, or to suggest that I did not think myself subjected to it, because I omitted the words in my appointment.

In like manner, when a man comes to me for money, I put him off: that, in the first place, supposes I have not the money by me, or cannot spare it to pay him at that time; if it was otherwise, it may be supposed I would pay him just then. He is then perhaps impatient, and asks me when I will pay him, and I tell him at such a time: this naturally supposes, that by that time I expect to be supplied, so as to be able to pay; I have current bills, or promises of money, to be paid me, or I expect the ordinary takings in my shop or warehouse will supply me to make good my promise. Thus my promise is honest in its foundation, because I have reason to expect money to come in, to make me in a condition to perform it; but so it falls out, contrary to my expectation, and contrary to the reason of things, I am disappointed and cannot do it; I am then a trespasser upon my creditor, whom I ought to have paid, and I am under affliction enough on that account, and I suffer in my reputation for it also; but I cannot be said to be a liar, an immoral man, a man that have no regard to my promise, and the like; for at the same time I have perhaps used my utmost endeavour to do it, but am prevented by several men breaking promise with me, and I am no way able to help myself.

It is objected to this, that then I should not make my promises absolute, but conditional. To this I say, that the promises, as is above observed, are really not absolute, but conditional in the very nature of them, and are understood so when they are made; or else they that hear them do not understand them as all human appointments ought to be understood. I do confess it would be better not to make an absolute promise at all, but to express the condition or reserve with the promise, and say, I will if I can, or, I will if people are just to me, and perform their promises to me.

But the importunity of the person who demands the payment will not permit it; nothing short of a positive promise will satisfy; they never believe the person intends to perform, if he makes the least reserve or condition in his promise, though at the same time they know that even the nature and the reason of the promise

strongly imply the condition; and the importunity of the creditor occasions the breach which he reproaches the debtor with the immorality of.

Custom, indeed, has driven us beyond the limits of our morals in many things, which trade makes necessary, and which we can now very rarely avoid; so that if we must pretend to go back to the literal sense of the command, if our yea must be yea, and our nay, nay, why then it is impossible for tradesmen to be Christians, and we must unhinge all business, act upon new principles in trade, and go on by new rules; in short, we must shut up shop, and leave off trade, and so in many things we must leave off living; for as conversation is called life, we must leave off to converse. All the ordinary communication of life is now full of lying; and what with table-lies, salutation-lies, and trading-lies, there is no such thing as every man speaking truth with his neighbour.

But this is a subject would launch me out beyond my present bounds, and make a book by itself; I return to the case particularly in hand, promises of payment of money. Men in trade, I say, are under this unhappy necessity; they are forced to make them, and they are forced to break them; the violent pressing and dunning, and perhaps threatening too, of the creditor, when the poor shopkeeper cannot comply with his demand, forces him to promise. In short, the importunate creditor will not be otherwise put off, and the poor shopkeeper, almost worried, and perhaps a little terrified too, and afraid of him, is glad to do and say anything to pacify him; and this extorts a promise which, when the time comes, he is no more able to perform than he was before; and this multiplies promises, and consequently breaches; so much of which are to be placed to the account of force, that I must acknowledge, though the debtor is to blame, the creditor is too far concerned in the fault of it to be excused; and it were to be wished some other method could be found out to prevent the evil, and that tradesmen would resolve with more courage to resist the importunities of the creditor, be the consequence what it would, rather than break in upon their morals, and load their consciences with the reproaches of it.

I knew a tradesman who, labouring long under the ordinary difficulties of men embarrassed in trade, and past the possibility of getting out, and being at last obliged to stop and call his people together, told me that after he was broke, though it was a terrible thing to him at first, as it is to most tradesmen, yet he thought himself in a new world, when he was at a full stop, and had no more the terror upon him of bills coming for payment, and creditors knocking at his door to dun him, and he without money to pay; he was no more obliged to stand in his shop, and be bullied and ruffled by his creditors, nay, by their apprentices and boys, and sometimes by porters and footmen, to whom he was forced to give good words, and sometimes strain his patience to the utmost limits; he was now no more obliged to make promises, which he knew he could not perform, and break promises as fast as he made them, and so lie continually, both to God and man. And he added the ease of his mind, which he felt upon that occasion, was so great, that it was as if a heavy load were taken off his back, under which he was able no longer to stand, and that it balanced all the grief he was in at the general disaster of his affairs; and further, that even in the lowest of his circumstances which followed, he would not go back to live in a good figure as he had done, if it had been in his choice, and to be in the exquisite torture of want of money to pay his bills, and keep off his duns, as he was before.

This necessarily brings me to observe here, and it is a little for the ease of the tradesman's mind in such severe cases, that there is a distinction to be made in this case between wilful premeditated lying and the necessity men may be driven to by their disappointments, and other accidents of their circumstances, to break such promises, as they had made with an honest intention of performing them.

He that breaks a promise, however solemnly made, may be an honest man; but he that makes a promise with a design to break it, or with no resolution of performing it, cannot be so. Nay, to carry it further, he that makes a promise and does not do his endeavour to perform it, or to put himself into a condition to perform it, cannot be an honest man. A promise once made supposes the person willing to perform it, if it were in his power, and has a binding influence upon the person who made it, so far as his power extends, or that he can within the reach of any reasonable ability perform the conditions; but if it is not in his power to perform it, as in this affair of payment of money is often the case, the man cannot be condemned as dishonest.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that it is a very mortifying thing to an honest tradesman to be obliged to break his word; and therefore, where men can possibly avoid it, they should not make their promises of payment so positive, but rather conditional, and thereby avoid both the immorality and the discredit of breaking their word; nor will any tradesman, I hope, harden himself in a careless forwardness to promise, without endeavouring or intending to perform, from anything said in this chapter; for be the excuse for it as good as it will, as to the point of strict honesty, he can have but small regard to his own peace of mind, or to his own credit in trade, who will not avoid it as much as possible.

Of the customary Frauds of Trade, which some allow themselves to Practise, and pretend to Justify to the Rules of Honesty.

It is certainly true that few things in nature are simply unlawful and dishonest, but that all crime is made so by the addition and concurrence of circumstances, and of these I am now to speak; and the first I take notice of is that of taking or putting off counterfeit or false money.

It must be confessed that calling in the old money, in the time of the late King William, was an act particularly glorious to that reign, and in nothing more than this, that it delivered trade from a terrible load, and tradesmen from a vast accumulated weight of daily crime. There was scarce a shopkeeper that had not a considerable quantity of false and unpassable money; and an apprentice that kept his master's cash had annual loss, which they sometimes were unable to support, and sometimes their parents and friends were called upon for the deficiency.

The consequence was, that every raw youth, or unskilful boy that was sent to receive money, was put upon by the cunning tradesman; and all the bad money they had was tendered in payment among the good, that by ignorance or oversight some might possibly be made to pass; and as these ignorantly or carelessly took it, so they were not wanting in all the artifices and sleights of hand they were masters of, to put it off again,

so that, in short, people were made bites and cheats to one another, in all their business; and if you went but to buy a pair of gloves, or stockings, or any trifle at a shop, you went with bad money in one hand, and good money in the other, proffering first the bad coin, to get it off if possible; and then the good, if the other was rejected.

Thus people were daily upon the catch to cheat and surprise one another, if they could; and, in short, paid no good money for anything, if they could help it. And how did we triumph, if, meeting with some poor raw servant, or ignorant woman, behind a counter, we got off a counterfeit half-crown, or a brass shilling, and brought away their goods (which were worth the money, if it had been good) for a half-crown that was perhaps not worth sixpence, or for a shilling not worth a penny; as if this was not all one with picking the shopkeeper's pocket, or robbing his house!

The excuse ordinarily given for this practice was, It came to us for good; we took it, and it only went as it came; we did not make it; and the like. As if, because we had been basely cheated by A, we were allowed to cheat B; or that because C had robbed our house, that therefore we might go and rob D.

And yet this was constantly practised at that time over the whole nation, and by some of the honestest tradesmen among us, if not by all of them.

When the old money was called in, an end was put to this cheating trade, and the morals of the nation in some measure restored; for, in short, before that, it was almost impossible for a tradesman to be an honest man. But now we begin to fall into it again; and we see the current coin of the kingdom strangely crowded with counterfeit money, both gold and silver; and especially we have found a great deal of counterfeit foreign money, as particularly Portugal and Spanish gold, such as moidores and Spanish pistoles, which when we have the misfortune to be put upon with them, the fraud dips deep into our pockets; the first being twenty-seven shillings, and the latter seventeen. It is true, the latter being payable only by weight, we are not often troubled with them; but the former going all by tale, great quantities of them have been put off among us. But I must lay it down as a stated rule, in the moral part of the question, That to put off base money for good, knowingly, is dishonest and knavish.

Nor will it take off from the crime of it, or lessen the dishonesty, to say, I took it for good and current money, and it goes as it comes; for, as I hinted before, my having been cheated does not authorize me to cheat any other person; so neither was it a just or honest thing in that person who put the bad money upon me, if they knew it to be bad; and if it was not honest in them, how can it be so in me?

The case to me is very clear, namely, that neither by law, justice, nor conscience, can the tradesman put off his bad money after he has taken it, if he once knows it to be false and counterfeit. That it is against law is evident, because it is not good and lawful money of England; it cannot be honest, because you do not pay in the coin you agreed for, or perform the bargain you made, or pay in the coin expected of you; and it is not just, because you do not give a valuable consideration for the goods you buy, but really take a tradesman's goods away, and return dross and dirt to him in the room of it.

The medium I have to propose in the room of this is, that every man that takes a counterfeit piece of money, and knows it to be such, should immediately destroy it, either by cutting it in pieces, or, as I have seen some do, nail it up against a post, so that it should go no further. It is true, this is sinking so much upon himself, and supporting the credit of the current coin at his own expense, and he loses the whole piece, which tradesmen are very loath to do; but thus they ought to do, though to their present loss, whether they may reap any benefit in future from so doing, or not; which, however, is not unlikely but they may.

For, *first*, by doing thus they put a stop to the fraud as to that individual piece of money; so that it is a piece of good service to the public to take away the occasion and instrument of so much knavery and deceit.

Secondly, They prevent a worse fraud, which is, the buying and selling such counterfeit money. This was a very wicked, but open trade, in former days, and may in time come to be so again. Fellows went about the streets crying, 'Brass money, broken or whole.' These fellows pretended that they bought it to cut it in pieces, and if you insisted upon it, they would cut it in pieces before your face; but they as often got it without that ceremony, and so made what wicked shifts they could to get it off again, and many times did put it off for current money, after they had bought it for a trifle.

Thirdly, By this fraud, perhaps the same piece of money might, several years after, come into your hands again, after you had sold it for a trifle; and so you might lose by the same shilling two or three times over.

It has been the opinion of some, that a penalty should be inflicted upon those who offered any counterfeit money in payment. But besides that there is already a statute against uttering false money, knowing it to be such, if any other or further law should be made, either to enforce the statute, or to have new penalties added, they would still fall into the same difficulties as in the Act.

1. That innocent men would suffer, seeing many tradesmen may take a piece of counterfeit money in tale, with other money, and really not know it, and so may offer it again as innocently as they first took it ignorantly; and to bring such into trouble for every false shilling which they might offer to pay away without knowing it, would be to make the law merely vexatious to those against whom it was not intended.

2. Such an Act would be difficultly executed, because it would not be easy to know who did knowingly utter false money, and who did not. So that, upon the whole, such a law would no way answer the end, nor effectually discover the offender, much less suppress the practice.

But a general Act, obliging all tradesmen to suppress counterfeit money, by refusing to put it off again after they knew it to be counterfeit, and a general consent of tradesmen to do so, would be the best way to put a stop to the practice, the morality of which is so justly called in question, and the ill consequences of which to trade are so very well known; nor will anything but a universal consent of tradesmen in the honest suppressing of counterfeit money, ever bring it to pass. In the meantime, as to the dishonesty of the practice, I think it is out of question; it can have nothing but custom to plead for it, which is so far from an argument, that I think the plea is criminal in itself, and really adds to its being a grievance, and calls loudly for a speedy redress.

Another trading fraud is, the various arts made

use of by tradesmen to set off their goods to the eye of the ignorant buyer.

This is something of kin to putting off counterfeit money; every false gloss put upon our woollen manufactures, by hotpressing, folding, dressing, tucking, packing, bleaching, &c., what are they but washing over a brass shilling to make it pass for sterling? Every false light, every artificial side-window, sky-light, and trunk-light we see made, to show the fine hollands, lawns, cambrics, &c., to advantage, and to deceive the buyer, what is it but a counterfeit coin to cheat the customers, and make their goods look finer than they are?

And yet there is something to be said for setting some goods out to the best advantage too; for in some goods, if they are not well dressed, well pressed and packed, they are not really showed in a true light; and therefore such works as may be proper for so far setting it forth to the eye, as may show it to be what really it is, may be necessary. For example:

The cloths, stuffs, serges, druggets, &c. which are brought to market in the west and northern parts of England and in Norfolk, as they are brought without the dressing and making up, may be said to be brought to market unfinished; and they are brought there again by the wholesale dealers, or cloth-workers, tuckers, and merchants, and they carry them to their warehouses and workhouses, where they go through diverse operations again, and are finished for the market. Nor indeed are they fit to be showed until they are so; the stuffs are in the grease, the cloth is in the oil, they are rough and foul; and as our buyers do not understand them until they are so dressed, it is no proper finishing of the goods to bring them to market before that part is performed.

But if, by the exuberance of their art, they set the goods in a false light, give them a false gloss, a finer and smoother surface than they really have, in order to deceive the buyer, so far is it a trading fraud, which is an unjustifiable practice in business, and which, like coining of counterfeit money, is making goods to pass for what they really are not.

I come next to the setting out their goods to the buyer by the help of the tongue: and here, I must confess, our shop rhetoric is a strange kind of speech; it is to be understood, in a manner, by itself; it is to be taken in such a latitude as requires as many flourishes to excuse it as it contains in itself.

The end of it, in short, is corrupt, and it is made up of a mass of impertinent flattery to the buyer, filled with hypocrisy, compliment, self-praises, falsehood, and, in short, a complication of wickedness. It is a corrupt means to a vicious end; and I cannot see anything in it but what a wise man laughs at, a good man abhors, and any man of honesty avoids as much as possible.

The shopkeeper ought indeed to have a good tongue; but he should not make a common whore of it, and employ it to the wicked purpose of imposing upon all that come to deal with him. There is a modest licence which trade allows to all; but this cannot excuse a wilful lie behind the counter any more than in any other place; and I recommend it to all honest tradesmen to consider what a scandal it is upon trade to suppose that a tradesman cannot live without lying.

Indeed, I must say that much of it is owing to the buyers; they begin the work, and give the occasion; and perhaps it was for that reason that Solomon reproved the buyers, rather than the sellers, when he says, 'It is nought, it is nought, says the buyer; but when he goes away, then he boasteth,' Prov. xx. 14; and it is the less to be wondered at, when the one undervalues the goods, that the other as much overvalues them.

It was a kind of a step to the cure of this vice in trade, that there was an old office erected in the city of London for searching and viewing all the goods which were sold in bulk, and could not be searched into by the buyer: this was called *garbling;* and the garbler having viewed the goods and caused all damaged and unsound goods to be taken out, used to set his seal upon the cask or bags which held the rest, and then they were vouched to be marketable; so that, when the merchant and shopkeeper met to deal, there was no room for any words about the goodness of the ware. There was the garbler's seal to vouch that they were marketable and good; and if they were otherwise, the garbler was answerable.

This respected some particular sorts of goods only, and chiefly spices, and drugs, and dyestuffs, and the like. It were well if some other method than that of a voluble tongue could be found out to ascertain the goodness and value of goods between the shopkeeper and the retail buyer, that such a flux of falsehoods and untruths might be avoided as we see every day made use of to run up and run down everything that is bought or sold, and that without any effect too; for, take it one time with another, all the shopkeeper's protestations don't make the buyer like the goods at all the better, nor does the buyer's depreciating them make the shopkeeper sell the cheaper.

It would be worth while to consider a little the language that passes between the tradesman and his customer over the counter, and put it into plain home-spun English, as the meaning of it really imports. We would not take that usage if it were put into plain words; it would set all the shopkeepers and their customers together by the ears, and we should have fighting and quarrelling instead of bowing and curtsying in every shop. Let us hear how it would sound between them. A lady, we'll suppose, comes into a mercer's shop to buy some silks, or to the lacemen's to buy some silver laces, or the like; and when she pitches upon a piece which she likes, she begins thus:

La. I like that colour and that figure well enough, but I don't like the silk; there's no substance in it.

Mer. Indeed, madam, your ladyship lies; it is a very substantial silk.

La. No, no, you lie; indeed, sir, it is good for nothing; it will do no service.

Mer. Pray, madam, feel how heavy it is. The very weight of it may satisfy you that you lie indeed, madam.

La. Come, come, show me a better. I am sure you have better, and tell me a lie.

Mer. Indeed, madam, your ladyship lies. I may show you more pieces, but I cannot show you a better. There is not a better piece of silk of that sort in London, madam.

La. Let me see that piece of crimson there.

Mer. Here it is, madam.

La. No, that won't do neither; it is not a good colour.

Mer. Indeed, madam, you lie; it is as fine a colour as can be dyed.

La. O fie! you lie indeed, sir; why, it is not in grain.

Mer. Your ladyship lies, upon my word, madam, it is in grain indeed, and as fine as can be dyed.

I might make this dialogue much longer, but here is enough to set the mercer and the lady both in a flame, if it were but spoken on a place

language as above; and yet what is all the shop dialect less or more than this? The meaning is plain; it is nothing but *you lie*, and *you lie*, wrapped up in silk and satin, and delivered dressed finely up, in better clothes than perhaps it might come dressed in between a carman and a porter.

I am not for making my discourse a satire upon the shopkeepers or upon their customers; if I was, I could give a long detail of the arts and tricks made use of behind the counter to wheedle and persuade the buyer, and manage the selling part, among shopkeepers; but this is rather work for a ballad or a song. My business is to tell the complete tradesman how to act a wiser part; to talk to his customers like a man of sense and business, and not like a mountebank; to let him see that there is a way of managing behind a counter; that, let the customer be man or woman, impertinent or not, he may behave himself so as to avoid all those impertinences, falsehoods, and foolish and wicked excursions which I complain of.

There is a happy medium in these things: the shopkeeper, far from being rude to his customers on one hand, or sullen and silent on the other, may speak handsomely and modestly of his goods what they deserve, and no other; may with truth (and good manners too) set forth his goods as they ought to be set forth, and neither be wanting to the commodity he sells, or run out into a ridiculous extravagance of words, which have neither truth of fact or honesty of design in them.

Nor is this middle way of management at all less likely to succeed, if the customers have any share of sense in them, or the goods he shows any merit to recommend them.

Let the tradesman, then, try the honest part, and stand by that, keeping a stock of fashionable and valuable goods in his shop to show, and I daresay he will run no venture, nor need he fear customers. If anything calls for the help of rattling words, it must be mean, unfashionable, and ordinary goods, together with weak and silly buyers; and let the buyers that chance to read this remember, that whenever they find the shopkeeper begins his fine speeches, they ought to suppose he has trash to bring out, and believes he has fools to show it to.

Of the Tradesman's letting his Wife be Acquainted with his Business.

It must be owned, that though this chapter is written in favour of the women, it will seem to be an officious, thankless benefaction to the wives; for that, as the tradesmen's ladies now manage, they are generally above the favour, and scorn to be seen in the counting-house, much less behind the counter; despise the knowledge of their business, or act as if they were ashamed of being tradesmen's wives, and never imagined to be tradesmen's widows.

If this chosen ignorance of theirs comes, some time or other, to be their loss, and they ever find the disadvantage of it, they may read their fault in their punishment, and wish, too late, they had acted the humbler part, and not thought it below them to inform themselves of what is so much their interest to know. This pride is indeed the great misfortune of tradesmen's wives; for as they lived as if they were above being owned for the tradesman's wife, so, when he dies, they live to be the shame of the tradesman's widow; they know nothing how he got his estate when he was alive, and they know nothing where to find it when he is dead. This drives them into the hands of lawyers, attorneys, and solicitors, to get in their effects; who, when they have got it, often run away with it, and leave the poor widow in a more disconsolate and perplexed condition than she was in before.

It is true, indeed, that this is the women's fault in one respect; and too often it is so in many, since the common spirit is, as I observed, so much above the tradesman's condition. But since it is not so with everybody, let me state the case a little, for the use of those who still have their senses about them, and whose pride is not got so much above their reason, as to let them choose to be tradesmen's beggars, rather than tradesmen's widows.

When the tradesman dies, it is to be expected that what estate or effects he leaves is, generally speaking, dispersed about in many hands; his widow, if she is left executrix, has the trouble of getting things together as well as she can; if she is not left executrix, she has not the trouble, indeed, but then it is looked upon that she is dishonoured in not having the trust. When she comes to look into her affairs, she is more or less perplexed and embarrassed, as she has not or has acquainted herself, or been made acquainted, with her husband's affairs in his lifetime.

If she has been one of those gay, delicate ladies, that values herself upon her being a gentlewoman, and that thought it a step below herself when she married this mechanic thing called a tradesman, and consequently scorned to come near his shop or warehouse, and acquainting herself with any of his affairs; her folly calls for pity now, as her pride did for contempt before: for as she was foolish in the first, she may be miserable in the last part of it. Now she falls into a sea of trouble; she has the satisfaction of knowing that her husband has died, as the tradesmen call it, 'well to pass;' but she has, at the same time, the mortification of knowing nothing how to get it in, or in what hands it lies. The only relief she has is her husband's books; and she is happy in that but just in proportion to the care he took in keeping them; even when she finds the names of debtors, she knows not who they are or where they dwell; who are good, and who are bad. The only remedy she has here, is, if her husband had ever a servant or apprentice who was so near out of his time as to be acquainted with the customers and with the books; and then she is forced to be beholden to him to settle the accounts for her, and endeavour to get in the debts; in return for which, she is obliged to give him his time and his freedom, let him into the trade, make him master of all the business, set him up in the world, and, it may be at last, with all her pride, lets the boy creep to bed to her. And when her friends upbraid her with it, that she should marry her prentice boy, when, it may be, she was old enough to be his mother, her answer is, Why, what could I do? I must have been ruined else. I had nothing but what lay abroad in debts, scattered about the world, and nobody but he knew how to get them in; what could I do? If I had not done it, I must have been a beggar. And so it may be she is at last, too, if the boy of a husband proves a brute to her, as many do, and as in such unequal matches indeed most such people do.

Thus that pride which once set her above a kind, diligent, tender husband, and made her scorn to stoop to acquaint herself with his affairs, by which, had she done it, she had been tolerably qualified to get in her debts, dispose of her shop goods, and bring her estate together; the same

pride sinks her into the necessity of cringing, as he may prove, to a scoundrel, and taking her servant to be her master.

This I mention for the caution of those ladies who stoop to marry men of business, and yet despise the business they are maintained by; that marry the tradesman, but scorn the trade. If madam thinks fit to stoop to the man, she ought never to think herself above owning his employment; and as she may, upon occasion of his death, be left to value herself upon it, and to have at least her fortune and her children's to gather up out of it, she ought not to profess herself so unacquainted with it as not to be able to look into it when necessity obliges her.

It is a terrible disaster to any woman to be so far above her own circumstances, that she should not qualify herself to make the best of things that are left her, or to preserve herself from being cheated and being imposed upon. In former times tradesmen's widows valued themselves upon the shop and trade, or the warehouse and trade that was left them; and, at least, if they did not carry on the trade in their own names, they would keep it up till they put it off to advantage; and often I have known a widow get from three hundred to five hundred pounds for the goodwill, as it is called, of the shop and trade, if she did not think fit to carry on the trade; if she did, the case turned the other way, namely, that if the widow did not put off the shop, the shop would put off the widow. And I may venture to say, that where there is one widow that keeps on the trade now, after a husband's decease, there were ten, if not twenty, that did it then.

But now the ladies are above it, and disdain it so much, that they choose rather to go without the prospect of a second marriage, in virtue of the trade, than stoop to the mechanic low step of carrying on the business; and they have their reward, for they do go without it; and whereas they might in former times match infinitely to their advantage by that method, now they throw themselves away, and the trade too.

But this is not the case which I particularly aim at in this chapter. If the women will act weakly and foolishly, and throw away the advantages that are put into their hands; be that to them, and it is their business to take care of it: I would still have them have the opportunity put into their hands, and that they may make the best of it if they please; if they will not, the fault is their own. To this end, I say, I would have every tradesman make his wife so much acquainted with his trade, and so much mistress of the managing part of it, that she may be able to carry it on, if she pleases, in case of his death: if she does not please, or if she will not acquaint herself with it, that is another case; it is none of his fault, and she must let it alone; but he should put it into her power, or give her the offer of it.

1*st*, He should do it for her own sake, namely, as before, that she may make her advantage of it, either for disposing herself and the shop together, as is said above, or for the more readily disposing the goods and getting in the debts, without dishonouring herself, as I have observed, and marrying her apprentice boy, in order to take care of the effects; that is to say, as it may happen, of ruining herself to prevent her being ruined.

2*dly*, He should do it for his children's sake, if he has any, that if the wife have any knowledge of the business, and has a son to breed up to it, though he be not yet of age to take it up, she may keep the trade for him, and introduce him into it, that so he may take the trouble off her hands; and she may have the satisfaction of preserving the father's trade for the benefit of his son, though left too young to enter upon it at first.

Thus I have known many a widow that would have thought it otherwise below her, has engaged herself in her husband's business, and carried it on, purely to bring her eldest son up to it, and has preserved it for him, and which has been an estate to him; whereas otherwise it must have been lost, and he would have had the world to seek for a new business.

This is a thing which every honest affectionate mother should be so willing to do for a son, that she, I think, who would not, ought not to marry a tradesman at all; but if she would think herself above so important a trust for her own children, she should likewise think herself above having children by a tradesman, and marry somebody whose children she would act the mother for.

But every widow is not so unnatural, and I am willing to suppose the tradesman I am writing to shall be better married; and therefore I pass over speaking to the woman's side, and I will suppose the tradesman's wife not to be above her quality, and that she is willing to be made acquainted with her husband's affairs, as well to be helpful to him, if she can, as to be in a condition to be helpful to herself and her family, if she comes to have occasion. But then the difficulty often lies on the other side the question, and the tradesman cares not to lay open his business to or acquaint his wife with it; and many circumstances of the tradesman draw him into this snare, for I must call it a snare both to him and to her.

1*st*, The tradesman is foolishly vain of making his wife a gentlewoman, forsooth; he will have her sit above in the parlour, receive visits, drink tea, and entertain her neighbours, or take a coach and go abroad; but as to the business, she shall not stoop to touch it; he has apprentices and journeymen, and there is no need of it.

2*dly*, Custom has made some trades not proper for the women to meddle in, such as linen and woollen drapers, mercers, goldsmiths, all sorts of dealers by commission, and the like; custom, I say, has made these trades so effectually to shut out the women, that what with custom, and the women's generally thinking it below them, we never, or rarely, see any women in such shops or warehouses.

3*dly*, Or if the trade is proper, and the wife willing, the husband declines it, and shuts her out; and this is the thing I complain of as an injustice upon the woman. But our tradesmen, forsooth, think it an undervaluing to them and to their business to have their wives seen in their shops; that is to say, that because other trades do not admit them, therefore they will not have their trades or shops thought less masculine or less considerable than others, and they will not have their wives to be seen in their shops.

4*thly*, But there are two sorts of husbands more who decline acquainting their wives with their business, and those are: (1.) Those who are unkind, haughty, and imperious; who will not make their wives, because they will not make them useful, that they may not value themselves upon it, and make themselves, as it were, equal to their husbands. A weak, foolish, and absurd supposition, as if the wife were at all exalted by it, which indeed is just the contrary, for the woman is rather humbled, and made a servant by it. Or (2.) The other sort are those who are afraid their wives should be let into the knowledge of their

business, lest they should come into the grand secret of all, namely, to know that they are bankrupt and undone, and worth nothing.

All these considerations are foolish or fraudulent, and in every one of them the husband is in the wrong: nay, they all argue very strongly for the wife's being in a due degree let into the knowledge of their business; but the last indeed especially, that she may be put into a posture to save him from ruin if it be possible, or to carry on some business without him, if he is forced to fail and fly, as many have been, when the creditors have encouraged the wife to carry on a trade for the support of her family and children, when he perhaps may never show his head again.

But let the man's case be what it will, I think he can never call it a hardship to let his wife into an acquaintance with his business, if she desires it and is fit for it; and especially in case of mortality, that she may not be left helpless and friendless with her children when her husband is gone, and when perhaps her circumstances may require it.

I am not for a man's setting his wife at the head of his business, and placing himself under her like a journeyman; but such and so much of the trade only as may be proper for her, not ridiculous in the eye of the world, and may make her assisting and helpful, not governing to him, and, which is the main thing I aim at, such as should qualify her to keep up the business for herself and children if her husband should be taken away, and she be left destitute in the world, as many are.

Thus much, I think, it is hard a wife should not know, and no honest tradesman ought to refuse it; and, above all, it is great pity the wives of tradesmen, who so often are reduced to great inconveniences for want of it, should so far withstand their own felicity as to refuse to be thus made acquainted with their business; by which weak and foolish pride they expose themselves, as I have observed, to the misfortune of throwing the business away when they may come to want it, and when the keeping it up might be the restoring of their family and providing for their children.

For tradesmen should consider that their wives are not all ladies, nor are their children all born to be gentlemen. Trade, on the contrary, is subject to contingencies: some begin poor, and end rich; others, and those very many, begin rich, and end poor; and there are innumerable circumstances which may attend a tradesman's family which may make it absolutely necessary to preserve the trade for his children if possible, the doing which may keep them from misery, and raise them all in the world; and the want of it, on the other hand, sinks and depresses them. For example:

A tradesman has begun the world about six or seven years; he has, by his industry and good understanding in business, just got into a flourishing trade, by which he clears five or six hundred pounds a year; and if it should please God to spare his life for twenty years or more, he would certainly be a rich man, and get a good estate; but on a sudden, and in the middle of all his prosperity, he is snatched away by a sharp fit of sickness, and his widow is left in a desolate, despairing condition, having five children, and big with another. The eldest of the children is not above six years old; and though he is a boy, yet he is utterly incapable to be concerned in the business; so the trade, which (had his father lived to bring him up in his shop or warehouse) would have been an estate to him, is like to be lost, and perhaps go all away to the eldest apprentice, who, however, wants two years of his time. Now, what is to be done for this unhappy family?

'Done!' says the widow; 'why, I'll never let the trade fall so, that should be the making of my son, and in the meantime be the maintenance of all my children.'

She thereupon applies her mind to carry on the trade herself; and, having happily informed herself for the last two years of some matters in the business, which her husband had indulged her in the knowledge of, she endeavours to improve this knowledge; and her friends procuring for her an honest journeyman to assist her to keep the books, go to Exchange, and do the business abroad, the widow carries on the business with great application and success, till her eldest son grows up, and is first taken into the shop as an apprentice to his mother; the eldest apprentice serves her faithfully, and is her journeyman for some years after his time is out; then she takes him in partner to one-fourth part of the trade; and when her son comes of age she gives the apprentice one of her daughters, and enlarges his share to a third, gives her own son another third, and keeps a third for herself to support the family.

Thus the whole trade is preserved; the son and son-in-law grow rich in it; and the widow, who soon grows skilful in the business, advances the fortunes of all the rest of her children very considerably.

Here is an example of the good effects of a husband's making the wife but a little acquainted with his busines; and if this had not been the case, the trade had been lost, and the family left just to divide what the father left: which, as they were seven of [illegible] would not have been co[illegible] them above the [illegible] and to eat, and none to spare.

I hardly need give any ex[illegible] tradesmen die, leaving flourishing [illegible] good trades, but leaving their wives ignoran. and destitute, neither understanding their business, nor knowing how to learn; have been too proud to stoop to it when they had husbands, and not courage or heart to do it when they have none. The town is so full of such as these, that this book can scarce fall into the hands of any readers but who will be able to name them among their own acquaintance.

These indolent lofty ladies have generally the mortification to see their husbands' trades caught up by apprentices or journeymen in the shop, or by other shopkeepers in the neighbourhood, and of the same business, that might have enriched them and descended to their children; to see their bread carried away by strangers, and other families flourishing on the spoils of their fortunes.

And this brings me to speak of those ladies who, though they do, perhaps, for want of better offers, stoop to wed a trade, as we call it, and take up with a mechanic, yet all the while they are tradesmen's wives they endeavour to preserve the distinction of their fancied character, carry themselves as if they thought they were still above their station, and that, though they were unhappily yoked with a tradesman, they would still keep up the dignity of their birth, and be called gentlewomen; and in order to this, would behave like such all the way, whatever rank they were levelled with by the misfortune of their circumstances.

This is a very unhappy, and indeed a most un-

seasonable kind of pride; and, if I might presume to add a word here by way of caution to such ladies, it should be to consider, before they marry tradesmen, the great disadvantages they lay themselves under in submitting to be a tradesman's wife, but not putting themselves in a condition to take the benefit as well as the inconvenience of it; for while they are above the circumstances of the tradesman's wife, they are deprived of all the remedy against the miseries of a tradesman's widow; and if the man dies and leaves them little or nothing but the trade to carry on and maintain them, they being unacquainted with that, are undone.

A lady that stoops to marry a tradesman should consider the usage of England among the gentry and persons of distinction, where the case is thus: if a lady who has a title of honour, suppose it be a countess, or if she were a duchess it is all one, stoops to marry a private gentleman, she ceases to rank for the future as a countess or duchess, but must be content to be, for the time to come, what her husband can entitle her to, and no other; and, excepting the courtesy of the people, calling her my lady duchess, or the countess, she is no more than plain Mrs. Such-a-one, meaning the name of her husband.

Thus, if a baronet's widow marries a tradesman in London, she is no more my lady, but plain Mrs. Such-a-one, the draper's wife, &c.; and to keep up her dignity, when fortune has levelled her circumstances, is but a piece of unseasonable pageantry, and will do her no service at all. The thing she is to inquire is, what she must do if Mr. ——, the draper, should die? whether she can carry on the trade afterward, or whether she can live without it? If she finds she cannot live without it, it is her prudence to consider in time, and so to acquaint herself with the trade, that she may be able to do it when she comes to it.

I do confess there is nothing more ridiculous than the double pride of the ladies of this age, with respect to marrying what they call below their birth. Some ladies of good families, though but of mean fortune, are so stiff upon the point of honour, that they refuse to marry tradesmen, nay, even merchants, though vastly above them in wealth and fortune, only because they are tradesmen, or, as they are pleased to call them, though improperly, mechanics; and though perhaps they have not above five hundred or a thousand pounds to their portion, scorn the man for his rank, who does but turn round, and has his choice of wives, perhaps with two, three, or four thousand pounds before their faces.

But this stiffness of the ladies in refusing to marry tradesmen, though weak in itself, is not near so weak as the folly of those who, first stooping to marry thus, yet think to maintain the dignity of their birth, in spite of the meanness of their fortune; and so carrying themselves above that station in which Providence has placed them, disable themselves from receiving the benefit which their condition offers them, upon any subsequent changes of their life.

Upon the whole, then, the wives of tradesmen ought to consider that the very hour they embark with a tradesman, they are entering into a state of life full of accidents and hazards; that innumerable families, in as good circumstances as theirs, fall every day into disasters and misfortunes, and that a tradesman's condition is liable to more casualties than any other life whatever.

How many widows of tradesmen, nay, and wives of broken and ruined tradesmen, do we daily see recover themselves and their [illegible] families when the man has been either [illegible] away by death, or demolished by misfor[illegible] and has been forced to fly to the East or [illegible] Indies, and forsake his family, in sear[illegible] bread! For it must be allowed, in justice [illegible] sex, that women, when once they give them[illegible] leave to stoop to their own circumstances, [illegible] think fit to rouse up themselves to their [illegible] relief, are not so helpless and shiftless [illegible] as some would make them appear in the [illegible] and we see whole families in trade frequ[illegible] recovered by their industry. But then they [illegible] such women as can stoop to it, and can lay [illegible] the particular pride of their first years; [illegible] who, without looking back to what they [illegible] been, can be content to look into what Pr[illegible] dence has brought them to be, and what [illegible] must infallibly be, if they do not vigor[illegible] apply to the affairs which offer, and level [illegible] minds to their condition. It may indeed be [illegible] to do this at first; but necessity is a spur [illegible] dustry, and will make things easy where [illegible] seem difficult; and this necessity will humble [illegible] minds of those whom nothing else could make [illegible] stoop; and where it does not, it is a defect [illegible] understanding as well as of prudence, and [illegible] reflect upon the sense as well as the moral [illegible] the person.

The gentlemen of quality, we see, act [illegible] quite another foot than the ladies, and, I [illegible] say, with much more judgment; seeing th[illegible] has been at all times very frequent, that [illegible] a noble family is loaded with titles and [illegible] rather than fortune, they come down into [illegible] city and choose wives among the merchants' [illegible] tradesmen's daughters; and we have at this [illegible] several ladies of high rank, who are the daugh[illegible] of citizens and tradesmen.

Of Credit in Trade; and how a Tradesman [illegible] to Value and Improve it.

CREDIT, next to real stock, is the foundation, [illegible] life and soul of business in a private trade[illegible] It is his prosperity; it is his support in the [illegible] stance of his whole trade; even in public [illegible] it is the strength and fund of a nation: we [illegible] in the late wars the consequence of both the [illegible] tremes, viz. of wanting, and of enjoying, a [illegible] plete fund of credit.

Credit makes war, and makes peace; [illegible] armies, fits out navies, fights battles, [illegible] towns; and, in a word, it is more justly [illegible] the sinews of war than the money itself; [illegible] it can do all these things without money; [illegible] will bring in money to be subservient, though [illegible] be independent.

Credit makes the soldier fight without pay, [illegible] armies march without provisions, and [illegible] tradesmen keep open shop without stock. [illegible] force of credit is not to be described by [illegible] it is an impregnable fortification, either [illegible] nation, or for a single man in business; and [illegible] that has credit is invulnerable, whether he [illegible] money or no: nay, it will make money; [illegible] which is yet more, it adds a value, and supp[illegible] whatever value it adds, to the meanest [illegible] it makes paper pass for money, and fills the [illegible] chequer and the banks with as many millions [illegible] it pleases, upon demand.

Trade is anticipated by credit, and it [illegible] by the anticipation; for men often buy [illegible] before they pay for them, because they [illegible] clothes before they can spare the money; [illegible] these are so many in number, that really they [illegible]

a great stroke to the bulk of our inland trade. How many families have we in England that live upon credit, even to the tune of two or three years' rent of their revenue before it comes in? so that they may be said to eat the calf in the cow's belly. This encroachment they make upon the stock in trade; and even this very article may state the case. I doubt not but at this time the land owes to the trade some millions sterling; that is to say, the gentlemen owe to the tradesmen so much money, which, at long run, the rents of their lands must pay.

The tradesmen, having then trusted the landed men with so much, where must they have it but by giving credit also to one another? trusting their goods and money into trade, one launching out into the hands of another, and forbearing payment till the lands make it good out of their produce; that is to say, out of their rents.

The trade is not limited, the produce of lands may and is restrained; trade cannot exceed the bounds of the goods it can sell; but while trade can increase its stock of cash by credit, it can increase its stock of goods for sale; and then it has nothing to do but find a market to sell at; and this we have done in all parts of the world, still by the force of our stocks being so increased.

Thus credit raising stock at home, that stock enables us to give credit abroad; and thus the quantity of goods which we make, and which is infinitely increased at home, enables us to find or force a vend abroad. This is apparent, our home trade having so far increased our manufacture, that England may be said to be able almost to clothe the whole world; and in our carrying on the foreign trade wholly upon the English stocks, giving credit to almost all the nations of the world; for it is evident our stocks lie at this time upon credit in the warehouses of the merchants in Spain and Portugal, Holland and Germany, Italy and Turkey; nay, in New Spain and Brazil.

It must be likewise said, to the honour of our English tradesmen, that they understand how to manage the credit they both give and take, better than any other tradesmen in the world; indeed, they have a greater opportunity to improve it and make use of it, and therefore may be supposed to be more ready in making the best of their credit, than any other nations are.

Hence it is that we frequently find tradesmen carrying on a prodigious trade with but a middling stock of their own, the rest being all managed by the force of their credit. For example; I have known a man in a private warehouse in London trade for forty thousand pounds a year sterling, and carry on such a return for many years together, and not have more than one thousand pounds' stock of his own, all the rest being the stocks of other men running continually through his hands. And this is not practised now and then, as a great rarity, but is very frequent in trade, and may be seen every day, as what, in its degree, runs through the whole body of the tradesmen in England.

We see very considerable families who buy nothing but on trust; even bread, beer, butter, cheese, beef and mutton, wine, grocery, &c., which even the meanest families buy generally for ready money. Thus I have known a family, whose revenue has been some thousands a year, pay their butcher, and baker, and grocer, and cheesemonger by a hundred pounds at a time, and be generally a hundred more in each of their debts; and yet the tradesmen have thought it well worth while to trust them, and their pay has in the end been very good.

This is what I say brings land so much in debt to trade, and obliges the tradesmen to take credit one of another; and yet they do not lose by it neither, for the tradesmen find it in the price, and they take care to make such families pay warmly for the credit, in the rate of their goods. Nor can it be expected it should be otherwise; for unless the profit answered it, the tradesman could not afford to be so long without his money.

This credit takes its beginning in our manufactures, even at the very first of the operation; for the master-manufacturer himself begins it. Take a country clothier or bay-maker, or what other maker of goods you please, provided he be one that puts out the goods to the making; though he cannot have credit for spinning and weaving, in which the poor are employed, who must have their money as they earn it, yet he buys his wool at the stapler's or fellmonger's, at two or three months' credit; he buys his oil and soap of the country shopkeeper, or has it sent down from his factor at London, and gets longer credit for that, and the like of all other things; so that a clothier of any considerable business, when he comes to die, shall appear to be four or five thousand pounds in debt.

But then look into his books, and you shall find his factor at Blackwell-hall, who sells his cloths, or the warehouse-keeper who sells his duroys and druggets, or both together, have two thousand pounds' worth of goods in hand left unsold; and has trusted out to drapers and merchants, to the value of four thousand pounds more; and look into his workhouse at home, viz. his wool-lofts, his combing-shop, his yarn-chamber, and the like, and there you will find it, in wool unspun, and in yarn spun, and in wool at the spinners', and in yarn at and in the looms at the weavers', in rape oil, Gallipoli oil, and perhaps soap, &c., in his warehouses, and in cloths at the milling-mill, and in his rowing-shops, finished and unfinished, four thousand pounds' worth of goods more; so that, though this clothier owed five thousand pounds at his death, he has nevertheless died in good circumstances, and has five thousand pounds' estate clear to go among his children, and all his debts paid and discharged. However, it is evident that at the very beginning of this manufacturer's trade his five thousand pounds' stock is made ten thousand by the help of his credit, and he trades for three times as much in the year; so that five thousand pounds' stock makes ten thousand pounds' stock and credit, and that together makes thirty thousand pounds a year returned in trade.

When you come from him to the warehouse-keeper in London, there you double and treble upon it to an unknown degree; for the London wholesale man shall at his death appear to have credit among the country clothiers for ten or fifteen thousand pounds, and yet have kept up an unspotted credit all his days.

When he is dead, and his executors or widow comes to look into things, they are frighted with the very appearance of such a weight of debts, and begin to doubt how his estate will come out at the end of it; but when they come to cast up his books and his warehouse, they find—

In debts abroad, perhaps thirty thousand pounds;

In goods in his warehouse, twelve thousand pounds.

So that, in a word, the man has died immensely rich, that is to say, worth between twenty and thirty thousand pounds; only that having been a long stander in trade, and having a large stock,

he drove a very great business, perhaps to the tune of sixty to seventy thousand pounds a year; and so that, of all the thirty thousand pounds owing, there may be very little of it delivered above four to six months; and the debtors being many of them considerable merchants and good paymasters, there is no difficulty in getting in money enough to clear all his own debts; and the widow and children being left well, are not in such haste for the rest, but that it comes in time enough to make them easy, and at length it all comes in, or with but little loss.

As it is thus in great things, it is the same in proportion with small; so that, in all the trade of England, you may reckon two-thirds of it carried on upon credit; in which reckoning I suppose I speak much within compass, for in some trades there are four parts of five carried on so, and in some more.

All these things serve to show the infinite value which credit is of to the tradesman, as well as to trade itself. Credit is the choicest jewel the tradesman is trusted with; it is better than money many ways. If a man has ten thousand pounds in money, he may certainly trade for ten thousand pounds; and if he has no credit, he cannot trade for a shilling more.

But to come close to the case of the young beginner and trader. If credit be so nice and necessary a thing, what are the methods a young tradesman is to take to gain a good share of credit in his beginning, and to preserve and maintain it when it is gained?

Every tradesman's credit is supposed to be good at first; he that begins without credit is an unhappy wretch of a tradesman indeed, and may be said to be broke even before he sets up; for what can a man do, who by any misfortune in his conduct during his apprenticeship, or by some ill character upon him so early, begins with a blast upon his credit? My advice to such a young man would be, not to set up at all; or if he did, to stay for some time, until by some better behaviour, either as a journeyman or as an assistant in some other man's shop or warehouse, he has recovered himself; or else to go and set up in some other place or town remote from that where he has been bred; for he must have a great assurance that can flatter himself to set up and believe he shall easily recover a lost reputation.

But take a young tradesman as setting up with the ordinary stock, and who has done nothing to hurt his character, and to give people a suspicion of him; what is such an one to do?

The answer is short: two things principally raise credit in trade, and these are—

1. Industry; 2. Honesty.

I have dwelt upon the first; the last I have but few words to say to, because that head requires no comment, no explanations or enlargements. Nothing can support credit, be it public or private, but honesty, a punctual dealing, a general probity in every transaction. He that once breaks through his honesty, violates his credit. Once denominate a man a knave, and you need not forbid any man to trust him.

It is not the quality of the person will give credit to his dealing; a private shopkeeper shall borrow money much easier than a prince if he has the reputation of an honest man. Not the crown itself can give credit to the head that wears it, if once he that wears it comes but to mortgage his honour in the matter of payment.

Who would have lent King Charles II. fifty pounds, on the credit of his own word or bond, after the shutting up the Exchequer? The royal word was made a jest of, and the character of the king was esteemed a fluttering trifle, which no man would venture his money upon.

In King William's time, the case was much the same at first; though the king had not broke his credit then with any man, yet how did they break their faith with the whole world, by the deficiency of the funds, the giving high and ruinous interest to men almost as greedy as vultures, the causing the government to pay great and extravagant rates for what they bought, and great premiums for what they borrowed? These were the injuries to the public for want of credit; but was it in the power of the whole nation to remedy it till the parliament recovered it. And how was it done? Only by the same method a private person must do the same, viz. by doing justly, and fairly, and honestly by everybody.

Thus credit began to revive and to enlarge itself again; and usury, which had, as it were, eaten up mankind in business, declined, and all things came to their right way again.

The case is the same with a tradesman if he shuffles in payment, bargains at one time, and pays at another, breaks his word and his honour in the road of his business; he is gone, no man will take his bills nor trust him; for nothing but probity will support credit. Just, fair, and honourable dealings give credit; and nothing but the same just, fair, and honourable dealings will preserve it.

Of the Tradesman in Distress borrowing Money at Interest, whether by Bond or Otherwise, to Carry on his Trade.

Many are the difficulties and distresses of the poor tradesman, when he comes to be straitened for money in his business; no man is able to judge of them, but they who fall into the calamity of them; and many are the shifts and turns, the projects and contrivances, tradesmen are driven to by the necessity of their circumstances, to get out of those straits and difficulties, which, though they are not always successful, and, when they are so, always leave him in a worse and weaker state than they find him; yet, as sometimes they so far succeed as to extricate him out of the difficulty that presses and pinches him at that time, he thinks all the rest worth venturing; as a man drowning in the sea will get on shore if he can, upon the coast that is before him, though he knows it to be an uninhabited island, where he is almost sure to perish at long run; he knows he sees immediate destruction, there he sees immediate life.

Just thus the distressed tradesman sees himself in an ocean of business, and, on that account, involved in difficulties, surrounded with the importunities of his bills; debts come slowly in, money is wanting; he has, perhaps, launched out of his depth in trade; he has taken too great credit while his credit was good, and gives too great credit to those whose credit was not so good; *his* payments did not come due before *their* payments were due also, and should have been made to answer them. But the difference lies here; when their payments are due, they can trespass upon their credit, and put him off with words instead of money, from one day to another, and, perhaps, from one week and month to another; but bills are drawn on him from the country, payable at the precise time that his debts are due, for the countrymen cannot stay for their money. These bills are accepted; that he cannot avoid; and his credit is at stake, and

he in the utmost state of desperation if they are not paid. Bills run from one tradesman to another, then to the goldsmith, or to the bank, and are endorsed from hand to hand; and every one of these bears of it. If the tradesman delays payment, his credit is bandied about at the discretion of every little fellow, nay, at the mercy of those that have no discretion; he is insulted at his door by those that demand payment, and on the Exchange, when the people meet there through whose hands the bills may have passed. 'Sir,' says a merchant to his customer, who paid that bill to him for money, 'what did you give me that bill for? I cannot get the money.' 'Not the money, sir!' says the customer; 'why, the bill is due, and I thought he had been a very good man. Sure your people have not been with him for it; or if they have been at his house, they did not speak with him.' 'I tell you,' says the merchant, 'they have both been there, and have spoken with him too; but he put them off from time to time. I thought he had been a good man, too, but I find he is a shuffling fellow.' 'Well, sir,' says the customer, being a man in good credit, 'I beg your pardon; I would not have given you the trouble, if I had not thought it had been good, and would have been currently paid. Pray send your man to me as soon as you come home, and I will pay the money; but I will take no more bills upon him, I will warrant you.'

The merchant sends back the bill, and his customer solves his own credit by paying the money; but the tradesman's credit suffers indelible reproach; and neither of these two dealers, to be sure, will trade with him, or take his bills any more. The last man, having taken back the bill, sends it once more for payment, and with reproaches sufficient, and such bitter words as wound the tradesman's ears, as well as his credit. But what can he do? He has not money: he may go and dun those that owe him enough to restore him, and answer all his demands; but they are in the same condition, and give him only words; so he is forced to put off again. And what is the consequence? Why, this man returns the bill to another, and he to another, till at last he that had it out of the country, being concerned for the clothier that drew it, or, perhaps, doubting the clothier too, and willing to keep two strings, as we call it, to the bow, satisfies himself not to return the bill, but sends an officer to the distressed tradesman, and arrests him for the money. This part brings an increase of mischief to him. First, there is further disgrace; for he is fain to be beholden to friends to bail him; and that, by the way, is exposing him too, and sometimes, of as bad a kind as any; then there are the charges to the officers for their dear-bought civility, and at the offices, and to an attorney; and, after all, he is obliged to pay the bill as soon as he gets a little cash, with all the charges of the plaintiff too.

Thus, for a bill perhaps of forty or fifty pounds, he is publicly exposed, and personally insulted; is perplexed and plundered; and when he makes an end of it, as he must do, he pays, perhaps, first and last, five, or six, or seven pounds charges; and, at the same time, the person suing him fails not to rail plentifully at him to the clothier in the country; by which means his credit is as much sunk with him, though the bill is paid, as if it had never been paid at all.

Now, take the tradesman in the middle of his first anxieties upon such a case as this, and before it comes this length; the bill is payable on such a day, and that day is at hand, and perhaps he has more bills running upon him at the same time; the prospect is frightful, and he is in the utmost perplexity about it. His credit, which he knows is the basis of his whole prosperity, is at stake, and in the utmost danger; and though he has sufficient to pay all his debts, if he was to wind up, and everybody was to pay him what they owe; yet, as he is not giving over, and he has given large credit, and cannot get his money in, what shall he do? Why, we will suppose the best; that his credit being still good, he takes up a large sum of money, at legal interest only, and with it he pays his bills honourably; and the flood that was breaking in upon him is thus dammed out for the present, and he is made easy for that time; and other sums being offered him on the reputation this had given him, he scruples not to accept them; and having by this means perhaps a thousand pounds or two in cash, he falls presently into this false logic with himself. 'Well,' says he, 'it is true, here is a great annual payment to go out for interest; but what then? Sure I may afford to pay five pounds per cent. for money; I am sure I get ten per cent. by all the goods I sell, and it is hard if I should be hurt by paying out five per cent. I can be in no danger; it is only increasing my business a little, and I shall do well enough.' And upon this, not considering that he has still other debts behind, that will come upon him in due course, he writes large orders into the country for goods, which come readily up, and he sees his shop or warehouse piled up to the ceiling with bales, and then he goes among his customers to bring them in to buy, and the goods all go off. So far as this, all is well; but give me leave to add, there is death in the pot; it is all but like a patient in a violent disease taking a strong opiate to dose his senses, and assuage the immediate torment; for they perform no cure, but their strength being expended, the pains return with more violence than ever, and the opiate must not only be renewed, but increased, nay, perhaps doubled in quantity, till at last it becomes mortal itself, and he is killed by the very medicine which he applied to for cure.

Had the tradesman acted with due prudence, he should first have considered his circumstances at the time of borrowing, as a false step, which he ought thoroughly and effectually to have delivered himself from, and, in the first place, by means of the kind loan which his friends had made him.

He should have taken care, then, with the utmost diligence and application, to have got in some of his debts; rubbed up his debtors, as they call it, the backwardness of whose payments had run him into such difficulties, and obliged him to take such desperate measures to support his affairs.

And as he must, or ought to remember, that credit cannot be bought too dear, or valued too high, he ought to have stopped his hand from buying, and forborne to launch further out, until he was sure things would come round in time to answer his bills.

On the contrary, neglecting this caution, and running into the same mistake he was in at first, and that too rashly, and before he had effectually recovered the blow, at the end or revolution of another period of payment, he finds himself just in the same dilemma that he had been in before; and having no more friendly offers of loan presenting themselves, he suffers a blot upon his reputation for want of paying his bills. This spreads among the people who had lent him money upon interest, and they call in their money, which gives him the mortal wound, and he never recovers; a commission of bankrupt

follows, and the man is undone, though able, at bottom, to pay twenty shillings in the pound.

He that borrows upon interest should be sure to apply the loan to cure that wound, or stop that breach, which made it first necessary to him to borrow, or else the loan sinks him deeper into the calamity than it found him. He ought to consider whether he may not be as hard distressed to pay back the loan, as he was to pay what the loan paid for him, and whether he may not want money as much then as now.

He that gives longer credit than he takes, though he gains ten per cent. and pays but five per cent., may save nothing. For example: suppose he is trusted but six months, and he trusts his customers twelve months, if he pays five per cent. interest for the money, and yet should sell the goods for ten per cent. profit, it is plain he gains nothing, and acts with disadvantage into the account, viz. that he runs the risk of the person he trusts, and makes no profit, either for trouble or hazard.

By trusting his customers twelve months, I am not suggesting that any tradesman in his wits sells his goods by contract for twelve months' trust, so that he cannot ask for his money as due under twelve months; but I speak this upon the ordinary usage of trade. A wholesale man deals with another tradesman, suppose a shopkeeper; he trades with him upon the general credit of his dealing; the shopkeeper goes on buying and paying, he does not examine when every particular parcel of goods is due, but he buys as he wants goods, and he pays as he can spare money; and as he is a current man, and buys great quantities, he is esteemed a good customer; yet if you come to look into his accounts, his parcels and his payments answer one another, perhaps, after the rate of nine to ten and twelve months' credit; nor does he think himself a bad paymaster, or the warehouseman think him a bad chap; and yet I must add, that if the warehouseman paid interest for his money, though but five per cent. per annum, unless he got more than ten per cent. by this customer, he would lose money out of pocket by all the goods he sold him.

This is a reflection worth every tradesman's while to make, and very well to consider of, especially such as incline to take up money at five per cent. interest.

But besides this, there is another particular to be considered in the case, and that is, that all the while these goods, or any part or fag end of them, lie by in the warehouse unsold, all that while the poor tradesman pays interest for the money that bought them; and this very article sometimes, if duly deducted from the profits, eats through the whole bargain; and if the tradesman would keep an account of profit and loss, would destroy the whole profit of his trade.

In a word, interest of money is a cankerworm upon the tradesman's profit; it consumes him unawares; not one tradesman in fifty states to himself the true nature of it. It eats through his ready money, for it takes nothing for payment but its own kind; it makes no defalcation or abatement for bad debts or disasters of any kind. Whatever loss the tradesman meets with, the usurer must be paid; whomever the tradesman compounds with, he makes no composition, unless it is at last of all, and that he is forced, by the ruin of the tradesman, to compound for both principal and interest, when, perhaps, by the mere interest, he has had his principal two or three times over. And this brings me to another terrible article upon a tradesman, and that is extortion.

If it is thus fatal to the tradesman to pay but the moderate interest of the money, at five per cent., which we call lawful interest, what then must it be when he is encroached upon either by the lender, or, which is as bad, by the procurer, or scrivener, or banker, under the sly and ruinous articles called procuration, continuation, premia, and the like? These are when the poor debtor is apparently in need of the loan, and that it appears he is not in condition to refund the money, and though perhaps he has given good security for the money, so that they are in no danger of losing it, yet those people never want artifices or pretences to hook in new and frequent considerations, by way of addition to the ordinary interest.

Let it be considered that though there was no extortion at all practised, and though only legal interest was expected; let it be considered, I say, that the payment of interest is certain, the profits of trade are uncertain; the tradesman runs hazards of many kinds in his business; and if his profits sink at all by those hazards, the interest of money, which bears no share in the hazard, immediately breaks so far into his capital; and if any man will cast up the hazards, and value them in due proportions, as nice gamesters do the chances of the dice, they shall find that if a tradesman, suppose him to have no stock but such as he borrows upon interest, was to gain twenty per cent. by his sale of goods, and pay but five per cent. interest for the money, yet that five per cent. shall, in the end, be his ruin, unless he can be supposed to trade under two qualifications:

1. To give no credit.
2. To sustain no losses.

Which are two circumstances hardly to be found anywhere in trade. Borrowing money upon interest may, in any accidental distress, deliver a tradesman from a present difficulty, supply an exigence, and answer the end just then before him; and would the man that borrows be immediately careful, as before said, to pay off the loan and the interest with all possible speed, looking on it as a loss sustained merely for present relief, he would be so far in the right; for nothing in this discourse is meant to persuade a tradesman not to borrow in an exigence.

But to borrow in the exigence and not use the loan to free him from it entirely, but to be prompted by it to run further in, and to launch into more business, when he has embarrassed himself too much by the same inadvertence before, this is nothing but going to work immediately to deprive himself of the benefit which the loan might have been of to him, and effectually securing to himself the return of that very calamity, which the loan would, had it been rightly applied, have saved him from.

Let every tradesman, then, be cautious how he increases his trade upon a borrowed stock: if he has a capital stock of his own, yet he ought to be careful, and keep within bounds; but to launch out upon a borrowed fund, is, in short, putting to sea in a storm, and quitting a safe harbour for a hazardous voyage; it is, in trade, just what a seaman is on a lee-shore; if his anchor come home, and he cannot ride out the storm, he is infallibly lost, nothing can save him from running ashore among the rocks, where he must be dashed to pieces without remedy.

There is a very unhappy practice lately grown into use among the more necessitous part of tradesmen, and which is infallibly ruinous and destructive to them in the end, or at least as far as it goes; this is passing and repassing pa-

missory notes, or bills, endorsed by one another reciprocally, and drawn upon themselves (so it may be called), for the present supply of cash and support of their affairs, and in which they are, indeed, extortioners upon themselves. But this shall be the subject of another chapter.

Of Discounting and Endorsing Bills, and of the scandalous practice of passing Promissory Notes, on purpose to borrow money by Discount.

THERE is still another kind of trading usury, not included in that of borrowing money upon interest, and which eats out the heart of a tradesman's prosperity as much, if not more than the other, especially when it is carried on to any height; and this, as it is become a more fashionable part of self-mischief in trade than usual, and is more practised than ever was known before, merits to be exposed; and the young tradesman should be warned of it as of a secret fire, that burning privately, is most dangerous in itself, as it is not thought so destructive by the tradesman as it generally proves.

This is what they call discounting of bills. There is a great variety in the thing, and more than is generally thought of; but it is one of the cases of which it may be said it consists of abundance of bad particulars, and not one good one. I will name some of the cases which are most important, the rest may be judged of by a few, and the tradesman will learn from those how to avoid the mischievous part of all the rest, and will especially know which are the most dangerous,—which are so in particular to his substance, which to his reputation, and which to both.

I have mentioned before the tradesman's giving long credit, which, as I have described it, is in many particular circumstances very prejudicial to him, and sometimes ruinous; that is, in particular, when he trusts for large sums, and the persons whom he sells to are not punctual to the times of payment agreed for.

Now the retailer or shopkeeper (who is the essential standard-man between the consumer and the maker), suppose he be a mercer, comes and buys of the weaver, who gives him credit, suppose three to four or six months' time, according as they agree.

The weaver having occasion to make payment to the silkman, or throwster, or merchant of whom he buys his silk, takes a note or promissory bill of his customer for the money, payable at the time agreed for payment when the goods were sold.

This in itself is fair and just dealing on both sides; for the buyer knows the terms of his agreement, and it is no injury to him to give bills for the money, and it is some advantage to the weaver, if he makes a right use of them; for he can go to the silkman, or throwster, or merchant, and buy more goods, giving those bills in payment; and so he takes credit, even where, perhaps, he had no credit before, the mercer's note being given as a kind of security for the money.

But this is the best and brightest part of the story; for perhaps the mercer, being what they call a little long-winded, when the time of payment comes, puts off the weaver for a month, or perhaps two months longer, pleading badness of trade, want of money, and the like; then the weaver, who, on the other hand, wants money to pay his journeymen, or his silkman, throwsters, and merchant, tells the mercer that he is straitened for money too, as well as he, and therefore cannot stay as he proposes, but that if he cannot pay him yet he must give him a bill or promissory note, perhaps at a month, or two months or more, as he can get him to do it.

This the mercer cannot refuse, the money being, as I said, already due. Now, did the weaver, as above, only go and deliver those bills to his dealers in payment, where his debt was already due, there was no harm in it, and he only transferred the mercer's delay to the damage of the silkman, and made him stay for his money, as the mercer had obliged him, the weaver, to do before.

But the weaver, wanting the money immediately, perhaps to pay his journeymen, who cannot stay, or his silkman, throwster, and merchant, who, their money being already due, will not stay, and whom he must pay, or ruin his credit; away he goes to another kind of market, the very worst he can go to, I mean the discounter's; and there, paying an intolerable extortion of ten to fifteen or twenty per cent. premium, he gets money lent him upon these bills.

Here you must also observe, that he must endorse the bills, so that all the while they run, or are unpaid by the mercer, he stands the risk of them; and that is sometimes long beyond the time of payment; if it is too long, sometimes he is obliged to make an additional allowance to the first premium to the discounter.

Nor does the oppression or the expense of it end here; but sometimes, nay, very often, the exorbitant discounter, not content with his endorsement of the bill, requires another man to endorse also, every endorser being liable to make good the money, in case the mercer should prove insolvent.

The inconveniences attending this are many, and sometimes fatal to the poor weaver; for now he is obliged to engage a third man for security of the money; and such friends being not easy to be had, or at least not often, he is put to this difficulty: that he goes to some debtor of his own who owes him money, and in that case cannot well refuse him; but if the debtor be a good man, as it is called in trade, then he will be sure to keep back so much of the debt in his hand to secure himself till the bill is paid; and so the poor weaver is obliged to have two debts abroad, or standing out together, to secure the payment of one.

But, on the other hand, if the borrowed endorser be but a dull paymaster himself, then he fails not to make the favour granted be an excuse for delaying his own payment; and so at the same time that he is a borrower himself becomes a lender in one sense, that is to say, he is debtor and creditor too; but the poor weaver is still oppressed, to be sure, let it go which way it will.

There is yet another case, which often pinches him still harder: if he cannot get a particular friend to endorse the bill for him, or a debtor, then he comes into a fatal confederacy with another tradesman in like circumstances with himself, and he having endorsed for the weaver, the weaver does the like for him, and so they change endorsements, blending not their credit only, but even their fortunes together, till at last he finds himself insensibly involved, and it is ten to one but a disaster follows, and it is much if they do not fall together.

It is not easy to reckon up the complication of mischiefs which this joining together to endorse bills brings upon a trader; for it is, in a word, one of the worst ways of being bound; it is, as Solomon calls it, *a striking hands with a stranger*; and if the weaver, or whatever other tradesman he is,

was really a sound man at bottom, he may depend upon it his fortune is embarked for a storm, and he is as sure to be shipwrecked in the voyage as if he was already six feet under water; for, first, he is certain that all the rest are bankrupts, as he is sure they are men; they could not engage in the manner they do else, for they will endorse for any sum, and never dispute the securities; but either if they endorse for you, you must do the like for them; or if they endorse, they have a part of the money for their own occasions, only giving a note to pay so much again, when the endorsed bill comes to be paid. And this brings me to the next and most fatal article of discount, and that is, passing bills for one another. I have known ten or twelve tradesmen form a club together for coining money, as they very properly called it.

These were all good men in appearance, but all straitened and wanting money to pay their bills. The first setting out was a general supply to them all, and they coined bills payable from one to another, by exchanging and counterchanging, of which they raised about ten thousand pounds stock.

As those bills were coined, they gave them out in payment where they owed money, or for goods bought; and the bills had some two months, some three, some four months to run upon them; they managed so well, that as the bills became due, they coined others, and passed and repassed them so many ways, either by discounting, or by buying goods upon the credit of those bills, that their bills were always currently paid.

They went on thus two or three years; some of them sold goods by commission for other men, and those they sold currently to the society, and took bills for them; then discounted those bills with the monied men, who always stand ready for such things, as a hawk for a prey; the person buying the goods, and who paid for them in bills, sold them again, being in his own way, to monied merchants at underrate for ready money; so there were two supplies of ready money for one substance. 1. The man who bought the goods had a supply by selling them again for ready money. 2. The seller had a supply by discounting the bills, and the owner of the goods had no title to his money till six months, which the seller, being only a factor, could lengthen out to nine months; and suppose the sum to be five hundred pounds, they had then for this a thousand pounds in cash among them, for the expense of the discount allowed on the bills, and for the loss sustained upon the goods, which was not felt at the beginning of the account, whatever it would be at the end.

As it could not be long that the club or society could go on at this rate, so, as it follows generally, it happened here, that when one failed, he shook all the rest of it, so that few of them could stand it after him, and not one of them above a year, or thereabouts.

Nothing can be more needful than to possess a young tradesman of this fatal article called discounting; and therefore I recommend it to them with the greatest earnestness to enter into the particulars in their own thoughts, make themselves masters of the whole scheme of it, and avoid it as they would a house infected with the plague.

The beginning of it is a bait hard to be resisted. When the tradesman is distressed for want of money, and sees he can come into a thousand pounds sterling for but writing his name; that he can have the benefit of it for three or four months only for paying the discount; and that even then, if he cannot raise the money, his friends will pass bills to him for the same sum, and help him to the money for three or four months more; it is not easy, I say, for him, considering his circumstances at that time, to resist the temptation, and so he falls into the pit, which, I may assure him, will not be easy for him ever to get out of again.

Want of money is to a tradesman as a strong manager is to a horse, it makes him submit to everything, and do everything that the rider commands him; and, as I said formerly, a tradesman that is really honest in his principles, and designs well, yet will do those things in his distress for money that he would scorn and abhor to do at another time, how much more then when he sees nothing dishonest? For in this affair of discounting he sees no fraud, no deceit, neither is there any fraud but to himself; he is only his own deceiver, acts to his own loss and ruin, and heals his present wounds at the expense of his own foundation; for indeed he undermines and destroys himself by the very means which he uses to preserve himself.

But if the tradesman is the man destroyed, the discounter is the vulture destroying. These, indeed, are ravenous creatures, and whether you liken them to birds or beasts of prey, it is much the same; they are men of prey, which, according to the judgment of a famous author, are the worst sort of devourers; they are true cannibals and man-eaters, for they devour not only men, but families; the exorbitant premiums which they take for the loan of money upon bills, is, as I have said above, not less than ten, fifteen to twenty per cent.; and though the Acts of Parliament are very severe against extortion and against taking immoderate usury, yet they find ways and means to evade the law, and secure as well the profits as the principal.

It is true these discounters of bills are sometimes bit, and then they lose stock and block; that is, for example, when a club, such a one as I described above, fail in paying their bills, in which case two or three endorsers, being all upon one bill, are all gone off together. But they make amends exorbitant gain in other cases, that, in short, if they lose but one in five, they are whole, and perhaps lose nothing; and then suppose three tradesmen, all endorsing one bill, go off together, it is likely the discounting money-lending usurer comes in for a creditor to all the three, so that he gets a composition of them all; and if they pay but six or eight per cent. upon the debt, the usurer makes himself whole.

These are the people the tradesman ought to shun as he would an infection, with this addition to my caution for his observation, viz. that if he once gets into their hands, it is very rarely that he ever gets out; like the grave, they that go in to him seldom ever return, but are sure to be swallowed up, even alive, and devoured with their eyes open.

Borrowing money upon interest is, as I said before, very dangerous; but this discounting of bills is certain death to the tradesman; he is, indeed, in no condition to recover it.

Let me conclude this chapter with one observation for the tradesman's early and timely caution; namely, that both these fatal things, borrowing upon interest, and discounting of bills, are the consequences of the tradesman's overtrading himself in the beginning of his affairs, running hastily in, allured by the hopes of profit, entangling himself in debt, as we say, over head and ears, without considering which way he shall

answer the necessary payments. But I have spoken so largely of that by itself, that I need not repeat it.

Of the Tradesman's keeping his Books, and casting up his Shop.

It was an ancient and laudable custom with tradesmen in England once a year to balance their accounts of stock, and of profit and loss; by which means they could always tell whether they went backwards or forwards in the world: and this is called casting up shop. And indeed this is so necessary a thing to be done, that it is always to me a bad sign when it is omitted, and looks as if the tradesman was afraid of entering into a close examination of his affairs.

As casting up his ship is of great importance to a tradesman, so he must cast up his books too, or else it carries a very ominous face with it.

Now, in order to do this effectually once a year, it is needful the tradesman should keep his books always in order, his day-book duly posted, his cash duly balanced, and every one's accounts always fit for a view; he that delights in his trade, will delight in his books; and as I have already laid it down for a rule, that he who will thrive must diligently attend his shop or warehouse, and take up his delight there, so I say now, he must also diligently keep his books, or else he will never know whether he thrives or not.

Exact keeping his books is one essential part of a tradesman's prosperity; the books are the register of his estate, the index of his stock; all the tradesman has in the world must be found in these three articles, or some of them—

Goods in the shop; money in cash; debts abroad.

The shop will at any time show the first of these, upon a small stop to cast it up; the cash-chest and bill-box will show the second at demand; and the ledger, when posted, will show the last: so that a tradesman can at any time, at a week's notice, cast up all these three; and then examine his accounts, to take the balance, which is a real trying what he is worth in the world.

It cannot be satisfactory to any tradesman to let his books go unsettled, and uncast up; for then he knows nothing of himself, or of his circumstances in the world: the books can tell him at any time what his condition is, and will satisfy him what is the condition of his debts abroad.

In order to his regular keeping his books, several things may be said very useful for the tradesman to consider:

1. Everything done in the whole circumference of his trade must be set down in a book, except the retail trade; and this is clear, if the goods are not in bulk, then the money is in cash, and so the substance will be always found either there or somewhere else; for if it is neither in the shop, nor in the cash, nor in the books, it must be stolen or lost.

2. As everything done must be set down in the books, so it should be done at the very time of it; all goods sold must be entered in the books before they are sent out of the house; goods sent away, and not entered, are goods lost; and he that does not keep an exact account of what goes out and comes in, can never swear to his books, or prove his debts, if occasion calls for it.

That tradesman who keeps no books, may depend upon it he will ere long keep no trade, unless he resolves also to give no credit. He that gives no trust, and takes no trust, either by wholesale or retail, and keeps his cash all himself, may indeed go on without keeping any book at all, and has nothing to do, when he would know his estate, but to cast up his shop and his cash, and see how much they amount to, and that is his whole and neat estate; for, as he owes nothing, so nobody is in debt to him, and all his estate is in his shop. But I suppose the tradesman who trades wholly thus, is not yet born.

A tradesman's books, like a Christian's conscience, should always be kept clean and neat; and he that is not careful of both, will give but a sad account of himself either to God or man.

I have heard of a tradesman indeed that could not write, and yet he supplied the defect with so many ingenious knacks of his own, to secure the account of what people owed him, and was so exact in doing it, and then took such care to have but very short accounts with anybody, that he brought this method to be every way an equivalent to writing; and, as I often told him, with half the study and application that those things cost him, he might have learned to write, and keep books too. He made notches upon sticks for all the middling sums, and scored with chalk for lesser things. He had drawers for every particular customer's name, which his memory supplied; for he knew every particular drawer, though he had a great many, as well as if their faces had been painted upon them; he had innumerable figures to signify what he would have written, if he could; and his shelves and boxes always put me in mind of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and nobody understood anything of them but himself.

It was an odd thing to see him when a country chap came up to settle accounts with him. He would go to a drawer directly, among such a number as was amazing; in that drawer was nothing but little pieces of split sticks, like laths, with chalk marks on them, all as unintelligible as the signs of the zodiac to an old schoolmistress who teaches the horn-book. Every stick had notches on one side for single pounds, on the other side for tens of pounds, and so higher; and the length and breadth also had its signification, and the colour too; for they were painted in some places with one colour, and in some places with another, by which he knew what goods had been delivered for the money; and his way of casting up was very remarkable, for he knew nothing of figures, but he kept six spoons in a place on purpose near his counter, which he took out when he had occasion to cast up any sum; and laying the spoons on a row before him, he counted upon them, thus—

One, two, three, and another; one odd spoon, and t'other.
| | | | | |

By this he told up to six: if he had any occasion to tell any farther, he began again, as we do after the number ten in our ordinary numeration; and by this method, and running them up very quick, he would count any number under thirty-six, which was six spoons of six spoons, and then, by the strength of his head, he could number as many more as he pleased, multiplying them always by sixes, but never higher.

This tradesman was indeed a country shopkeeper, but he was so considerable a dealer, that he became mayor of the place which he lived in; and his posterity have been very considerable traders there ever since, and they show their great grandfather's six counting spoons and his hieroglyphics to this day.

After some time the old tradesman bred up two of his sons to his business; and the young men having learned to write, brought books into the counting-house, things their father had never used before; but the old man kept to his old method for all that, and would cast up a sum and make up an account with his spoons and his drawers, as soon as they could with their pen and ink, if it was not too full of small articles, and that he had always avoided in his business.

However, this evidently shows the necessity of bookkeeping to a tradesman; and the very nature of the thing evidences also that it must be done with the greatest exactness. He that does not keep his books exactly, and so as that he may depend upon them for charging his debtors, had better keep no books at all, but, like my shopkeeper, score and notch everything; for as books well kept make business regular, easy, and certain, so books neglected turn all into confusion, and leave the tradesman in a wood, which he can never get out of without damage and loss. If ever his dealers know that his books are ill kept, they play upon him, and impose horrid forgeries and falsities upon him; whatever he omits, they catch at, and leave it out; whatever they put upon him, he is bound to yield to; so that, in short, as books well kept are the security of a tradesman's estate, and the ascertaining of his debts, so books ill kept will assist every knavish customer and chapman to cheat and deceive him.

Some men keep a due and exact entry or journal of all they sell, or perhaps of all they buy or sell, but are utterly remiss in posting it forward to a ledger, that is to say, to another book, where every parcel is carried to the debtor's particular account; likewise they keep another book, where they enter all the money they receive, but, as above, never keeping any account of debtor and creditor for the man, there it stands in the cash-book, and both these books must be ransacked over for the particulars, as well of goods sold as of the money received, when this customer comes to have his account made up; and as the goods are certainly entered when sold or sent away, and the money is certainly entered when it is received, this they think is sufficient, and all the rest superfluous.

I doubt not such tradesmen often suffer as much by their negligent bookkeeping as might, if their business is considerable, pay for a bookkeeper; for what is such a man's case when his customer, suppose a country dealer, comes to town, which perhaps he does once a year (as is the custom of other tradesmen), and desires to have his account made up? The London tradesman goes to his books, and first he rummages his day-book back for the whole year, and takes out the foot of all the parcels sent to his chapman, and they make the debtor side of the account; then he takes his cash-book, if it deserves that name, and there he takes out all the sums of money which the chapman has sent up, or bills which he has received, and these make the creditor side of the account. And so the balance is drawn out, and this man thinks himself a mighty good accountant, that he keeps his books exactly; and so perhaps he does, as far as he keeps them at all, that is to say, he never sends a parcel away to his customer but he enters it down, and never receives a bill from him but he sets it down when the money is paid. But now take this man and his chap together as they are making up this account, he will find, that if his chapman has kept his accounts exactly, he will be able to do himself justice on the credit side of his account, if the tradesman has, as he well may, overlooked any sum he has paid him; but if, in the confusion of mixed articles, he has erred on the other hand, the latter, though he as easily finds it out as he did the other, perhaps, is not honest enough to do him justice on that side, but takes the account as it is given him, pays the balance, and takes a receipt in full. And perhaps this is never discovered till some years after that the tradesman dies, when a person expert at accounts, and employed by the executors, finds himself obliged to draw out a ledger from the other two books, which the shopkeeper ought to have done; and though it is demanded by the executors, and proof offered to be made, the man who could take such an advantage will be very likely to keep his hold, and plead his receipt in full, and possibly, if six years are elapsed, the statute of limitations in bar of any proceedings upon such a demand. And as several other such mistakes might also happen, a tradesman's family may be very great sufferers by his negligence; so that, if he did not know how to keep a ledger himself, he had better have hired a bookkeeper to have come once a week or once a month, to have posted his day-book for him.

The like misfortune attends the not balancing his cash, without which a tradesman can never be thoroughly satisfied either of his own not committing mistakes, or of any people cheating him.

What I call balancing his cash-book, is, *first*, the casting up, daily, or weekly, or monthly, his receipts and payments, and then seeing what money is left in hand, or, as the usual expression of the tradesman is, what money is in cash; *secondly*, the examining his money, telling it over, and seeing how much he has, and then seeing if it agrees with the balance of his book, that what *is*, and what *should be*, correspond.

And here let me give tradesmen a caution or two.

1. Never sit down satisfied with an error in the cash, that is to say, with a difference between the money really in the cash and the balance in the book; for if they do not agree, there must be a mistake somewhere; for if his money does not come right, he must have paid something that is not set down, and that is to be supposed as bad as if it were lost, or he must have somebody about him that can find the way to his money besides himself, and if so, what is the difference between that and having a gang of thieves about him? And how can he ever pretend to know anything of his affairs, that does not know which way his money goes?

2. A tradesman endeavouring to balance his cash should no more be satisfied if he finds more in cash than by the balance of his cash ought to be there than if he finds less; for how does he know but some money has been recovered that is not entered? and if so, whether the whole of that money be put into the cash? Let us, to make this clear, suppose a case, thus:

My cash-book being cast up for the last month, I find by the foot of the leaf there is cash remaining in hand to balance, £176, 10s. 6d.

To see if all things are right, I go and tell my money over; and there, to my surprise, I find £194, 10s. 6d. in cash; so that I have £18 there more than I should have. Now, far from being pleased that I have more money by me than I should have, my inquiry is plain, How comes this to pass?

Perhaps I puzzle my head a great while about it, but not being able to find it out, I sit down easy and satisfied, and say, 'Well, I don't much concern myself about it; it is better to be so than £18 missing. I cannot tell where it lies; but let

it lie where it will, here's the money to make up the mistake when it appears.'

But how foolish is this! How ill-grounded the satisfaction, and how weak am I to argue thus, and please myself with the delusion! For some months after it appears, perhaps, that whereas there was £38 entered, received of Mr. Bernard Keith, the figure 3 was mistaken, and set down for a figure of 5, for the sum received was £58; so that, instead of having £18 more in cash than there ought to be, I have 40s. wanting in my cash, which my son or my apprentice stole from me when they put in the money, and made the mistake of the figures to puzzle the book, that it might be some time before it should be discovered.

The keeping a cash-book is one of the nicest parts of a tradesman's business, because there is always the bag and the book to be brought together; and if they do not exactly speak the same language, even to a farthing, there must be some omission; and how big or how little that omission may be, who knows? or how it shall be known but by casting and re-casting up, and telling over and over again the money?

I knew indeed a strong-water man who drove a very considerable trade; but being an illiterate tradesman, never balanced his cash-books for many years, nor scarce posted his other books, and indeed hardly understood how to do it; but knowing his trade was exceeding profitable, and keeping his money all himself, he was easy, and grew rich apace, in spite of the most unjustifiable, and indeed the most intolerable negligence. But though this man grew rich in spite of indolence and a neglect of his book, yet when he died, two things appeared, which no tradesman in his wits would desire should be said of him.

I. The servants falling out, and maliciously accusing one another, had, as it appeared by the affidavits of several of them, wronged him of several considerable sums of money, which they received, and never brought into the books; and others, of sums which they brought into the books, but never brought into the cash; and others, of sums which they took ready money in the shop, and never set down, either the goods in the day-book, or the money into the cash-book; and it was thought, though he was so rich as not to feel it to his hurt, yet that he lost three or four hundred pounds a year in that manner for the two or three last years of his life; but his widow and son who came after him, having the discovery made to them, took better measures afterwards.

II. He never did or could know what he was worth, for the accounts in his books were never made up; nor when he came to die could his executors make up any man's account, so as to be able to prove the particulars, and make a just demand of their debt, but found a prodigious number of small sums of money paid by the debtors, as by receipts in their books and on their files, some by himself and some by his man, which were never brought to account, or brought into cash. And his man's answer being still that he gave all to the master, they could not tell how to charge him by the master's account, because several sums which the master himself received were omitted, being entered in the same manner, so that all was confusion and neglect; and though the man died rich, as I said, it was in spite of that management that would have made any but himself poor.

Exact bookkeeping is to me a certain indication of a man whose heart is in his business, and who intends to thrive. He that cares not whether his books are kept well or no, seems to me one that does not much care whether he thrives or no; or else, being in desperate circumstances, knows it, and that he cannot thrive, and so matters not which way it goes.

It is true, the neglect of his books is private and secret, and is seldom known to anybody but the tradesman itself, at least till he comes to break and be a bankrupt; and then you frequently hear them exclaim against him, upon that very account. 'Break!' says one of the assignees, 'how should he but break? Why, he kept no books; why, he has not posted his cash-book for I know not how many months, nor posted his day-book and journal at all, except here and there an account that he perhaps wanted to know the balance of; and as for balancing his cash, I don't see anything of that done I know not how long. Why, this fellow could never tell how he went on, or how things stood with him; I wonder he did not break a long time ago.'

Now this man's case was this: He knew how to keep his books well enough, perhaps, and could write well enough; and if you look into his first five or six years of trade, you find all his accounts well kept, the journal duly posted, the cash monthly balanced; but the poor man found after that things went wrong, that all went down hill, and he hated to look into his books. As a profligate never looks into his conscience, because he can see nothing there but what terrifies and affrights him, makes him uneasy and melancholy, so a sinking tradesman cares not to look into his books, because the prospect there is dark and melancholy. 'What signifies the account to me?' says he; 'I can see nothing in the books but debts that I cannot pay, and debtors that will never pay me. I can see nothing there but how I have trusted my estate away like a fool, and how I am to be ruined for my easiness and being a sot.' This makes him throw them away, and hardly post things enough to make up when folks call to pay; or if he does post such accounts as he has money to receive from them, that's all, and the rest lie at random, till, as I say, the assignees come to reproach him with his negligence.

But let me here advise tradesmen to keep a perfect acquaintance with their books, though things are bad and discouraging; it keeps them in full knowledge of what they are doing, and how they really stand, and it brings them sometimes to the just reflections on their circumstances which they ought to make, and so to stop in time, before they are surprised, and torn to pieces by violence.

And at the worst, if his creditors find his books punctually kept to the last, it will be a credit to him, and they will see he was fit for business, and that it was not probably owing to his negligence, at least that way, that he failed; and I have known cases where that very thing has recommended a tradesman so much to his creditors, that after the ruin of his fortunes, some or other of them have taken him into partnership or into employment only because they knew him to be qualified for business, and for keeping books in particular.

I doubt not that many a tradesman has miscarried by the mistakes and neglect of his books, for the losses that men suffer on that account are not easily set down. Besides, his exactness in this respect may prevent him numberless lawsuits, quarrels, and contentions while he lives; and if he dies, may free his family and executors

from many more; for many a debt has been lost, many an account been perplexed by the debtor, many a sum of money been actually paid over again, especially after a tradesman's death, for want of keeping his books carefully and exactly when he was alive; by which negligence, if he has not been ruined when he was living, his widow and children have been ruined after his decease, though, perhaps, had justice been done, he had left them in good circumstances, and with sufficient to support them.

Next to being prepared for death, with respect to heaven and his soul, a tradesman should be always in a state of preparation for death with respect to his books. It is in vain that he calls for a scrivener or lawyer, and makes a will, when he finds a sudden summons sent him for the grave, and calls his friends about him to divide and settle his estate. If his business is in confusion below stairs, his books out of order, and his accounts unsettled, to what purpose does he give his estate among his relations, when nobody knows where to find it?

As, then, the minister exhorts us to take care of our souls and make our peace with Heaven while we are in a state of health, and while life has not threatening enemies about it, no diseases, no fevers attending; so let me second that advice to the tradesman, always to keep his books in such a posture, that if he should be snatched away by death, his distressed widow and fatherless family may know what is left for them, and may know where to look for it. He may depend upon it, that what he owes to any they will come fast enough for; and his widow and executrix will be pulled to pieces for it if she cannot and does not speedily pay it. Why, then, should he not put her in a condition to have justice done her and her children, and to know how and of whom to seek for his just debts, that she may be able to pay others, and secure the remainder for herself and her children? I must confess, a tradesman not to leave his books in order when he dies, argues him to be either—

1. A very bad Christian, who had few or no thoughts of death upon him, or that considered nothing of its frequent coming unexpected and sudden, without warning; or,
2. A very unnatural relation, without the affections of a father or husband, or even of a friend, that should rather leave what he had to be swallowed up by strangers, than leave his family and friends in a condition to find and to recover it.

Again, it is the same case as in matters religious with respect to the doing this in time, and while health and strength remain; for, as we say very well, and with great reason, that the work of eternity should not be left to the last moments; that a death-bed is no place, and a sick languishing body no condition, and the last breath no time for repentance, so I may add, neither are these the place, the condition, or the time to make up our worldly accounts; there's no posting the books on a death-bed, or balancing the cash-book in a high fever. Can the tradesman tell you where his effects lie, and to whom he has lent or trusted sums of money, or large quantities of goods, when he is delirious and light-headed? All these things must be done in time, and the tradesman should take care that his books should always do this for him, and then he has nothing to do but to make his will, and dispose of what he has; and for the rest, he refers them to his books to know where everything is to be had.

How the honest Tradesman, who by time and long success in Trade is grown well to pass, ought to govern himself, and guard against disasters that naturally attend a prosperous circumstance in Trade.

We are now to suppose a tradesman, having been twenty years, or perhaps more, in his business, and having pursued it with an honest diligence, is beforehand in the world, and begins to be called a rich man.

I'll take it for granted, too, that, having prospered thus long, he has gained a reputation and character in the world; that he is deemed an honest, open-hearted, generous, fair-dealing tradesman; that everybody speaks well of him, loves to deal with him; and whether they get or lose by him, they are always pleased; that he treats the rich with good manners, and the poor with good language; and that in particular he is a punctual paymaster; that when he has made a bargain, whether he gets or loses by it, he always performs it, without murmuring or cavilling; that he takes no unjust advantage, does not lie upon the catch to supplant anybody, and scorns, in short, to do an ill thing, though he might gain by it; that his word is as sacred as his bond; that he never grinds the face of the poor, but pays for his work chearfully and readily, and is content to let poor men live by him; that he scorns to make mistake pass for payment, or to lie upon the catch to trepan his neighbour; in a word, that he is a fair, downright, honest man; God has blessed him, and everybody gives him a good word.

Yet with all these advantages I must remind him that, while he continues to trade, he is never safe; his condition is subjected to innumerable casualties and unavoidable disasters; no estate is so big as not to be in hazard, no posture of his affairs out of the reach of accidents; so that the tradesman can never call himself a safe man, till he is entirely drawn out of trade, and, safe in his country retreat, can say he has no more to do with business.

Hence, then, the tradesman is not above caution, let his condition be what it will; and my caution is this, never to run out of his business into hazards, great undertakings, capital adventures, wild experiments, upon presumption of success, and upon prospect of new advantage and further gain. Methinks a man that has once £20,000 in his pocket, should not want to be advised to be satisfied with the road of business which has raised him to that height, and not to hazard a fall, in order to rise higher; for he that does not think himself rich enough with £20,000 in his pocket, neither would he be satisfied one iota more if he had five times that sum. Where was the man, in the late distracted times, who thought himself well, and sat still, content with the most immense sum? Had it been possible, we had not had so many ruined families now among us, cursing their own avarice, and lamenting their folly.

Let the wise and wary tradesman take the hint; keep within the bounds where Providence has placed him; be content to rise gradually and gently, as he has done; and as he is sufficiently rich, if he will make it more, let it be in the old road; go softly on, lest he come swiftly down.

Nothing is more common than for the tradesman, when he once finds himself grown rich, to have his head full of great designs, new undertakings. He finds his cash flowing in upon him, and perhaps he is fuller of money than his trade calls for; and as he scarce knows how to employ

more stock in it than he does, his ears are the sooner open to any project or proposal that offers itself; and I must add that this is the most critical time with him in all his life; if ever he is in danger of ruin, it is just then.

1. He is first of the opinion that no money ought to lie idle: what though it is an adventure a little out of the way? He only employs some loose corns in it, some small sums that he can spare, and which he does not value; if he loses them, it won't hurt him, and the like.

2. That it is a probable undertaking; that it may hit, and then he shall do his business at once; and then come all the great things in his head that ambitious men fire their thoughts with, which turn the windmill of his brain so fast, that they make him delirious in trade, and he is a mere trade lunatic ever after.

This, therefore, I say, is the most critical time of a tradesman's life; at this moment he is in more danger of being undone than when he had not £500 in his pocket.

For the richer he is, the bolder he is apt to be in his adventures, not being to be so easily wounded by a loss; but as the gamester is tempted to throw again to retrieve the past loss, so one adventure in trade draws in another, till at last comes a capital loss, which weakens the stock, and wounds the reputation; and thus, by one loss coming on the neck of another, he is at last undone.

Trade is a safe channel to those that keep in the fairway,—so the sailors call the ordinary entrance into a harbour; but if, in contempt of dangers and of fair warnings, any man will run out of the course, neglect the buoys and marks which are set up for the direction of sailors, and at all hazards venture among the rocks, he is to blame nobody but himself if he loses his ship.

I know no state of life, I mean in what we call the middle station of it, and among the sensible part of mankind, which is more suited to make men perfectly easy and comfortable to themselves, than that of a thriving tradesman: he seems not only thoroughly settled with respect to his circumstances, but that settlement seems the best secured and established; and though he is not incapable of a disaster, yet he is in the best manner fenced against it of any man whatever.

His life is perfectly easy, surrounded with delights. Every way his prospect is good: if he is a man of sense, he has the best philosophic retreats that any station of life offers him; he is able to retire from hurry to contemplate his own felicity, and to see it the least encumbered of any state of the middle part of life.

He is below the snares of the great, and above the contempt of those that are called low: his business is a road of life, with few or no uneven places in it; no chequered work, no hills and dales in it, no woods and wildernesses to lose his way and wander in: plenty surrounds him, and the increase flows in daily; like a swelling tide, he has a flood without an overwhelming, deeps without drowning, heights without falling; he is a safe man, nothing can hurt him but himself; if he comes into any mischiefs, they are of his own choosing; if he falls, it is his own doing, and he has nobody to blame but himself.

Of the particular dangers to which a rich overgrown Tradesman may be liable on his leaving off trade.

We will now suppose that the rich tradesman is winding up his bottom, and determined to retire from business; and because it will be necessary to mention some given sum, we will suppose that he is worth, clear money, £20,000, which at £5 per cent. will bring him £1000 a year.

We shall need to say very little to such an one, whose judgment and experience is so well approved by such an increased fortune. But yet, as this is another critical time of his life, it may not be quite impertinent to say something; and if it be not of use to him, it may be matter of pleasing amusement to those who are looking forward to that sum, and have not yet arrived to it.

In the first place, then, I will venture to assert, that he who has an estate of £1000 a year, ought to spend £500 a year, and no more; and the laying up the other £500 will always secure to him and his family, humanly speaking, an improving estate, though he trades no more, but makes the common advantages only which the increase of his money or estate will point out to him. For every two years he can add £50 a year in land to his estate; and if he lives twenty years in such circumstances, adding the additional income, and the advances made by it, he leaves his estate doubled, and grown up to £2000 a year.

He that has been a frugal managing man in trade can never, with his senses about him, turn an unthinking, stupid extravagant when he leaves off. It is contrary to the very nature of the thing; it is contrary to the ordinary course of his life. He must lay aside all his experience, his understanding in business, and knowledge of the world; for there is something so absurd in a life of imprudent expense, that a man bred in business can never fall into it, unless he has first forfeited all his former capacities, and is no more able to make any judgment of things.

Hence I think there is the less need to talk to the tradesman upon this topic, after he has laid down, and is lifted among the gentry. But there is another, which, though I have touched upon in the progress of this work, and of the tradesman's fortunes, is very necessary to warn him of once more, at this critical juncture, when he begins to cool in his trading warmth, and has resolved to lay down his business; and that is, that he avoids entering into great projects and undertakings, to which he may be induced by flattering prospects, and large sums in hand drawn out of business.

I could name some of the vast undertakings which deep heads have run into, which have been too great for any single hands to manage, too heavy for any single backs to bear. Such was farming the revenues of Ireland, by Alderman Forth; engrossing the long cloth and sallampores, by Sir Thomas Cook; building whole streets, or towns rather, besides Osterley House, by Dr. Barebone; planting colonies in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Carolina; and many others: all which mortally wounded the fortunes and credit of the undertakers of them, even after they were worth 60, 70, or £80,000 a man, and thought themselves out of the reach of accident.

And to come nearer to every man's remembrance, the late times of distraction, in the year 1720. How many overgrown rich tradesmen were there, who had happily retired to enjoy what they had got, and yet came in at the unhappy summons of their avarice, into that public infatuation, and so ruined at one blow the fruits of forty years' unwearied diligence and labour?

And, indeed, what temptation, but that of mere avarice, can lie in the way of a man possessed but of £20,000 to run into new adventures? What can he propose to himself, better than what

he already has? If it be to get an estate, he has one of £800, or £1000 a year already, and a moral certainty of increasing it greatly, without running any risk at all. Such an one, therefore, has nothing to do but to be quiet, when he is arrived at this situation in life. He was before indeed, to amass this fortune, obliged to be diligent and active; but he has nothing now to do but to determine to be indolent and inactive. The money wheel is set going, and it will turn round now of itself, without any of his care or pains, and bring a certain yearly augmentation into his pocket.

Yet it must be confessed, this part is pretty difficult to be acted (and that makes the caution more necessary) by a man bred to business, bred to be always looking sharp out, watching advantages, and then taking hold of them, and improving every hint to his own interest. For such a man to sit still, and do nothing, to see the world flow up to his very teeth, and not open his mouth to take it in, 'tis against the very current of his blood, he can hardly do it; nature, reason, and everything about him, at least by their outsides, invite him to come in, and be made at once, as is the tempting phrase. But a good judgment, and the event of things foreseen at a distance, will withhold him. His reason will bid him stand fast where he is, and to know when he is well. If sordid Interest says, 'Come in, and be made;' he prudently answers, 'Why, I am made already; I don't want it.' If Avarice says, 'Come in, and be rich;' he answers, 'I am already rich, and can, with patience, be as much richer as I please.'

Let us then resume, as briefly as may be, the main point in view; and behold the rich tradesman left off, and having converted his money into solid rents. He has, then, laid down the tradesman entirely, and commenced gentleman. He is sensible that, in this light, quitting all thoughts of other employment, he has one established business before him, and in that he is effectually safe, has no risk to run, no dangers to apprehend; and that he may grow still richer without possibility of miscarriage, and that is (as has been hinted), to live upon one half of his income, and lay up the other half. Such a man is, if any man can be said to be so, out of the reach of fortune or misfortune; no casualty can reach him; it is next to impossible he can be hurt.

Prudent management and frugal living will increase any fortune to any degree. I knew a private gentleman, whose father set him up with £20,000, and bid him go and set up for a gentleman, for he would not let him meddle with trade. The father had gotten a great estate by merchandise; but told his son, £20,000 was a very good trade, and if he managed it well, he would be rich without running the risks of a merchant.

The young gentleman took the hint, lived frugally, yet handsomely; purchased an estate of £1500 per annum with his own stock, and his wife's fortune, which was very considerable.

In this manner he went on for some years till his family increased. He spent about £300 per annum, then £400, and at length £500. Before he came to spend £400 per annum, he had raised his estate to £1800 per annum, by the mere increase of its own income; always putting the money out as fast as it came in, upon the public securities, which at that time paid £7 per cent. interest. At the end of fifteen years he had raised his estate to £2500 a year, the subscription, or engraftment, as it was then called, to the bank falling in at that time. When his estate was thus large, he increased his expenses to about £800 a year; and at that time his old father died, and left him a vast addition to his fortune, of between 50 and £60,000 in money and rents; so that, when it was all put together, he had a clear estate of between 5 and £6000 a year.

As he lived in a handsome figure before, so he did not at all enlarge his equipage on this occasion; but his family growing numerous, and also growing up, obliged him to an expense of about £1000 to £1200 per annum.

This man lived twenty-two years after his father's last lump was left him, and going on upon the same prudential improvement as above, it was found, at his death, that he had £14,000 per annum stated revenue, and almost £90,000 in the bank, exchequer, and such other public securities as were to be esteemed ready money; and upon a just calculation, it appeared, that in twenty-five years more, had he lived so long, he must have been worth two millions sterling.

It is true, this was raised from a capital beginning; but it is as true that every beginning, where the expense is within the compass of the income, will do the same thing in proportion, and that without any risk of miscarrying.

Nor does he, in such a way, increase by art, and by craft, by management of stock, or making gain of this or that particular thing; he increases by nature, as one may say, by the mere consequence of things. If six come in, and four go out, there must be two left behind: nothing can break in upon the security of this man's affairs but some public calamity, such a war as should expose us to public invasions and depredations of an enemy, who might ravage the land, and burn down the tenants' houses; and even in such a case they could not carry away the land; the fee-simple, with after years of peace, would restore all again.

Why then should the tradesman look anywhere but right before him? If he is withdrawn from trade, let him fix his staff down there, and never turn to the right hand or to the left; he has an estate and an establishment for his life, by that he stands; and keeping to that, he can never fall. Let him resolve to give the negative to every proposal, to every offer, however advantageous. And till he can do that, he is never safe.

An estate as an estate is in no danger, but from the kitchen and the stable. Nothing wounds it but the table and the equipage. If the expense is kept under the revenue, the man will always grow, and be always growing; if not, I need not say what will follow: causes and consequences are always steady and the same, and will ever be so to the end of time.

There are also many disasters in trade, which sometimes bear hard upon even the most capital tradesmen, and that so hard, as to hazard their ruin, even in the highest of their fortunes; and this is another reason why a man who would be safe, and out of the reach of hazard, should quite have done with it; and that is, the sudden rising and falling of any one particular article in trade. How have such unforeseen accidents sunk a particular tradesman four or five thousand pounds at a time! This I have known frequently happen, and that in several particular sorts of goods. This dips deep into a man's fortune, though he should be so overgrown as we have now described. The sudden surprise of fires, as such disasters are sometimes circumstanced, and especially before the late insurances of goods in warehouses were set up, have also had terrible effects upon great stocks and fortunes, that have made large drawbacks even upon men of great wealth,

where they have happened; and added another reason why a man who would be safe, should entirely quit trade, or not at all.

Bold adventures are for men of desperate fortunes, not for those whose fortunes are made. Men furnished for great attempts, must be man who have great expectations: when you mount the man upon the pinnacle of his fortunes, he is past the pinnacle of his enterprising spirit; he has nothing to do then, but to keep himself where he is.

He that has traded twenty or thirty years, must have seen the beginning and end of many a fair outside; must have seen many a plausible proposal vanish into smoke, and end in the same emptiness where it began. For such an one therefore to dip in air and vapour, and buy the fancies of projectors and undertakers with the solid substance which he has laboured so many years for, it has something so preposterous in it, that one would think no man of ordinary experience could come into it; and yet nothing is more frequent than to see such men, who have been cunning enough for all the world before, drop into the weakest snares, and be made dupes of at last by the meanest and most scoundrel projector.

On this account, and because of the many examples there are to be given where such men have miscarried, I think this advice is seasonable; and no tradesman will think himself affronted, if, from the frequent examples of men ruined by such mistakes, I venture to argue, that no man is above the caution, no man so secure as not to want it.

Of the Tradesman's being purse-proud; the folly and the scandal of it; and how justly ridiculous it renders him in the world.

As I have cautioned the tradesman against being secure in his prosperity, so I cannot quit him without saying a word to him about his particular personal conduct in his prosperity, and that is, to avoid what a wise man will be sure to avoid, a noisy, surfeiting, troublesome bluster of his wealth, and of his great wisdom and good judgment in gaining it. This we call, and justly too, being purse-proud; and it is the most hateful unsociable thing belonging to a tradesman, and yet it is what is very frequently seen.

If the tradesman is risen from nothing to be even an alderman, it might suffice him that the very station of life he fills up in the place where he lives declares it; his fur gown and gold chain, the ancient gewgaws of corporation pageantry, and the grave magisterial supporters of a tradesman's pride might be sufficient to tell the world he is rich, without his never-ceasing tongue being always trumpeting out his own praises and his own wealth.

Or if I was to talk seriously to him, I would say, he should satisfy himself with being secretly thankful to Heaven for blessing his diligence, and not be always boasting to men, as if his diligence was the merit, and that Heaven was only just to him in giving him the due reward of it.

I must confess I think a purse-proud tradesman one of the most troublesome and intolerable of all men, and this as well before he has left off trade as afterwards.

Before he has left off, he is so to his neighbours and fellow-tradesmen; after he has left off, he is the like among gentlemen: he insults every one of them in their turn, poor as well as rich; he lessens the latter, and perfectly tramples upon the former.

Such a man is generally a poor, empty, bloated-up animal, who at first begins from nothing, or something very mean; and having been lifted up beyond what he was, continues always lifted beyond what he is. He is so, and will be so, because, though his stock of money may increase, yet his stock of pride increases still faster than his wealth; and though he made a contemptible figure among his brethren in trade, by reason of his pride and vanity, he must make a ten times worse when he leaves off business, and forces himself, under the sanction of his wealth, into the company of gentlemen. There is something so scandalous and ridiculous in the character of such a person, that I have not patience to bestow any more time about it, but choose to show its odiousness by way of contrast, in the amiable character of a tradesman of understanding and modesty, who has retired from business, and becomes a blessing to every society he visits, and to the neighbourhood in which he fixes, and is alike respected by all classes of men.

Such a man as this, as he rose by steps of wisdom and prudence, so he will stand upon the same bottom, and go on to act by the same rules, and not run into the vices of trade, when he has thriven by the virtues of it.

As he got an estate by honesty, so he will enjoy it with modesty. He is convinced that to boast of his own wisdom in the amassing his money, and insult the senses and understanding of every man that has miscarried, is not only a token of immodesty, but the infallible mark of irreligion, as it is sacrificing to his own net and to his own drag, to his own head and to his own hands.

A wise, sober, modest tradesman, when he is thriven and grown rich, is really a valuable man, and he is valued on all occasions; as he went on with everybody's good wishes when he was getting it, so he has everybody's blessing and good word when he has got it.

If he retains the character when he has retired from business, which he deserved and gained when he was in business, he is a public good in the place where he lives; as he was useful to himself before, he is useful to everybody else after. Such a man has more opportunity of doing good than almost any other person I can name. He is useful a thousand ways, and many of them are such, by his experience and knowledge of business, as men of ten times his learning and education, in other things, cannot know.

He is, in the first place, a kind of a natural magistrate in the town where he lives; and all the little causes, which in matters of trade are innumerable, and which often, for want of such a judge, go on to suits at law, and so ruin the people concerned in them by the expense, the delay, the wounds in substance, and the wounds in reputation which they often bring with them; I say, all these causes are brought before him, and he not only hears and determines them, but in many of them his determination shall be as effectual among the contending tradesmen, and his vote as decisive, as that of any lord chancellor whatever.

He is the general peacemaker of the country, the common arbitrator of all trading differences, family breaches, and private injuries; and, in general, he is the domestic judge, in trade especially; and by this he gains a general respect, an universal kind of reverence in all the families about him, and he has the blessings and prayers of poor and rich.

Again, he is the trade-counsellor of the country where he lives. It must be confessed, in matters

of commerce, lawyers make but very poor work, when they come to be consulted about the little disputes which continually happen among tradesmen, and are so far from setting things to rights, that they generally, by their ignorance in the usage and customs of trade, make breaches wider rather than close them, and leave things worse than they find them.

But the old, approved, experienced tradesman, who has the reputation of an honest man, and has left off business, and gone out of trade, with a good reputation for judgment, integrity, and modesty, is the oracle for trade. Every one goes to him for advice, refers to his opinion, and consults with him in difficult and intricate cases. In short, he may be said to be the trade-chancellor of the place; differences are adjusted, enemies reconciled, equitable questions resolved by him. He is not the arbiter, but the umpire; he is the last resort. Even when arbitrators cannot make it up, he is chosen to arbitrate between the arbitrators, and not only adjusts differences before they come to a height, and so prevents the people going to law, saving them from the expense of their money, and the wasting extravagances of violent, and perhaps malicious prosecutions, but makes men friends, when they are, as it were, just beginning to be enemies; and before the breaches are come to a head, he stops the irruption, acts the part of a moderator, calms the passions of the furious, checks the spirits of the contentious, and, finding out the healing medium which satisfies both sides, brings them to yield to one another, and so does justice to both.

Thus he is, in a word, a kind of a common peacemaker, and is the father of the trading world in the orb or circle wherein he moves. His presence has a kind of peacemaking aspect in it, and he is more necessary than a magistrate, whether he is in office or not.

The alteration which the Humour of People, and their Luxury, have given to several trading places in London. Whether our National Trade is not past its meridian, and does not begin to decline. The conclusion, exhorting to Sobriety, to a necessary Frugality, and to a preference which all persons, especially people in trade, should give to our own manufactures.

It cannot be foreign to our purpose, nor unpleasing to our readers, to observe, before we conclude this work, the turn which the luxury and humour of people have given to trade and to trading places in London; and we shall therefore lightly touch upon this subject; and the rather, because we have the vanity to imagine, that there are not many better qualified, by years and experience, to make the requisite observations on this head; and because we think several useful inferences may be drawn from it.

Let any man, whose years and strength of head will allow it, look back, and recollect how things stood in London about fifty years ago with respect to some particular trades, and compare it with what it is now, and he will be struck with surprise at the changes made in the time.

The mercers, particularly, were few in number, but great dealers. Paternoster Row was the centre of their trade. The street was built for them; the spacious shops, back warehouses, skylights, and other conveniences made on purpose for their trade are still to be seen, and their stocks were prodigiously great.

The street was wont to be thronged with customers. The coaches were obliged to stand in two rows, one side to go in, the other to go out, for there was no turning a coach in it; and the mercers kept two beadles to keep the order of the street. About fifty principal shops took up the whole. The rest were dependants upon the trade; as about the middle of Ivy-lane, the lacemen; about the end of the street next Cheapside, the button shops; and near at hand, in Bladder-street, the cruel shops, silkmen, and fringe shops.

They held it there in this figure about twenty years after the fire; and even in that time, the number increasing as the gay humour came on, we saw outlying mercers set up about Aldgate, the east end of Lombard-street, and Covent Garden. In a few years more Covent Garden began to get a name, and at length by degrees intercepted the quality so much, the streets also being large and commodious for coaches, that the court came no more into the city to buy clothes, on the contrary, the citizens ran to the east and west. Paternoster Row began to be deserted and abandoned of its trade, and in less than two years the mercers had well-nigh forsook the place to follow the trade, seeing the trade would not follow them; as at sea, if the shoals of fish shift their usual station, the fishermen follow the fish.

The Paternoster Row mercers, as I remember, went all away to Covent Garden, and there, for some years, was the centre of trade; reserving some still within Aldgate, and at the corners of Lombard and Fenchurch-street, and within Lombard-street, as far as to Clement's Lane end; and in the lane the buttonmakers, who followed likewise from Paternoster Row.

Within about ten years more the trade shifted again. Covent Garden began to decline, and the mercers increasing prodigiously, went back into the city. There, like bees unhived, they hovered about awhile, not knowing where to fix; but at last, as if they would come back to the old hive in Paternoster Row, but could not be admitted, the swarm settled on Ludgate Hill.

How they are increased there, how they spread themselves within the gate, as well as without, and take up both sides of the way from Fleet Bridge almost to St. Paul's, except such houses as could not be had; how they are spread in lesser swarms, and settled in other places, as at Round Court, Fenchurch-street, and Houndsditch, this I need not mention.

This change of the face of the trade, and increase of the number of mercers, I do not take to infer a proportioned increase of the trade, though the trade is certainly increased too, as the numbers, and pride, and wealth of the people are increased; but not, I say, in proportion to the numbers of mercers, whose numbers, instead of about fifty to sixty, which they were in the year 1663, may now be called about three or four hundred.

This will the better appear, when I shall tell you that there has not been the like number of bankrupts of any trade in the whole city of London as that of the mercers, for these forty years past; and that, as I am informed, there is hardly a mercer's shop on all Ludgate Hill, and Ludgate-street, out of which there has not one mercer or more broke since the swarm, as I said, first settled there; whereas in Paternoster Row they all grew rich, and very seldom any failed or miscarried.

But to go on with my view of the face of trade in the city, since the mercers removed from Paternoster Row, as above; we have seen almost all the collections of tradesmen, who appeared in whole streets before, scattered and dispersed

except the shoemakers, and even those are not so congregated in rows as formerly. For example—

How are the great woollen-drapers separated from St. Paul's Churchyard, the salesmen from Birchin Lane, the wholesale upholsterers on the south side of Cornhill, the bankers in Lombard-street, the cake shops in Wood-street, even the butchers in Great and Little Eastcheap, almost all dispersed and gone? We see Paul's Churchyard filled with cane-chairmakers on one side; Cornhill with the meanest of trades, such as coffee-houses, peruke makers, pattern shops, and pastry-cooks; even Cheapside itself, formerly famous for capital traders, and the most flourishing wholesale dealers, as well as shopkeepers, how do we see it now filled up with shoemakers, milliners, toyshops, and pastry-cooks? And had not the linen-drapers, whose business also, as well as numbers, is monstrously increased, took that street, it had been all dwindled into pedling and petty trade.

The like turn appears in the two great centres of the women merchants; I mean the Exchange shops, particularly at the Royal Exchange, and the New Exchange in the Strand: both these we saw full of flourishing shops of the millinery kind; but now we see all the upper part of the New Exchange turned into a looking-glass warehouse; the several divisions of the Royal Exchange turned into offices of assurance, rooms for public sales, and the like; and the millinery trade separated into innumerable little commode shops, head dressers, and suchlike people, yet taking shops in the most public parts of the city.

Now to observe whence all this squandering of the tradesmen proceeded, it is evident it came from the increase of the gaiety and profuse humour, which I call the luxury of the times: as this temper of the people increased, and the numbers also of the people thronging to the city, made a more than common increase of customers, by the same rule the numbers of these trades likewise increased, and became too great for the several places where they were formerly, as it may be said, confined.

Hence the wholesale drapers formerly centered in Cornhill, and among the wholesale country dealers in Bread-street and Friday-street, are spread so extremely, that the north side of Cheapside seems to be one great row of draper shops, the bankers spread from Lombard-street to Temple-bar, and then to Charing-cross, and so of the rest.

Again, the same flourishing of pride has dictated new methods of living to the people; and while the poorest citizens strive to live like the rich, the rich like the gentry, the gentry like the nobility, and the nobility striving to outshine one another, no wonder that all the sumptuary trades increase; that instead of ten or twelve coachmakers in the city, and not quite so many at the other end of the town, we have the company of coachmakers incorporated, and whole streets of them set up together; as in Long-acre, Great Queen-street, Little Queen-street, Cow-lane, Bishopsgate-street, Aldergate-street, &c.

There is also a surprising increase of peruke makers, who are dispersed and scattered about as well the great streets as the small, and take up the places which useful traders formerly occupied.

The increase of undertakers; the extravagant articles of which their business consists; the inordinate expenses attending fine linen, wore even by common traders, and their very servants; the fine laces, hollands, cambrics, &c. which we import from abroad at a very great disadvantage in trade, all make strong articles against us in our trading affairs.

And here let us briefly enter upon a useful inquiry with relation to this mighty article called trade in England; whether, as our vices seem to be come to a height, nay, I might say, to the highest, to the farthest extreme that it is possible they can be brought to, whether our trade is not at its meridian also? I must own I think it is, and that, as in all cases of such a nature, things decline when they are at their extremes, so trade not only must decline, but does already sensibly decline.

Our manufactures decline, which is to our trade, as bread is to the body, the staff of their life. The nations round us begin to taste the sweetness of it, to see how we are enriched by it; and they not only envy us, but imitate us, and set their inventions upon the rack to supply their demands by their own labour, and so keep their money at home, which otherwise must come to England to purchase our manufactures.

The consequence is that the English woollen manufactures are prohibited in many parts of Europe, and those prohibitions increase every day. France, Holland, Russia, Prussia, Brandenburgh, Sweden, Denmark, Saxony, Switzerland, Austria, Bohemia, Piedmont, all have set up manufactures of their own; and France and Switzerland not only supply their own people, but are able to export large quantities for the use of other nations, and already boldly supplant us at the best markets abroad.

If this be our case, as I believe, it is too apparent to all those who either are concerned in or for, or otherwise understand our trade; this is a natural conclusion, and for which indeed I name it, viz. that as the rising and increase of our manufactures have raised the wealth and pride of this nation to the height which we at this time see it arrived to, the decay of those manufactures will of course cause that wealth to decay also: whether our pride will abate with it or not is another point, but this leads me to a natural conclusion to the 'Complete Tradesman,' to whom I have all along directed myself, and with which I shall close the whole work.

The Conclusion.

Let all the tradesmen, then, and the dependants upon trade in England, consider the infinite moment it is to them in commerce, to promote, encourage, and support the inland or home trade of this nation, by which they are themselves all supported, and their poor maintained, and, in a word, by which all the branches of our commerce are brought to the present immense greatness in which they now appear, and of which so much has been said. And that I may not be thought to be preaching religion here, instead of trade, I shall explain myself in a few articles.

I make no doubt but that notwithstanding all that has been said of our vice propagating our commerce, yet our trade might be supported, our tradesmen be kept employed, and their shops still be opened, though a time of reformation were to come, which, I doubt, is but too far off.

Perhaps it would at first give a turn to the present situation of home trade; and there might be some little shock given to our sumptuary employments, and to those shops and shambles of vice, the victualling and liquor trades; but God forbid that we should be understood to prompt the excesses of the age, in order to preserve and increase that particular branch of commerce.

I doubt not to show the world that we are not obliged to run into extremes and extravagances in dress to promote the silk manufactures, to have our poor people turn sots and drunkards to promote the malt and brewing trade, or the rich to support the wine trade; and so of other madnesses which are the present grievances of the times.

The silk manufacture, as it is now improved and made our own, is a very great help as well to the home trade as the foreign; and especially is a timely relief to us in the present evident decay of our woollen, which I call our national manufacture; and it is not only necessary to us in trade, but it is so in itself also. Nor is it to be all charged to the account of our vice or our pride. We may be as proud, and as vain, and as gay, as luxurious, and as vicious in our woollen manufacture, as in our silk, and I doubt we are so.

The silk is ordinarily the wear and dress of the ladies, and I am not willing to be so unjust as to lay all the pride at their doors. I doubt there is not so much odds between the sexes as to crime, but that, if they were all joined in our account of public follies, they would have little reason to complain of partiality. But this is what I think may be insisted on. A reformation might affect trade in many particular things, but need not overthrow and destroy it in general.

The silk manufacture might be very considerable in England, although the ladies should be a little more modestly dressed; although they were a little less curious, less extravagant, less exotic, and abated a little of their excesses.

The wine trade would still be very considerable, though the gentlemen abated their immoderate drinking, and went home now and then a little sooner, and a little soberer.

The malt and brewing trades, the distilling spirits, and the importation of brandy, might be still very great articles in our trade, and altogether be very great supports to the public revenue, and to the government, though perhaps not so great as they now are, if the number of alehouses were a little less, and though the ginshops and brandy-shops were much fewer than they are.

Trade need not be destroyed, though vice were mortally wounded. Much less need we be obliged to encourage flaming luxury, for fear of discouraging our commerce, lessening our revenue, or starving our poor.

But there are vices in trade, which I would direct the complete tradesman to avoid, and which tend indeed to destroy our trade, to wound it in the most tender parts, and to expose it in the end to a total decay, if not to death and destruction. I mean as to its prosperous and flourishing circumstances.

It is true, while there are people, while we are a populous, a numerous nation, we must have trade. People make trade of mere necessity, and for mere necessity men must have food, and clothes, and that alone will continue some trade; but this will not support the degree of trade which must be maintained to continue our trade in a great and flourishing circumstance.

Nor indeed will the home trade of England, in a few more years, be like what it now is, if we do not enter into some new measures for its support; and this is what I would move the complete English tradesman to consider.

The first and main thing is this, that while we are called home traders, we should not be promoters of foreign trade in prejudice of our own.

It has been of great weight in my directions to the complete tradesman, in order to persuade him to go on successfully, that he should not be above his business; that he should not be ashamed of his shop, or of his counter; that he should be diligent in all his affairs; that he should add application and industry to his business to knowledge and experience of his business.

But let me add, if our manufactures are the tradesman's life, if they are his trade, why should they not be his wear? Why should the merchant be above his own manufactures? It is an absurdity in trade, and however frequent it be, it cannot be pleaded for, that whereas the consumption of the manufacture is the life and soul of the manufacturers, and of the tradesmen that deal in it, those manufacturers and tradesmen should withhold their hands from that consumption, and be above wearing the manufacture they get their bread by.

It is an unhappy humour which at present, I may say, runs in the blood of this whole nation, viz. that while we see almost all the nations in Europe labouring to discourage our manufactures, and to wear their own, however inferior in goodness; while we see them diligent to promote their own growth, and employ their own poor, and rather to content themselves with worse and meaner things, I mean as to clothing, than they would otherwise make use of, that they may encourage and employ their own people; we see our own nation at the same time pleased with any foreign manufacture rather than their own, and choosing to dress in the tawdry and sorry trifles of strangers, rather than in the much more valuable articles of our own workmanship.

This vice is utterly inexcusable in all persons throughout the nation who practise it; but more especially it is never to be pardoned among trading people, for is it not most unaccountable that such persons should be so fantastic as to spe the gentry in this pernicious custom, which gives a stab to the very vitals of trade? and that tradesmen should act as if they were sick and surfeited with their own manufactures, as if they were willing to see our own people starve, and their own families detrimented, rather than encourage them by wearing the very goods they sell?

I will only further add, that while we practise this, we ought never more to complain of, or wonder at the decay of our trade.

THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN.

The True-Born Englishman: A Satire. 1701.

'Statuimus pacem, et securitatem et concordiam judicium et justiciam inter Anglos et Normannos, Francos et Britones Walliæ et Cornubiæ, Pictos et Scotos Albaniæ, similiter inter Francos et insulares, provincias et patrias, quæ pertinent ad coronam nostram, et inter omnes nobis subjectos firmiter et inviolabiliter observari.'—*Charta Regis Gullielmi Conquisitoris de Pace Publica*, Cap. i.

[DEFOE was no poet in the proper acceptation of that much abused and difficult-to-define term, although, as the following production proves, he was able to use the vehicle of verse for purposes of satire with vigour and incisiveness. This work immediately on its publication became immensely popular, and it soon passed through many editions, some of them published by Defoe himself, and others pirated by unprincipled speculators. About four years after its first appearance, he tells us that he himself had published nine editions, besides which it had been printed twelve times by others without his concurrence. Of the cheap editions no less than 80,000 were disposed of in the streets of London. The *True-born Englishman* was called forth by what Defoe calls 'a vile abhorred pamphlet in very ill verse, written by one Mr. Tutchin, and called *The Foreigners;* in which the author fell personally upon the king himself, and then upon the Dutch nation. And after having reproached his Majesty with crimes that his worst enemies could not think of without horror, he sums up all in the odious name of *Foreigner*. This filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to a trifle which I never could hope should have met with so general an acceptance as it did.' This publication had the good effect of attracting to Defoe the attention of King William, who immediately made himself acquainted with the author, and ever afterwards regarded him with kindness.]

AN EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

IT is not that I see any reason to alter my opinion in anything I have writ, which occasions this epistle; but I find it necessary, for the satisfaction of some persons of honour, as well as wit, to pass a short explication upon it; and tell the world what I mean, or rather what I do not mean, in some things wherein I find I am liable to be misunderstood.

I confess myself something surprised to hear that I am taxed with bewraying my own nest, and abusing our nation, by discovering the meanness of our original, in order to make the English contemptible abroad and at home; in which, I think, they are mistaken: for why should not our neighbours be as good as we to derive from? And I must add, that had we been an unmixed nation, I am of opinion it had been to our disadvantage; for, to go no farther, we have three nations about us as clear from mixtures of blood as any in the world,

and I know not which of them I could wish ourselves to be like; I mean the Sco Welsh, and the Irish; and if I were to write a reverse to the Satire, I would exam the nations of Europe, and prove that those nations which are most mixed are the be have least of barbarism and brutality among them; and abundance of reasons mi given for it, too long to bring into a preface.

But I give this hint, to let the world know that I am far from thinking it is upon the English nation to tell them they are derived from all the nations under h that is, from several nations. Nor is it meant to undervalue the original of the E for we see no reason to like them worse, being the relics of Romans, Danes, Saxo Normans, than we should have done if they had remained Britons, that is, than had been all Welshmen.

But the intent of the Satire is pointed at the vanity of those who talk of their anti and value themselves upon their pedigree, their ancient families, and being true whereas it is impossible we should be true-born; and if we could, should have lost b bargain.

These sort of people, who call themselves true-born, and tell long stories of their fam and, like a nobleman of Venice, think a foreigner ought not to walk on the same side o street with them, are owned to be meant in this Satire. What they would infer from long original I know not, nor is it easy to make out whether they are the better or the for their ancestors. Our English nation may value themselves for their wit, wealth, courage, and I believe few nations will dispute it with them; but for long original ancient true-born families of English, I would advise them to waive the discourse. A Englishman is one that deserves a character, and I have nowhere lessened him, that I k of; but as for a true-born Englishman, I confess I do not understand him.

From hence I only infer that an Englishman, of all men, ought not to despise foreig as such; and I think the inference is just, since what they are to-day, we were yester and to-morrow they will be like us. If foreigners misbehave in their several stations employments, I have nothing to do with that; the laws are open to punish them agai with natives, and let them have no favour.

But when I see the town full of lampoons and invectives against Dutchmen, or because they are foreigners, and the king reproached and insulted by insolent pedants, ballad-making poets, for employing foreigners, and for being a foreigner himself, I com myself moved by it to remind our nation of their own original, thereby to let them see w a banter is put upon ourselves in it; since, speaking of Englishmen *ab origine*, we are m all foreigners ourselves.

I could go on to prove it is also impolitic in us to discourage foreigners (since it is to make it appear that the multitudes of foreign nations who have taken sanctuary h have been the greatest additions to the wealth and strength of the nation; the essen whereof is the number of its inhabitants: nor would this nation ever have arrived to degree of wealth and glory it now boasts of, if the addition of foreign nations, both a manufactures and arms, had not been helpful to it. This is so plain, that he who is igno of it, is too dull to be talked with.

The Satire therefore I must allow to be just, till I am otherwise convinced; bec nothing can be more ridiculous than to hear our people boast of that antiquity, which if had been true, would have left us in so much worse a condition than we are in now; whe we ought rather to boast among our neighbours that we are part of themselves, of the s original as they, but bettered by our climate, and, like our language and manufactu derived from them, and improved by us to a perfection greater than they can pretend to.

This we might have valued ourselves upon without vanity; but to disown our des from them, talk big of our ancient families, and long originals, and stand at a distance f foreigners, like the enthusiast in religion, with a 'Stand off, I am more holy than thou,' is a thing so ridiculous in a nation derived from foreigners, as we are, that I could not attack them as I have done.

And whereas I am threatened to be called to a public account for this freedom, and publisher of this has been newspapered into gaol already for it, though I see nothing for which the government can be displeased; yet if at the same time those people who,

an unlimited arrogance in print, every day affront the king, proscribe the parliament, and lampoon the government, may be either punished or restrained, I am content to stand and fall by the public justice of my native country, which I am not sensible I have anywhere injured.

Nor would I be misunderstood concerning the clergy, with whom, if I have taken any licence more than becomes a Satire, I question not but those gentlemen, who are men of letters, are also men of so much candour, as to allow me a loose at the crimes of the guilty, without thinking the whole profession lashed who are innocent. I profess to have very mean thoughts of those gentlemen who have deserted their own principles, and exposed even their morals as well as loyalty; but not at all to think it affects any but such as are concerned in the fact.

Nor would I be misrepresented as to the ingratitude of the English to the king and his friends, as if I meant the English as a nation are so. The contrary is so apparent, that I would hope it should not be suggested of me; and therefore, when I have brought in Britannia speaking of the king, I suppose her to be the representative or mouth of the nation as a body. But if I say we are full of such who daily affront the king, and abuse his friends; who print scurrilous pamphlets, virulent lampoons, and reproachful public banters against both the king's person and his government, I say nothing but what is too true; and that the Satire is directed at such I freely own, and cannot say but I should think it very hard to be censured for this Satire, while such remain unquestioned and tacitly approved. That I can mean none but such, is plain from these few lines, page 600:

> Ye heavens regard! Almighty Jove, look down,
> And view thy injured monarch on the throne;
> On their ungrateful heads due vengeance take,
> Who sought his aid, and then his part forsake.

If I have fallen rudely upon our vices, I hope none but the vicious will be angry. As for writing for interest, I disown it; I have neither place, nor pension, nor prospect, nor seek none, nor will have none. If matter of fact justifies the truth of the crimes, the Satire is just. As to the poetic liberties, I hope the crime is pardonable; I am content to be stoned, provided none will attack me but the innocent.

If my countrymen would take the hint, and grow better-natured from my ill-natured poem as some call it, I would say this of it, that though it is far from the best Satire that ever was wrote, it would do the most good that ever Satire did.

And yet I am ready to ask pardon of some gentlemen too, who though they are Englishmen, have good-nature enough to see themselves reproved, and can hear it. These are gentlemen in a true sense, that can bear to be told of their *faux pas*, and not abuse the reprover. To such I must say, this is no Satire; they are exceptions to the general rule; and I value my performance from their generous approbation, more than I can from any opinion I have of its worth.

The hasty errors of my verse I made my excuse for before; and since the time I have been upon it has been but little, and my leisure less, I have all along strove rather to make the thoughts explicit, than the poem correct. However, I have mended some faults in this edition, and the rest must be placed to my account.

As to answers, banters, true English Billingsgate, I expect them till nobody will buy, and then the shop will be shut. Had I wrote it for the gain of the press, I should have been concerned at its being printed again and again by pirates, as they call them, and paragraph-men; but would they but do it justice, and print it true, according to the copy, they are welcome to sell it for a penny, if they please.

The pence, indeed, is the end of their works. I will engage if nobody will buy, nobody will write; and not a patriot poet of them all now will, in defence of his native country, which I have abused, they say, print an answer to it, and give it about for God's sake.

PREFACE.

The end of satire is reformation; and the author, though he doubt the work of conversion is at a general stop, has put his hand to the plough. I expect a storm of ill language from the fury of the town, and especially from those whose English talent it is to rail; and, without being taken for a conjuror, I may venture to foretell that I shall be cavilled at about my mean style, rough verse, and incorrect language—things I indeed might have taken more care in. But the book is printed; and though I see some faults, it is too late to mend them. And this is all I think needful to say to them.

Possibly somebody may take me for a Dutchman, in which they are mistaken; but I am one that would be glad to see Englishmen behave themselves better to strangers, and to governors also, that one might not be reproached in foreign countries for belonging to a nation that wants manners.

I assure you, gentlemen, strangers use us better abroad; and we can give no reason but our ill-nature for the contrary here.

Methinks an Englishman, who is so proud of being called a good fellow, should be civil. And it cannot be denied but we are, in many cases, and particularly to strangers, the most churlish people alive.

As to vices, who can dispute our intemperance, while an honest drunken fellow is a character in a man's praise! All our reformations are banters, and will be so till our magistrates and gentry reform themselves, by way of example; then, and not till then, they may be expected to punish others without blushing.

As to our ingratitude, I desire to be understood of that particular people who, pretending to be Protestants, have all along endeavoured to reduce the liberties and religion of this nation into the hands of King James and his Popish powers; together with such who enjoy the peace and protection of the present government, and yet abuse and affront the king who procured it, and openly profess their uneasiness under him: these, by whatsoever names or titles they are dignified or distinguished, are the people aimed at; nor do I disown but that it is so much the temper of an Englishman to abuse his benefactor, that I could be glad to see it rectified.

They who think I have been guilty of any error in exposing the crimes of my own countrymen to themselves, may, among many honest instances of the like nature, find the same thing in Mr. Cowley, in his imitation of the second Olympic Ode of Pindar; his words are these:

But in this thankless world, the givers
Are envied even by the receivers.
'Tis now the cheap and frugal fashion,
Rather to hide than pay an obligation.
Nay, 'tis much worse than so;
It now an artifice doth grow,
Wrongs and outrages they do,
Lest men should think we owe.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Speak, Satire, for there's none can tell like thee,
Whether 'tis folly, pride, or knavery,
That makes this discontented land appear
Less happy now in times of peace, than war:
Why civil feuds disturb the nation more,
Than all our bloody wars have done before.

Fools out of favour grudge at knaves in place,
And men are always honest in disgrace:
The court preferments make men knaves in course;
But they which would be in them would be worse.

'Tis not at foreigners that we repine,
Would foreigners their perquisites resign:
The grand contention's plainly to be seen,
To get some men put out, and some put in.
For this our senators make long harangues,
And florid ministers whet their polish'd tongues
Statesmen are always sick of one disease;
And a good pension gives them present ease.
That's the specific makes them all content
With any king and any government.
Good patriots at court abuses rail,
And all the nation's grievances bewail;

But when the sov'reign balsam's once applied,
The zealot never fails to change his side;
And when he must the golden key resign,
The railing spirit comes about again.

Who shall this bubbl'd nation disabuse,
While they their own felicities refuse?
Who at the wars have made such mighty pother,
And now are falling out with one another:
With needless fears the jealous nations fill,
And always have been sav'd against their will:
Who fifty millions sterling have disburs'd
To be with peace, and too much plenty, curs'd;
Who their old monarch eagerly undo,
And yet unwearily obey the new.
Search, Satire, search, a deep incision make;
The poison's strong, the antidote's too weak.
'Tis pointed truth must manage this dispute,
And downright English, Englishmen confute.

Whet thy just anger at the nation's pride,
And with keen phrase repel the vicious tide,
To Englishmen their own beginnings show,
And ask them, why they slight their neighbours so:
Go back to elder times, and ages past,
And nations into long oblivion cast;
To elder Britain's youthful days retire,
And there for true-born Englishmen inquire;
Britannia freely will disown the name,
And hardly knows herself from whence they came;
Wonders that they of all men should pretend
To birth, and blood, and for a name contend.
Go back to causes where our follies dwell,
And fetch the dark original from hell:
Speak, Satire, for there's none like thee can tell.

PART I.

WHEREVER God erects a house of prayer,
The devil always builds a chapel there;
And 'twill be found upon examination,
The latter has the largest congregation;
For ever since he first debauch'd the mind,
He made a perfect conquest of mankind.
With uniformity of service, he
Reigns with general aristocracy.
No nonconforming sects disturb his reign,
For of his yoke there's very few complain.
He knows the genius and the inclination,
And matches proper sins for ev'ry nation.
He needs no standing army government;
He always rules us by our own consent:
His laws are easy, and his gentle sway
Makes it exceeding pleasant to obey.
The list of his viceregerents and commanders,
Outdoes your Cæsars, or your Alexanders.
They never fail of his infernal aid,
And he's as certain ne'er to be betray'd.
Thro' all the world they spread his vast command,
And death's eternal empire is maintain'd.
They rule so politicly and so well,
As if they were Lords Justices of hell;
Daly divided to debauch mankind,
And plant infernal dictates in his mind.

Pride, the first peer, and president of hell,
To his share, Spain, the largest province fell.
The subtle prince thought fittest to bestow
On these the golden mines of Mexico,
With all the silver mountains of Peru;
Wealth which in wise hands would the world undo;
Because he knew their genius was such,
Too lazy and too haughty to be rich:
So proud a people, so above their fate,
That, if reduced to beg, they 'll beg in state:
Lavish of money to be counted brave,
And proudly starve because they scorn to save;
Never was nation in the world before,
So very rich, and yet so very poor.

Lust chose the torrid zone of Italy,
Where blood ferments in rapes and sodomy;
Where swelling veins o'erflow with living streams,
With heat impregnate from Vesuvian flames;
Whose flowing sulphur forms infernal lakes,
And human body of the soil partakes.
There nature ever burns with hot desires,
Fann'd with luxuriant air from subterranean fires;
Here undisturbed, in floods of scalding lust,
Th' infernal king reigns with infernal gust.

Drunkenness, the darling favourite of hell,
Chose Germany to rule; and rules so well,
No subjects more obsequiously obey,
None please so well, or are so pleased as they.
The cunning artist manages so well,
He lets them bow to heav'n, and drink to hell.
If but to wine and him they homage pay,
He cares not to what deity they pray.
What god they worship most, or in what way;
Whether by Luther, Calvin, or by Rome
They sail for heaven, by wine he steers them home.

Ungovern'd passion settled first in France,
Where mankind lives in haste, and thrives by chance;
A dancing nation, fickle and unirne,
Have oft undone themselves, and others too;
Prompt the infernal dictates to obey,
And in hell's favour none more great than they.

The pagan world he blindly leads away,
And personally rules with arbitrary sway:
The mask thrown off, plain devil his title stands,
And what elsewhere he tempts, he there commands;
There, with full gust, th' ambition of his mind,
Governs, as he of old in heaven design'd:
Worshipp'd as God, his paynim altars smoke,
Imbrued with blood of those that him invoke.

The rest by deputies he rules so well,
And plants the distant colonies of hell;
By them his secret power he firm maintains,
And binds the world in his infernal chains.

By zeal the Irish, and the Russ by folly,
Fury the Dane, the Swede by melancholy;
By stupid ignorance the Muscovite;
The Chinese by a child of hell, call'd wit;
Wealth makes the Persian too effeminate;
And poverty the Tartar desperate;
The Turks and Moors, by Mahomet he subdues;
And God has given him leave to rule the Jews;
Rags rules the Portuguese, and fraud the Scotch;
Revenge the Pole, and avarice the Dutch.

Satire, be kind, and draw a silent veil,
Thy native England's vices to conceal;
Or, if that task's impossible to do,
At least be just, and show her virtues too:
Too great the first, alas! the last too few.

England, unknown, as yet unpeopled lay,—
Happy, had she remain'd so to this day,
And still to ev'ry nation been a prey.
Her open harbours, and her fertile plains,
The merchant's glory these, and those the swain's,
To ev'ry barbarous nation have betray'd her,
Who conquer her as oft as they invade her.

So beauty, guarded out by innocence,
That ruins her which should be her defence.

Ingratitude, a devil of black renown,
Possess'd her very early for his own:
An ugly, surly, sullen, selfish spirit,
Who Satan's worst perfections does inherit;
Second to him in malice and in force,
All devil without, and all within him worse.

He made her first-born race to be so rude,
And suffer'd her to be so oft subdued;
By sev'ral crowds of wandering thieves o'errun,
Often unpeopled, and as oft undone;
While ev'ry nation that her powers reduced,
Their languages and manners introduced;
From whose mix'd relics our compounded breed,
By spurious generation does succeed;
Making a race uncertain and uneven,
Derived from all the nations under heaven.

The Romans first with Julius Cæsar came,
Including all the nations of that name,
Gauls, Greek, and Lombards, and, by computation,
Auxiliaries or slaves of ev'ry nation.
With Hengist, Saxons; Danes with Sweno came,
In search of plunder, not in search of fame.
Scots, Picts, and Irish from the Hibernian shore;
And conq'ring William brought the Normans o'er.

All these their barb'rous offspring left behind,
The dregs of armies, they of all mankind;
Blended with Britons who before were here,
Of whom the Welsh ha' blest the character.

From this amphibious, ill-born mob began,
That vain ill-natured thing, an Englishman.
The customs, sirnames, languages, and manners,
Of all these nations, are their own explainers;
Whose relics are so lasting and so strong,
They've left a shibboleth upon our tongue;
By which, with easy search, you may distinguish
Your Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, English.

The great invading Norman let us know
What conquerors in aftertimes might do.
To every musketeer he brought to town,
He gave the lands which never were his own;
When first the English crown he did obtain,
He did not send his Dutchmen home again.
No reassumptions in his reign were known,
Davenant might there ha' let his book alone.
No parliament his army could disband;
He raised no money, for he paid in land.
He gave his legions their eternal station,
And made them all freeholders of the nation.
He canton'd out the country to his men,
And every soldier was a denizen.
The rascals thus enrich'd, he called them lords,
To please their upstart pride with new-made words,
And Doomsday Book his tyranny records.

And here begins the ancient pedigree
That so exalts our poor nobility.
'Tis that from some French trooper they derive,
Who with the Norman bastard did arrive:
The trophies of the families appear;
Some show the sword, the bow, and some the spear,
Which their great ancestor, forsooth, did wear.
These in the herald's register remain,
Their noble mean extraction to explain;
Yet who the hero was, no man can tell,
Whether a drummer or a colonel;
The silent record blushes to reveal
Their undescended dark original.

But grant the best. How came the change to pass;
A true-born Englishman of Norman race?
A Turkish horse can show more history,
To prove his well-descended family.
Conquest, as by the moderns 'tis express'd,
May give a title to the lands possess'd;
But that the longest sword should be so civil,
To make a Frenchman English, that's the devil.

These are the heroes that despise the Dutch,
And rail at new-come foreigners so much;
Forgetting that themselves are all derived
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived;
A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones,
Who ransack'd kingdoms and dispeopled towns.
The Pict and painted Briton, treach'rous Scot,
By hunger, theft, and rapine, hither brought;
Norwegian pirates, bucaneering Danes,
Whose red-hair'd offspring everywhere remains;
Who, join'd with Norman French, compound the breed
From whence your true-born Englishman proceed.

And lest, by length of time, it be pretended,
The climate may this modern breed have mended;
Wise Providence, to keep us where we are,
Mixes us daily with exceeding care.
We have been Europe's sink, the jakes, where the
Voids all her offal outcast progeny;
From our fifth Henry's time the strolling lands
Of banish'd fugitives from neighb'ring lands,
Have here a certain sanctuary found:
The eternal refuge of the vagabond,
Where in but half a common age of time,
Borrowing new blood and manners from the clime,
Proudly they learn all mankind to contemn,
And all their race are true-born Englishmen.

Dutch Walloons, Flemings, Irishmen, and Scots,
Vaudois, and Valtolins, and Huguenots,
In good Queen Bess's charitable reign,
Supplied us with three hundred thousand men:
Religion—God, we thank thee!—sent them hither;
Priests, Protestants, the devil, and all together;
Of all professions, and of ev'ry trade,
All that were persecuted or afraid;
Whether for debt, or other crimes, they fled,
David at Hackelah was still their head.

The offspring of this miscellaneous crowd
Had not their new plantations long enjoy'd,
But they grew Englishmen, and raised their voice,
At foreign shoals of interloping Scots;
The royal branch from Pictland did succeed,
With troops of Scots and scabs from north of Tweed:
The seven first years of his pacific reign,
Made him and half his nation Englishmen.
Scots from the northern frozen banks of Tay,
With packs and plods came whigging all away,
Thick as the locusts which in Egypt swarm'd,
With pride and hungry hopes completely arm'd;
With native truth, diseases, and no money,
Plunder'd our Canaan of the milk and honey;
Here they grew quickly lords and gentlemen,
And all their race are true-born Englishmen.

The civil wars, the common purgative,
Which always use to make the nation thrive,
Made way for all that strolling congregation,
Which throng'd in pious Charles's restoration.
The royal refugee our breed restores,
With foreign courtiers, and with foreign whores;
And carefully repeopled us again,
Throughout his lazy, long, lascivious reign.

such a blest and true-born English fry,
ich illustrates our nobility.
titude which will so black appear,
ure ages must abhor to bear:
they look back on all that crimson flood,
streamed in Lindsey's, and Caernarvon's
ood;
Strafford, Cambridge, Capel, Lucas, Lisle,
crown'd in death his father's fun'ral pile.
ss of whom, in order to supply
true-born English nobility,
stard dukes survive his luscious reign,
bours of Italian Castlemain,
h Portsmouth, Tabby Scott, and Cambrian;
s the num'rous bright and virgin throng,
e female glories shade them from my song.
ffspring, if our age they multiply,
alf the house with English peers supply:
with true English pride they may contemn
berg and Portland, new-made noblemen.

h cooks, Scotch pedlars, and Italian
hores,
all made lords or lords' progenitors.
rs and bastards by this new creation
multiplied the peerage of the nation;
will be all, ere one short age runs o'er,
e-born lords as those we had before.

to recruit the commons he prepares,
eal the latent breaches of the wars;
ious purpose better to advance,
vites the banish'd Protestants of France;
for God's sake, and their own, they fled,
for religion came, and some for bread:
undred thousand pair of wooden shoes,
God be thank'd! had nothing left to lose;
aven's great praise did for religion fly,
ke us starve our poor in charity.
ry port they plant their fruitful train,
t a race of true-born Englishmen,
e children will, when riper years they see,
ill-natured and as proud as we;
emselves English, foreigners despise,
ly like us all, and just as wise.

from a mixture of all kinds began
heterogeneous thing, an Englishman:
er rapes and furious lust begot,
xt a painted Briton and a Scot,
e gend'ring offspring quickly learn'd to bow,
oke their heifers to the Roman plough;
whence a mongrel half-bred race there
me,
neither name nor nation, speech or fame,
ose hot veins new mixtures quickly ran,
d betwixt a Saxon and a Dane;
their rank daughters, to their parents just,
red all nations with promiscuous lust.
nauseous brood directly did contain
ell-extracted blood of Englishmen.

medley canton'd in a heptarchy,
psody of nations to supply,
g themselves maintain'd eternal wars,
till the ladies loved the conquerors.

Western Angles all the rest subdued,
dy nation, barbarous and rude,
y the tenure of the sword possess'd
art of Britain, and subdued the rest:
s great things denominate the small,
onquering part gave title to the whole;
cot, Pict, Briton, Roman, Dane, submit,
vith the English Saxon all unite;
hese the mixture have so close pursued,
ery name and memory's subdued;

No Roman now, no Briton does remain;
Wales strove to separate, but strove in vain:
The silent nations undistinguish'd fall,
And Englishman's the common name for all.
Fate jumbled them together, God knows how;
Whate'er they were, they're true-born English
now.

The wonder which remains is at our pride,
To value that which all wise men deride;
For Englishmen to boast of generation
Cancels their knowledge, and lampoons the nation:
A true-born Englishman's a contradiction,
In speech an irony, in fact a fiction;
A banter made to be a test of fools,
Which those that use it justly ridicules;
A metaphor intended to express,
A man akin to all the universe.

For as the Scots, as learned men have said,
Throughout the world their wand'ring seed have
spread,
So open-handed England, 'tis believed,
Has all the gleanings of the world received.

Some think of England, 'twas our Saviour meant,
The Gospel should to all the world be sent:
Since when the blessed sound did hither reach,
They to all nations might be said to preach.

'Tis well that virtue gives nobility,
Else God knows where had we our gentry,
Since scarce one family is left alive
Which does not from some foreigner derive.
Of sixty thousand English gentlemen,
Whose names and arms in registers remain,
We challenge all our heralds to declare
Ten families which English Saxons are.

France justly boasts the ancient noble line
Of Bourbon, Montmorency, and Lorraine;
The Germans too, their house of Austria show,
And Holland, their invincible Nassau—
Lines which in heraldry were ancient grown,
Before the name of Englishman was known.
Even Scotland too, her elder glory shows,
Her Gordons, Hamiltons, and her Monro's,
Douglas', Mackays, and Grahams, names well
known,
Long before ancient England knew her own.

But England, modern to the last degree,
Borrows or makes her own nobility;
And yet she boldly boasts of pedigree,
Repines that foreigners are put upon her,
And talks of her antiquity and honour:
Her Sackvills, Savils, Cecils, Delamers,
Mohuns, Montagues, Duras, and Veeres,
Not one have English names, yet all are English
peers.
Your Houblons, Papillons, and Lethuliers
Pass now for true-born English knights and
squires,
And make good senate members or lord mayors.
Wealth, howsoever got, in England makes
Lords of mechanics, gentlemen of rakes:
Antiquity and birth are needless here,
'Tis impudence and money makes a peer.

Innumerable city knights we know,
From Blue-coat Hospitals and Bridewell flow.
Draymen and porters fill the city chair,
And foot-boys magisterial purple wear.
Fate has but very small distinction set
Betwixt the counter and the coronet.
Tarpaulin lords, pages of high renown,
Rise up by poor men's valour, not their own;

Great families of yesterday we show,
And lords, whose parents were the Lord knows who.

PART II.

The breed's described; now, Satire, if you can,
Their temper show, for manners make the man.
Fierce as the Briton, as the Roman brave,
And less inclined to conquer than to save;
Eager to fight, and lavish of their blood,
And equally of fear and forecast void.
The Pict has made them sour, the Dane morose,
False from the Scot, and from the Norman worse.
What honesty they have, the Saxon gave them,
And that, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
The climate makes them terrible and bold,
And English beef their courage does uphold:
No danger can their daring spirit dull,
Always provided when their belly's full.

In close intrigues, their faculty's but weak;
For, gen'rally, whate'er they know they speak,
And often their own counsels undermine
By their infirmity, and not design.
From whence, the learned say, it does proceed,
That English treason never can succeed;
For they're so open-hearted, you may know
Their own most secret thoughts, and others too.

The lab'ring poor, in spite of double pay,
Are saucy, mutinous, and beggarly;
So lavish of their money and their time,
That want of forecast is the nation's crime.
Good drunken company is their delight,
And what they get by day they spend by night;
Dull thinking seldom does their heads engage,
But drink their youth away, and hurry on old age.
Empty of all good husbandry and sense,
And void of manners most when void of pence;
Their strong aversion to behaviour's such,
They always talk too little or too much.
So dull, they never take the pains to think,
And seldom are good-natured but in drink.

In English ale their dear enjoyment lies,
For which they starve themselves and families.
An Englishman will fairly drink as much
As will maintain two families of Dutch.
Subjecting all their labours to the pots,
The greatest artists are the greatest sots.
The country poor do by example live;
The gentry lead them, and the clergy drive;
What may we not from such examples hope?
The landlord is their god, the priest their pope.
A drunken clergy, and a swearing bench,
Has given the reformation such a drench,
As wise men think, there is some cause to doubt,
Will purge good manners and religion out.

Nor do the poor alone their liquor prize,
The sages join in this great sacrifice;
The learned men who study Aristotle,
Correct him with an explanation bottle,
Praise Epicurus rather than Lysander,
And Aristippus more than Alexander;
The doctors too their Galen here resign,
And generally prescribe specific wine;
The graduate's study's grown an easy task,
While for the urinal they toss the flask;
The surgeon's art grows plainer every hour,
And wine's the balm which into wounds they pour.

Poets long since Parnassus have forsaken,
And say the ancient bards were all mistaken.
Apollo's lately abdicate and fled,
And good king Bacchus reigneth in his stead:
He does the chaos of the head refine,
And atom thoughts jump into words by wine:
The inspiration's of a finer nature,
As wine must needs excel Parnassus water.

Statesmen their weighty politics refine,
And soldiers raise their courages by wine;
Cecilia gives her choristers their choice,
And lets them all drink wine to clear the voice.

Some think the clergy first found out the way,
And wine's the only spirit by which they pray.
But others, less profane than so, agree,
It clears the lungs, and helps the memory;
And, therefore, all of them divinely think,
Instead of study, 'tis as well to drink.

And here I would be very glad to know,
Whether our Asgilites may drink or no;
The enlightening fumes of wine would certainly
Assist them much when they begin to fly;
Or if a fiery chariot should appear,
Inflamed by wine, they'd have the less to fear.

Even the gods themselves, as mortals say,
Were they on earth, would be as drunk as they:
Nectar would be no more celestial drink,
They'd all take wine, to teach them how to think.
But English drunkards, gods and men antic,
Drink their estates away, and senses too.
Colon's in debt, and if his friend should fail
To help him out, must die at last in jail:
His wealthy uncle sent a hundred nobles,
To pay his trifles off, and rid him of his troubles:
But Colon, like a true-born Englishman,
Drunk all the money out in bright champagne,
And Colon does in custody remain.
Drunk'ness has been the darling of the realm,
E'er since a drunken pilot had the helm.

In their religion, they're so uneven,
That each man goes his own byeway to heaven.
Tenacious of mistakes to that degree,
That ev'ry man pursues it sep'ratelly,
And fancies none can find the way but he.
So shy of one another they are grown,
As if they strove to get to heaven alone.
Rigid and zealous, positive and grave,
And ev'ry grace but charity they have:
This makes them so ill-natured and unciv'l,
That all men think an Englishman the devil.

Surly to strangers, froward to their friend,
Submit to love with a reluctant mind,
Resolved to be ungrateful and unkind.
If by necessity reduced to ask,
The giver has the difficultest task:
For what's bestow'd they awkwardly receive,
And always take less freely than they give;
The obligation is their highest grief,
They never love where they accept relief;
So sullen in their sorrows, that 'tis known
They'll rather die than their afflictions own;
And if relieved, it is too often true,
That they'll abuse their benefactors too:
For in distress their haughty stomach's sore,
They hate to see themselves obliged too much;
Seldom contented, often in the wrong,
Hard to be pleased at all, and never long.

If your mistakes their ill opinion gain,
No merit can their favour re-obtain;
And if they're not vindictive in their fury,
'Tis their inconstant temper does secure ye.

brain's so cool, their passion seldom burns;
l's condensed before the flame returns:
rmentation's of so weak a matter,
umid damps the flame, and runs it all to
er;
ough the inclination may be strong,
re pleased by fits, and never angry long.

if good-nature show some slender proof,
never think they have reward enough;
ke our modern Quakers of the town,
t your manners, and return you none.

lship, th' abstracted union of the mind,
all men seek, but very few can find,
the nations in the universe,
can talk on't more, or understand it less;
it does their property annoy,
property their friendship will destroy.
n discourse them, you shall hear them tell
ings in which they think they do excel:
negyric needs their praise record,
nglishman ne'er wants his own good word.
rst discourses gen'rally appear,
gued with his own wond'rous character:
, to illustrate his own good name,
ver fails his neighbour to defame.
et he really designs no wrong,
alice goes no further than his tongue;
leased to tattle, he delights to rail,
tisfy the lech'ry of a tale.
wn dear praises close the ample speech,
you how wise he is, that is, how rich;
ealth is wisdom; he that's rich is wise;
ll men learned poverty despise.
enerosity comes next, and then
ndes, that he's a true-born Englishman;
hey, 'tis known, are generous and free,
tting, and forgiving injury:
h may be true, thus rightly understood,
ving ill turns, and forgetting good.

ful in labour when they've undertook it,
ut of humour when they're out of pocket.
their belly and their pocket's full,
may be phlegmatic, but never dull:
f a bottle does their brains refine,
kes their wit as sparkling as their wine.

r the general vices which we find,
re guilty of in common with mankind,
forbear, and silently endure,
ust conceal the crimes we cannot cure;
hall my verse the brighter sex defame,
nglish beauty will preserve her name;
nd dispute agreeable and fair,
modester than other nations are;
vhere the vice prevails, the great temptation
nt of money more than inclination:
neral this only is allow'd,
're something noisy, and a little proud.

nglishman is gentlest in command,
ence is a stranger in the land:
ly subjected to the magistrate;
nglishmen do all subjection hate.
blest when rich, but peevish when they're
oor,
think, whate'er they have, they merit more.

meanest English plowman studies law,
keeps thereby the magistrates in awe,
boldly tell them what they ought to do,
sometimes punish their omissions too.

r liberty and property's so dear,
scorn their laws or governors to fear;
So bugbear'd with the name of slavery,
They can't submit to their own liberty.
Restraint from ill is freedom to the wise!
But Englishmen do all restraint despise.
Slaves to the liquor, drudges to the pots;
The mob are statesmen, and their statesmen sots.

Their governors they count such dang'rous
things,
That 'tis their custom to affront their kings.
So jealous of the power their kings possess'd,
They suffer neither power nor kings to rest.
The bad with force they eagerly subdue,
The good with constant clamours they pursue;
And did King Jesus reign, they'd murmur too.
A discontented nation, and by far
Harder to rule in times of peace than war;
Easily set together by the ears,
And full of causeless jealousies and fears;
Apt to revolt, and willing to rebel,
And never are contented when they're well.
No government could ever please them long,
Could tie their hands, or rectify their tongue.
In this to ancient Israel well compared,
Eternal murmurs are among them heard.

It was but lately that they were oppress'd,
Their rights invaded, and their laws suppress'd:
When nicely tender of their liberty,
Lord! what a noise they made of slavery!
In daily tumults show'd their discontent,
Lampoon'd their king, and mock'd his govern-
ment;
And if in arms they did not first appear,
'Twas want of force, and not for want of fear.
In humbler tone than English used to do,
At foreign hands for foreign aid they sue.

William, the great successor of Nassau,
Their prayers heard, and their oppression saw;
He saw and saved them: God and him they
praised,
To this their thanks, to that their trophies raised.
But glutted with their own felicities,
They soon their new deliverer despise;
Say all their prayers back, their joy disown,
Unsing their thanks, and pull their trophies down;
Their harps of praise are on the willows hung,
For Englishmen are ne'er contented long.

The reverend clergy, too, and who'd ha'
thought
That they who had such non-resistance taught,
Should e'er to arms against their prince be
brought;
Who up to heav'n did regal power advance,
Subjecting English laws to modes of France;
Twisting religion so with loyalty,
As one could never live, and t'other die;
And yet no sooner did their prince design
Their glebes and perquisites to undermine,
But all their passive doctrines laid aside,
The clergy their own principles denied;
Unpreach'd their non-resisting cant, and pray'd
To heaven for help, and to the Dutch for aid;
The church chimed all her doctrines back again,
And pulpit-champions did the cause maintain,
Flew in the face of all their former zeal,
And non-resistance did at once repeal.

The rabbi's say it would be too prolix
To tie religion up to politics,
The church's safety is *supremæ lex*;
And so by a new figure of their own,
Their former doctrines all at once disown;
As laws *post facto* in the parliament,
In urgent cases have attained assent;

But are as dangerous precedents laid by,
Made lawful only by necessity.

The rev'rend fathers then in arms appear,
And men of God became the men of war:
The nation, fired by them, to arms apply,
Assault their antichristian monarchy;
To their due channel all our laws restore,
And made things what they should have been before.
But when they came to fill the vacant throne,
And the pale priests look'd back on what they'd done,
How England liberty began to thrive,
And Church of England loyalty outlive;
How all their persecuting days were done,
And their deliv'rer placed upon the throne,
The priests, as priests are wont to do, turn'd tail;
They're Englishmen, and nature will prevail.
Now they deplore the ruins they have made,
And murmur for the master they betray'd;
Excuse those crimes they could not make him mend,
And suffer for the cause they can't defend;
Pretend they'd not have carried things so high,
And proto-martyrs make for popery.

Had the prince done as they design'd the thing,
High set the clergy up to rule the king,
Taken a donative for coming hither,
And so have left the king and them together,
We had, say they, been now a happy nation;
No doubt we had seen a blessed reformation:
For wise men say 'tis as dangerous a thing
A ruling priesthood as a priest-rid king;
And of all plagues with which mankind are curst,
Ecclesiastic tyranny's the worst.

If all our former grievances were feign'd,
King James has been abused, and we trepann'd;
Bugbear'd with popery and power despotic,
Tyrannic government, and leagues exotic;
The revolution's a fanatic plot,
William's a tyrant, King James was not;
A factious army and a poison'd nation,
Unjustly forced King James's abdication.

But if he did the subjects' rights invade,
Then he was punish'd only, not betrayed;
And punishing of kings is no such crime,
But Englishmen have done it many a time.

When kings the sword of justice first lay down,
They are no kings, though they possess the crown.
Titles are shadows, crowns are empty things,
The good of subjects is the end of kings;
To guide in war, and to protect in peace,
Where tyrants once commence, the kings do cease;
For arbitrary power's so strange a thing,
It makes the tyrant and unmakes the king.
If kings by foreign priests and armies reign,
And lawless power against their oath maintain,
Then subjects must have reason to complain.
If oaths must bind us when our kings do ill,
To call in foreign aid is to rebel;
By force to circumscribe our lawful prince,
Is wilful treason in the largest sense;
And they who once rebel, must certainly
Their God, and king, and former oaths defy.
If ye allow no mal-administration
Could cancel the allegiance of the nation,
Let all our learned sons of Levi try,
This ecclesiastic riddle to untie:
How they could make a step to call the prince,
And yet pretend the oath and innocence.

By th' first address they made beyond the seas,
They're perjur'd in the most intense degree;
And without scruple for the time to come,
May swear to all the kings in Christendom:
Nay, truly, did our kings consider all,
They'd never let the clergy swear at all,
Their politic allegiance they'd refuse,
For whores and priests do never want excuse.

But if the mutual contract was dissolved,
The doubt's explained, the difficulty solved;
That kings, when they descend to tyranny,
Dissolve the bond, and leave the subject free;
The government's ungirt when justice dies,
And constitutions are nonentities.
The nation's all a mob, there's no such thing
As lords, or commons, parliament, or king;
A great promiscuous crowd the Hydra lies,
Till laws revive and mutual contract ties;
A chaos free to choose for their own share,
What case of government they please to wear:
If to a king they do the reins commit,
All men are bound in conscience to submit;
But then the king must by his oath assent
To *Postulata's* of the government;
Which if he breaks he cuts off the entail,
And power retreats to its original.

This doctrine has the sanction of assent
From nature's universal parliament:
The voice of nations and the course of things
Allow that laws superior are to kings;
None but delinquents would have justice cease,
Knaves rail at laws, as soldiers rail at peace:
For justice is the end of government,
As reason is the test of argument.
No man was ever yet so void of sense,
As to debate the right of self-defence;
A principle so grafted in the mind,
With nature born, and does like nature bind;
Twisted with reason, and with nature too,
As neither one nor t'other can undo.

Nor can this right be less when national,
Reason which governs one should govern all:
Whate'er the dialects of courts may tell,
He that his right demands can ne'er rebel;
Which right, if 'tis by governors denied,
May be procured by force or foreign aid;
For tyranny's a nation's term of grief,
As folks cry fire to hasten in relief;
And when the hated word is heard about,
All men should come to help the people out.

Thus England groan'd, Britannia's voice was heard,
And great Nassau to rescue her appeared;
Call'd by the universal voice of fate,
God and the people's legal magistrate.
Ye heavens regard! Almighty Jove look down,
And view thy injured monarch on the throne;
On their ungrateful heads due vengeance take
Who sought his aid, and then his part forsake.
Witness, ye powers! it was our call alone,
Which now our pride makes us ashamed to own;
Britannia's troubles fetch'd him from afar,
To court the dreadful casualties of war;
But where requital never can be made,
Acknowledgment's a tribute seldom paid.

He dwelt in bright Maria's circling arms,
Defended by the magic of her charms,
From foreign fears and from domestic harms;
Ambition found no fuel for her fire,
He had what God could give or man desire,
Till pity roused him from his soft repose,
His life to unseen hazards to expose;

Till pity moved him in our cause to appear,
Pity! that word which now we hate to hear;
But English gratitude is always such,
To hate the hand that does oblige too much.

Britannia's cries gave birth to his intent,
And hardly gain'd his unforeseen assent;
His boding thoughts foretold him he should find
The people fickle, selfish, and unkind;
Which thought did to his royal heart appear
More dreadful than the dangers of the war;
For nothing grates a generous mind so soon,
As base returns for hearty service done.

Satire, be silent! awfully prepare
Britannia's song, and William's praise to hear;
Stand by, and let her cheerfully rehearse
Her grateful vows in her immortal verse.
Loud fame's eternal trumpet let her sound,
Listen, ye distant poles, and endless round
May the strong blast the welcome news convey,
As far as sound can reach or spirit fly!
To neighb'ring worlds, if such there be, relate
Our heroes' fame for theirs to imitate;
To distant worlds of spirits let her rehearse,
For spirits without the helps of voice converse.
May angels hear the gladsome news on high,
Mix'd with their everlasting symphony;
And hell itself stand in surprise to know,
Whether it be the fatal blast or no.

BRITANNIA.

The fame of virtue 'tis for which I sound,
And heroes with immortal triumphs crown'd;
Fame built on solid virtue swifter flies,
Than morning light can spread the eastern skies.
The gath'ring air returns the doubling sound,
And loud repeating thunders force it round;
Echoes return from caverns of the deep,
Old Chaos dreams on't in eternal sleep;
Time hands it forward to its latest urn,
From whence it never, never shall return.
Nothing is heard so far, or lasts so long;
'Tis heard by ev'ry ear, and spoke by every tongue.

My hero, with the sails of honour furl'd,
Rises like the great genius of the world;
By fate and fame wisely prepared to be
The soul of war and life of victory;
He spreads the wings of virtue on the throne,
And ev'ry wind of glory fans them on;
Immortal trophies dwell upon his brow,
Fresh as the garlands he has won but now.

By different steps the high ascent he gains,
And differently that high ascent maintains:
Princes for pride and lust of rule make war,
And struggle for the name of conqueror;
Some fight for fame, and some for victory,
He fights to save, and conquers to set free.

Then seek no phrase his titles to conceal,
And hide with words what actions must reveal;
No parallel from Hebrew stories take,
Of godlike kings my similes to make;
No borrowed names conceal my living theme,
But names and things directly I proclaim:
His honest merit does his glory raise;
Whom that exalts, let no man fear to praise;
Of such a subject no man need be shy,
Virtue's above the reach of flattery;
He needs no character but his own fame,
Nor any flattering titles but his own name.

William's the name that's spoke by every tongue,
William's the darling subject of my song.
Listen, ye virgins, to the charming sound,
And in eternal dances hand it round;
Your early offerings to this altar bring,
Make him at once a lover and a king;
May he submit to none but to your arms,
Nor ever be subdued, but by your charms;
May your soft thoughts for him be all sublime,
And ev'ry tender vow be made for him;
May he be first in ev'ry morning thought,
And heav'n ne'er hear a prayer where he's left out;
May every omen, every boding dream,
Be fortunate by mentioning his name;
May this one charm infernal powers affright,
And guard you from the terror of the night;
May ev'ry cheerful glass, as it goes down
To William's health, be cordials to your own;
Let ev'ry song be chorust with his name,
And music pay her tribute to his fame;
Let ev'ry poet tune his artful verse,
And in immortal strains his deeds rehearse;
And may Apollo never more inspire
The disobedient bard with his seraphic fire;
May all my sons their grateful homage pay,
His praises sing, and for his safety pray!

Satire, return to our unthankful isle,
Secured by heaven's regards, and William's toil:
To both ungrateful, and to both untrue,
Rebels to God, and to good nature too.

If e'er this nation be distress'd again,
To whomsoe'er they cry, they'll cry in vain;
To heav'n they cannot have the face to look,
Or, if they should, it would but heav'n provoke;
To hope for help from man would be too much,
Mankind would always tell 'em of the Dutch:
How they came here our freedoms to maintain,
Were paid, and cursed, and hurried home again;
How by their aid we first dissolved our fears,
And then our helpers damn'd for foreigners:
'Tis not our English temper to do better,
For Englishmen think ev'ry one their debtor.

'Tis worth observing that we ne'er complain'd
Of foreigners, nor of the wealth we gain'd,
Till all their services were at an end.
Wise men affirm it is the English way,
Never to grumble till they come to pay;
And then they always think—their temper's such—
The work too little, and the pay too much.

As frighted patients, when they want a cure,
Bid any price, and any pain endure;
But when the doctor's remedies appear,
The cure's too easy, and the price too dear.
Great Portland ne'er was banter'd when he strove
For us his master's kindest thoughts to move;
We ne'er lampoon'd his conduct, when employ'd
King James's secret councils to divide.
Then we caress'd him as the only man
Who could the doubtful oracle explain;
The only Hushai able to repel
The dark designs of our Achitophel:
Compared his master's courage to his sense,
The ablest statesman and the bravest prince;
On his wise conduct we depended much,
And liked him ne'er the worse for being Dutch;
Nor was he valued more than he deserved,
Freely he ventured, faithfully he served;
In all King William's dangers he has shared,
In England's quarrels always he appear'd:
The revolution first, and then the Boyne,
In both his counsels and his conduct shine;

His martial valour Flanders will confess,
And France regrets his managing the peace;
Faithful to England's interest and her king,
The greatest reason of our murmuring.
Ten years in English service he appear'd,
And gain'd his master's and the world's regard.
But 'tis not England's custom to reward;
The wars are over, England needs him not;
Now he's a Dutchman, and the Lord knows what.

Schonbergh, the ablest soldier of his age,
With great Nassau did in our cause engage;
Both join'd for England's rescue and defence,
The greatest captain and the greatest prince.
With what applause his stories did we tell,
Stories which Europe's volumes largely swell!
We counted him an army in our aid:
Where he commanded, no man was afraid;
His actions with a constant conquest shine,
From Villa Vitiosa to the Rhine;
France, Flanders, Germany, his fame confess,
And all the world was fond of him but us:
Our turn first served, we grudged him the command,
Witness the grateful temper of the land.

We blame the king, that he relies too much
On strangers, Germans, Huguenots, and Dutch,
And seldom does his great affairs of state
To English counsellors communicate.
The fact might very well be answer'd thus:
He had so often been betray'd by us,
He must have been a madman to rely
On English gentlemen's fidelity;
For, laying other argument aside,
This thought might mortify our English pride,
That foreigners have faithfully obeyed him,
And none but Englishmen have e'er betray'd him;
They have our ships and merchants bought and sold,
And barter'd English blood for foreign gold;
First to the French they sold our Turkey fleet,
And injured Talmarsh next at Cameret;
The king himself is shelter'd from their snares,
Not by his merits, but the crown he wears;
Experience tells us 'tis the English way,
Their benefactors always to betray.

And lest examples should be too remote,
A modern magistrate of famous note
Shall give you his own history by rote;
I'll make it out, deny it he that can,
His worship is a true-born Englishman,
By all the latitude that empty word
By modern acceptation's understood.
The parish books his great descent record,
And now he hopes ere long to be a lord;
And truly, as things go, it would be pity,
But such as he bore office in the city;
While robb'ry for burnt-offering he brings,
And gives to God what he has stole from kings;
Great monuments of charity he raises,
And good St. Magnus whistles out his praises;
To city jails he grants a jubilee,
And hires huzzas from his own mobile.

Lately he wore the golden chain and gown,
With which equipp'd he thus harangued the town.

HIS FINE SPEECH, &c.

With clouted iron shoes, and sheep-skin breeches,
More rags than manners, and more dirt than riches,
From driving cows and calves to Leyton market,
While of my greatness there appear'd no spark yet,
Behold I come to let you see the pride,
With which exalted beggars always ride.

Born to the needful labours of the plough,
The cart-whip graced me, as the chain does now.
Nature and fate in doubt what course to take,
Whether I should a lord or ploughboy make,
Kindly at last resolv'd they would promote me,
And first a knave, and then a knight they vote me.
What fate appointed, nature did prepare,
And furnish'd me with an exceeding care,
To fit me for what they design'd to have me,
And every gift but honesty they gave me.

And thus equipp'd, to this proud town I came,
In quest of bread, and not in quest of fame.
Blind to my future fate, an humble boy,
Free from the guilt and glory I enjoy.
The hopes which my ambition entertain'd
Were in the name of foot-boy all contain'd.
The greatest heights from small beginnings rise;
The gods were great on earth before they reach'd the skies.

Blackwell, the generous temper of whose mind
Was always to be bountful inclin'd,
Whether by his ill fate or fancy led,
First took me up, and furnish'd me with bread.
The little services he put me to,
Seem'd labours, rather than were truly so.
But always my advancement he design'd;
For 'twas his very nature to be kind:
Large was his soul, his temper ever free,
The best of masters and of men to me;
And I, who was before decreed by fate
To be made infamous as well as great,
With an obsequious diligence obey'd him,
Till trusted with his all, and then betray'd him.

All his past kindnesses I trampled on,
Ruin'd his fortunes to erect my own;
So vipers in the bosom bred begin
To hiss at that hand first which took them in;
With eager treach'ry I his fall pursu'd,
And my first trophies were ingratitude.

Ingratitude's the worst of human guilt,
The basest action mankind can commit;
Which, like the sin against the Holy Ghost,
Has least of honour, and of guilt the most;
Distinguished from all other crimes by this,
That 'tis a crime which no man will confess;
That sin alone, which should not be forgiv'n
On earth, altho' perhaps it may in heaven.

Thus my first benefactor I o'erthrew;
And how should I be to a second true?
The public trust came next into my care,
And I to use them scurvily prepare;
My needy sov'reign lord I play'd upon,
And lent him many a thousand of his own;
For which great interest I took care to charge,
And so my ill-got wealth became so large.

My predecessor Judas was a fool,
Fitter to have been whipt and sent to school,
Than sell a Saviour; had I been at hand,
His Master had not been so cheap trepann'd;
I would have made the eager Jews have found,
For thirty pieces, thirty thousand pound.

My cousin Ziba, of immortal fame,
(Ziba and I shall never want a name:)

First-born of treason, nobly did advance
His master's fall, for his inheritance:
By whose keen arts old David first began
To break his sacred oath to Jonathan.
The good old king 'tis thought was very loth
To break his word, and therefore broke his oath.
Ziba's a traitor of some quality,
Yet Ziba might have been inform'd by me:
Had I been there, he ne'er had been content
With half th' estate, nor half the government.

In our late revolution 'twas thought strange
That I of all mankind should like the change;
But they who wonder'd at it never knew
That in it I did my old game pursue;
Nor had they heard of twenty thousand pound,
Which ne'er was lost, yet never could be found.

Thus all things in their turn to sale I bring,
God and my master first, and then the king;
Till by successful villanies made bold,
I thought to turn the nation into gold;
And so to forgery my hand I bent,
Not doubting I could gull the government;
But there was ruffled by the Parliament.
And if I 'scaped th' unhappy tree to climb,
'Twas want of law, and not for want of crime;

But my old friend,* who printed in my face
A needful competence of English brass,
Having more business yet for me to do,
And loth to lose his trusty servant so,
Manag'd the matter with such art and skill,
As sav'd his hero, and threw out the bill.

And now I'm graced with unexpected honours,
For which I'll certainly abuse the donors;
Knighted, and made a tribune of the people,
Whose laws and properties I'm like to keep well;
The *custos rotulorum* of the city,
And captain of the guards of their banditti.
Surrounded by my catchpoles, I declare
Against the needy debtor open war.
I hang poor thieves for stealing of your pelf,
And suffer none to rob you, but myself.

The king commanded me to help reform ye,
And how I'll do't, Miss —— shall inform ye.

I keep the best seraglio in the nation,
And hope in time to bring it into fashion;
No brimstone whore need fear the lash from me,
That part I'll leave to Brother Jefferey:
Our gallants need not go abroad to Rome,
I'll keep a whoring jubilee at home;
Whoring's the darling of my inclination;
An't I a magistrate for reformation?
For this my praise is sung by ev'ry bard,
For which Bridewell would be a just reward.
In print my panegyric fills the street,
And hired jail-birds their huzzas repeat;
Some charities contrived to make a show,
Have taught the needy rabble to do so;
Whose empty noise is a mechanic fame,
Since for Sir Beelzebub they'd do the same.

THE CONCLUSION.

Then let us boast of ancestors no more,
Or deeds of heroes done in days of yore,
In latent records of the ages past,
Behind the rear of time, in long oblivion plac'd;
For if our virtues must in lines descend,
The merit with the families would end,
And intermixtures would most fatal grow,
For vice would be hereditary too;
The tainted blood would of necessity,
Involuntary wickedness convey.

Vice, like ill-nature, for an age or two,
May seem a generation to pursue;
But virtue seldom does regard the breed:
Fools do the wise, and wise men fools succeed.

What is't to us what ancestors we had?
If good, what better? or what worse, if bad?
Examples are for imitation set,
Yet all men follow virtue with regret.

Could but our ancestors retrieve their fate,
And see their offspring thus degenerate;
How we contend for birth and names unknown,
And build on their past actions, not our own;
They'd cancel records, and their tombs deface,
And openly disown the vile degenerate race;
For fame of families is all a cheat,
It's personal virtue only makes us great.

* The Devil.

A HYMN TO THE PILLORY.

A Hymn to the Pillory. London. 1703.

[As we have said already, Defoe, for having written what the Government characterised as 'a scandalous and seditious pamphlet, entitled *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*,' was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, besides being subjected to a fine and imprisonment. Instead, however, of meeting the dirty and abusive treatment usual on such occasions, 'he was guarded to the pillory by the populace, as if he was about to be enthroned in a chair of state, and descended from it with the triumphant acclamations of the surrounding multitude.' Defoe himself tells us, 'That the people, who were expected to treat him very ill, on the contrary, pitied him, and wished those who set him there were placed in his room, and expressed their affections with loud shouts and acclamations when he was taken down.' The mob, instead of pelting him, protected him from the missiles of his enemies, and even had the audacity to drink his health. On the very day of his public exhibition, Defoe published the following caustic *Hymn*, in which he converts his own punishment into a satire upon its authors. 'In this ode,' says Chalmers, 'the reader will find satire pointed by his sufferings, generous sentiments arising from his situation, and an unexpected flow of easy verse.' It became highly popular, and soon passed through several editions.]

HAIL hieroglyphic state machine,
Contriv'd to punish fancy in:
Men that are men, in thee can feel no pain,
And all thy insignificants disdain.
Contempt, that false new word for shame,
Is without crime an empty name,
A shadow to amuse mankind,
But never frights the wise or well-fix'd mind:
Virtue despises human scorn,
And scandals innocence adorn.

Exalted on thy stool of state,
What prospect do I see of sov'reign fate;
How th' inscrutables of Providence
Differ from our contracted sense!
Hereby the errors of the town,
The fools look out and knaves look on.
Persons or crimes find here the same respect,
And vice does virtue oft correct,
The undistinguish'd fury of the street,
Which mob and malice mankind greet:
No bias can the rabble draw,
But dirt throws dirt, without respect to merit or to law.

Sometimes the air of scandal to maintain,
Villains look from thy lofty loops in vain:
But who can judge of crimes by punishment,
Where parties rule, and law's subservient?
Justice with change of interest learns to bow,
And what was merit once, is murder now:
Actions receive their tincture from the times,
And as they change are virtues made or crimes.
Thou art the state-trap of the law,
But neither can keep knaves, nor honest men in awe;
These are too harden'd in offence,
And those upheld by innocence.

How have thy opening vacancies receiv'd
In every age the criminals of state!
And how has mankind been deceiv'd,
When they distinguish crimes by fate!
Tell us, great engine, how to understand,
Or reconcile the justice of the land;
How Bastwick, Pryn, Hunt, Hollingsby, and Pye
Men of unspotted honesty,
Men that had learning, wit, and sense,
And more than most men have had since,
Could equal title to thee claim,
With Oates and Fuller, men of later fame.
Even the learned [illegible] 'en saw
A prospect of the [illegible] the law:
He had thy lofty pinnacles in view,
But so much honour never was thy due:
Had the great Selden triumph'd on thy stage—
Selden the honour of this age—

No man would ever shun thee more,
Or grudge to stand where Selden stood before.

Thou art no shame to truth and honesty,
Nor is the character of such defac'd by thee,
Who suffer by oppressed injury.
Shame, like the exhalations of the sun,
Falls back where first the motion was begun:
And they who for no crime shall on thy brows appear,
Bear less reproach than they who plac'd them there.

But if contempt is on thy face entail'd,
Disgrace itself shall be asham'd;
Scandal shall blush that it has not prevail'd,
To blast the man it has defam'd.
Let all that merit equal punishment,
Stand there with him, and we are all content.

There would the fam'd Sacheverell stand
With trumpet of sedition in his hand,
Sounding the first crusado in the land.
He from a Church of England pulpit first
All his dissenting brethren curst;
Doom'd them to Satan for a prey,
And first found out the shortest way:
With him the wise vice-chancellor o' the press,
Who tho' our printers' licences defy,
Willing to show his forwardness,
Bless'd it with his authority;
He gave the church's sanction to the work,
As popes bless colours for troops which fight the Turk.
Doctors in scandal these are grown,
For red-hot zeal and furious learning known:
Professors in reproach, and highly fit
For Juno's academy, Billingsgate.
Thou, like a true-born English tool,
Hast from their composition stole,
And now art like to smart for being a fool:
And as of Englishmen, 'twas always meant,
They're better to improve than to invent;
Upon their model thou hast made
A monster makes the world afraid.
With them let all the statesmen stand,
Who guide us with unsteady hand;
Who armies, fleet, and men betray,
And ruin all the shortest way.
Let all those soldiers stand in sight,
Who're willing to be paid and not to fight.
Agents and colonels, who false musters bring,
To cheat your country first, and then your king:
Bring all your coward captains of the fleet;
Lord! what a crowd will there be when they meet!

They who let Pointi 'scape to Brest,
With all the gods of Carthagena blest;
Those who betray'd our Turkey fleet,
Or injur'd Talmash sold at Camaret;
Who missed the squadron from Thouloon,
And always came too late or else too soon:
All these are heroes whose great actions claim
Immortal honour to their dying fame;
And ought not to have been denied,
On thy great counterscarp, to have their valour try'd.

Why have not these, [illegible] thy swelling stage,
Tasted the keener justic[illegible] the age?
If 'tis because their crimes are too remote,
Whom leaden-footed justice has forgot,
Let's view the modern scenes of fame,
If men and management are not the same;
When fleets go out with money, and with men,
Just time enough to venture home again;
Navies prepar'd to guard the insulted coast,
And convoys settl'd when our ships are lost.
Some heroes lately come from sea,
If they were paid their due, should stand with thee;
Papers, too, should their deeds relate,
To prove the justice of their fate:
Their deeds of war at Port Saint Mary's done.
And see the trophies by them which they won;
Let Ormond's declaration there appear,
He'd certainly be pleased to see 'em there.
Let some good limner represent
The ravish'd nuns, the plunder'd town,
The English honour how misspent;
The shameful coming back, and little done.

The Vigo men should next appear,
To triumph on thy theatre;
They, who on board the great galoons had been,
Who robb'd the Spaniards first, and then the queen:
Set up their praises to their valour due,
How eighty sail had beaten twenty-two,
Two troopers so, and one dragoon,
Conquer'd a Spanish boy, a Pampalone.
Yet let them Ormond's conduct own,
Who beat them first on shore, or little had been done:
What unknown spoils from thence are come,
How much was brought away, how little home.
If all the thieves should on thy scaffold stand,
Who robb'd their masters in command,
The multitude would soon outdo
The city crowds of lord mayor's show.

Upon thy penitential stools,
Some people should be plac'd for fools;
As some, for instance, who, while they look on,
See others plunder all, and they got none.
Next the lieutenant-general,
To get the devil, lost the de'il and all;
And he some little badge should bear,
Who ought in justice to have hang'd 'em there:
This had his honour more maintain'd,
Than all the spoils at Vigo gain'd.
Then clap thy wooden wings for joy,
And greet the men of great employ,
The authors of the nation's discontent,
And scandal of a Christian government:
Jobbers and brokers of the city stocks,
With forty thousand tallies at their backs;
Who make our banks and companies obey,
Or sink 'em all the shortest way.
The intrinsic value of our stocks
Is stated in our calculating books;
Th' imaginary prizes rise and fall,
As they command who toss the ball.
Let 'em upon thy lofty turrets stand,
With bear-skins on the back, debentures in the hand,
And write in capital upon the post,
That here they should remain
Till this enigma they explain,
How stocks should fall when sales surmount the coast,
And rise again when ships are lost.

Great monster of the law, exalt thy head,
Appear no more in masquerade,
In homely phrase express thy discontent,
And move it in th' approaching Parliament.
Tell 'em how papers were instead of coin,
With int'rest eight per cent. and discount nine;

Of Irish transport debt unpaid,
Bills false endors'd, and long accounts unmade;
And tell them all the nation hopes to see,
They'll send the guilty down to thee,
Rather than those who write their history.
Then bring those justices upon thy bench,
Who vilely break the laws they should defend,
And upon equity intrench,
By punishing the crimes they will not mend.
Let every vicious magistrate,
Upon thy sumptuous chariot of the state,
There let 'em all in triumph ride,
Their purple and their scarlet laid aside.
Let no such Bridewell justices protect,
As first debauch the whores which they correct;
Such who with oaths and drunk'ness sit,
And punish far less crimes than they commit:
These certainly deserve to stand,
With trophies of authority in each hand.
Upon thy pulpit see the drunken priest,
Who turns the gospel to a daily jest;
Let the fraternity degrade him there,
Lest they like him appear:
There let him his *memento mori* preach,
And by example, not by doctrine, teach.
Next bring the lewder clergy there,
Who preach those sins down which they can't forbear;
Those sons of God who every day go in,
Both to the daughters and the wives of men;
There let 'em stand to be the nation's jest,
And save the reputation of the rest.

Asgill, who for the gospel left the law,
And deep within the cleft of darkness saw,
Let him be an example made,
Who durst the parson's province so invade.
To his new ecclesiastic rules,
We owe the knowledge that we all are fools.
Old Charon shall no more dark souls convey,
Asgill has found the shortest way;
Vain in your funeral pomp and bells,
Your grave-stones, monuments, and knells;
Vain are the trophies of the grave,
Asgill shall all that foppery save,
And, to the clergy's great reproach,
Shall change the hearse into a fiery coach.
What man the learned riddle can receive,
Which none can answer, and yet none believe;
Let him recorded on the list remain,
Till he shall heaven by his own rules obtain.
If a poor author has embrac'd thy wood,
Only because he has not understood,
They punish mankind but by halves,
Till they stand there,
Who against their own principles appear,
And cannot understand themselves.
Those Nimshites, who with furious zeal drive on,
And build up Rome to pull down Babylon;
The real authors of the shortest way,
Who for destruction, not conversion pray:
There let those sons of strife remain,
Till this church riddle they explain,
How at dissenters they can raise a storm,
But would not have them all conform;
For there their certain ruin would come in,
And moderation, which they hate, begin.
Next bring some lawyers to thy bar,
By innuendo they might all stand there;
There let them expiate that guilt,
And pay for all that blood their tongues have spilt.
These are the mountebanks of state,
Who by the sleight of tongues can crimes create,
And dress up trifles in the robes of fate;
The mastiffs of a government,
To worry and run down the innocent.

There sat a man of mighty fame,
Whose actions speak him plainer than his name;
In vain he struggl'd, he harangu'd in vain,
To bring in whipping sentences again,
And to debauch a milder government,
With abdicated kinds of punishment.
No wonder he should law despise,
Who Jesus Christ himself denies;
His actions only now direct,
That we when he is made a judge expect.
Let L——ll next to his disgrace,
With Whitney's horses staring in his face;
There let his cup of penance be kept full,
Till he's less noisy, insolent, and dull.

When all these heroes have passed over thy stage,
And thou hast been the satyr of the age;
Wait then awhile for all those sons of fame,
Whom present power has made too great a name:
Fenc'd from thy hands, they keep our vices in awe,
Too great for satyr, and too great for law.
As they their commands lay down,
They all shall pay their homage to thy dusty throne;
And till within thy reach they be,
Exalt them in effigy.

Thou speaking trumpet of men's fame,
Enter in every court thy claim;
Demand 'em all, for they are all thy own,
Who swear to three kings, but are true to none.
Turncoats of all sides are thy due,
And he who once is false is never true:
To-day can swear, to-morrow can abjure,
For treachery's a crime no man can cure.
Such without scruple, for the time to come,
May swear to all the kings in Christendom;
But he's a madman will rely
Upon their lost fidelity.

They that in vast employments rob the state,
See them in thy embraces meet their fate;
Let not the millions they by fraud obtain,
Protect 'em from the scandal or the pain.
They who from mean beginnings grow
To vast estates, but God knows how;
Who carry untold sums away,
From little places, with but little pay;
Who costly palaces erect,
The thieves that built them to protect;
The gardens, grottoes, fountains, walks, and groves,
Where vice triumphs in pride, and lawless loves;
Where mighty luxury and drunk'ness reign'd,
Profusely spend what they profanely gain'd:
Tell 'em there's Mene Tekel's on the wall,
Tell 'em the nation's money paid for all;
Advance by double front and show,
And let us both the crimes and persons know:
Place them aloft upon thy throne,
Who slight the nation's business for their own;
Neglect their posts, in spite of double pay,
And run us all in debt the shortest way.

Great pageant, change thy dirty scene,
For on thy steps some ladies may be seen;
When beauty stoops upon thy stage to show,
She laughs at all the humble fools below.
Set Sappho there, whose husband paid for clothes
Two hundred pounds a week in Furbalo's;
There in her silks and scarlets let her shine,
She's beauteous all without, all where within.
Next let gay Urania ride,
Her coach and six attending by her side;

Long has she waited, but in vain,
The city homage to obtain:
The sumptuous harlot long'd to insult the chair,
And triumph o'er our city beauties there.
Here let her haughty thoughts be gratified,
In triumph let her ride.
Let Diadora next appear,
And all that want to know her, see her there.
Let not the pomp nor grandeur of her state
Prevent the justice of her fate.
Claim 'em thou herald of reproach,
Who with uncommon lewdness will debauch;
Let C—— upon thy borders spend his life,
'Till he recants the bargain with his wife,
And till this riddle both explain,
How neither can themselves contain;
How nature can on both sides run so high,
As neither side can neither side supply,
And so in charity agree,
He keeps two brace of whores, two stallions she.

What need of satyr to reform the town?
Or laws to keep our vices down?
Let 'em to thee due homage pay,
This will reform us all the shortest way.
Let 'em to thee bring all the knaves and fools,
Virtue will guide the rest by rules;
They'll need no treacherous friends, no breach of faith,
No hir'd evidence with their infecting breath;
No servants masters to betray,
Or knight o' the post, who swear for pay;
No injur'd author'll on thy steps appear,
Nor such as would be rogues, but such as are.
The first intent of laws
Was to correct the effect, and check the cause;
And all the ends of punishment
Were only future mischiefs to prevent.

But justice is inverted when
Those engines of the law,
Instead of pinching vicious men,
Keep honest ones in awe;
Thy business is, as all men know,
To punish villains, not to make men so.
Whenever then thou art prepar'd
To prompt that vice thou should'st reward,
And by the terrors of thy grizzly face,
Make men turn rogues to shun disgrace;
The end of thy creation is destroy'd,
Justice expires of course, and law's made void.

What are thy terrors? that for fear of thee,
Mankind should dare to sink their honesty;
He's bold to impudence, that dare turn knave,
The scandal of thy company to save.
He that will crimes he never knew confess,
Does more than if he knew those crimes transgress;
And he that fears thee more than to be base,
May want a heart, but does not want a face.

Thou like the devil dost appear
Blacker than really thou art by far:
A wild chimeric notion of reproach,
Too little for a crime, for none too much:
Let none the indignity resent,
For crime is all the shame of punishment.
Thou bugbear of the law stand up and speak,
Thy long misconstru'd silence break,
Tell us who 'tis upon thy ridge stands there,
So full of fault, and yet so void of fear;
And from the paper in his hat,
Let all mankind be told for what:

Tell them it was because he was too bold,
And told those truths, which should not ha' been told.
Extol the justice of the land,
Who punish what they will not understand.
Tell them he stands exalted there,
For speaking what we would not hear;
And yet he might have been secure,
Had he said less, or would he ha' said more.
Tell them that this is his reward,
And worse is yet for him prepar'd,
Because his foolish virtue was so nice
As not to sell his friends, according to his friends' advice;

And thus he's an example made,
To make men of their honesty afraid,
That for the time to come they may
More willingly their friends betray;
Tell 'em the men that plac'd him here,
Are friends unto the times,
But at a loss to find his guile,
They can't commit his crimes.

THE END.

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